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A NEW
HISTORY
OF
Ecclesiastical Writers :
Containing an ACCOUNT
Of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the
PRIMITIVE FATHERS ;
A
Judicious Abridgment
AND
A Catalogue of all their **WORKS ;**
WITH
Censures Determining the GENUINE and SPURIOUS :
AND A
Judgment upon their Style and Doctrine :
Also their various Editions.

Together with
A Compendious History of the **COUNCILS.**

Written in *FRENCH*
By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON.*

VOLUME the THIRD,
Containing the AUTHORS that Flourished in the Beginning
of the FIFTH CENTURY.

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P R E F A C E.

SINCE the Publication of the former Volumes of this *Bibliotheca* in our Language, we have had an account, That the Author was censured for it at *Paris*. It was reasonable enough to expect, that some notice would be taken of that great freedom, with which he so industriously asserts the Privileges of National Churches, against the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*; especially if ever the French King should command those of his Clergy, who assisted in the General Assembly in 1682. to make such Submissions as the Court of *Rome* would accept of. The great care which M. *Du Pin* has taken to get full Approbations from several Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, to every Volume, seem'd sufficient to secure him from any ignominious Censures which he might have been in danger of at home; but when a Man meets with Enemies upon other Accounts, they will fall upon him for those things which at any other time would not have been regarded.

It is commonly said, That the first beginning of M. *Du Pin*'s Misfortune, proceeded from a private Quarrel of the Bishop of *Meaux*'s, who was angry with him for publishing a Translation of the *Psalms*, when himself had publish'd another not long before. This was interpreted to be a Trial of Skill in an inferior Presbyter, who presumed to contest with so great a Bishop, that had so long been famous for his skill in Writing: It touch'd M. *de Meaux* the more sensibly, because M. *Du Pin* is said to have corrected several Things in his Translation, wherein the Bishop was mistaken. Therefore, since he could take no hold of that, without exposing himself, which he would not run the hazard of, he collected several bold Expressions in M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, and exhibited an Accusation of Heresie against him to the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, who accordingly proceeded upon it.

This Accusation was seconded by the Pope's Nuncio, who concerned himself so far in this Matter, that M. *Du Pin* thought it necessary to yield to his Diocesan, who oblig'd him to retract several Propositions, and to mollify others that were thought too hard, and to submit his Book entirely to the Arch-bishop's Mercy. How great that was, appears by the Arch-bishop's Condemnation and Censure of M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, printed at *Paris*, with M. *Du Pin*'s Retraction annex'd to it. I have not been able to procure the Condemnation itself, but the Author of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans*, has printed an Extract out of it in his last Volume, which says, That the printed Censure condemns M. *Du Pin*'s *Bibliotheca*, because it contains, "Several Propositions that are false, rash, scandalous, capable of giving offence to pious Ears, tending to weaken the Arguments that are brought from Tradition for the Authority of the Canonical Books, and of several Articles of Faith, injurious to General Councils and the Apostolick See, erroneous and leading to Heresie; and, therefore, it forbids all Persons to read it, or to keep it by them.

This Ordonnance of the Arch-bishop of *Paris* was seconded by an Order of the Parliament of *Paris*, bearing date April 25. 1693. which says, "That the *Gens de Roy* acquainted the Court, that they thought it was their Duty to inform them, "That the Arch-bishop of *Paris* had lately condemned a Book, Entituled, *A new Bibliotheca of Ecclesiastical Authors*, written by M. *Ellies Du Pin*, Doctor in Divinity "of the Faculty of *Paris*, because it contain'd Propositions contrary to sound Do-

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"Arise: That the cognizance of every thing that relates to the Faith belonging to the Church, and the decision of those Matters to the Bishops within their respective Dioceses, the suppression of the Books which they condemn, and the *afflictive* Punishment of those who persist in Opinions which have been censured by the Bishops, belong to the Kings Officers, and principally to the Court, the Depository of Sovereign Justice: That they have nothing to object against the Author of this Book, because he has submitted himself to the Judgment of his Bishop, and because it appears by a Writing, which he has published, That he has retracted some of those Propositions which he had advanced, and explain'd the rest in such a manner as frees them from all suspicion of Error: That they are willing to believe, That the Faults which *M. Elies Du Pin* fell into, and which deserv'd the Censure pronounced against him, proceeded rather from the Greatness of the Work that he undertook, than from any formed Design of introducing new Opinions; and, besides, that there is a great deal of Learning in his Books: That they were oblig'd to take notice to the Court, upon this occasion, of the Care, the Application and Vigilance, which the Arch-bishop of *Paris* shews to preserve sound Doctrine in his Diocese, and to stifle every thing, in the beginning, which may disturb the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. And, therefore, they omitted nothing in those Stations in which they had the Honour to be placed, that could second such good Designs; and this it was that obliged them to demand of the Court, That those Books that the Arch-bishop had condemned, might be suppressed; and that all Book-sellers should be forbidden to sell them, till they should be corrected according to the Writing of the said *Du Pin*, annex'd to the Arch-bishop's Censure, and that the Corrections should be approved by him the said Arch-bishop. The *Gens de Roy* withdrawing, the Court took the Matter into Deliberation, and it was *Resolved*, That all Book-sellers and others, should be commanded not to sell or keep by them any Copies of the said Books, which have hitherto been printed; and it was *Ordered*, That they should be brought forth with into the Greffe of the said Court there to be suppressed; with very express Prohibitions to all Persons to Reprint that Book in any manner whatsoever for the time to come, without the Advice and Consent of the Arch-bishop of *Paris*. So far the printed Extract out of the Register of the Parliament of *Paris*.

If we may judge of all those things which *M. Du Pin* has retracted or mollified by that Specimen in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans*, the Proceedings against him have been spiteful and malicious, rather to satisfy those particular Persons who are concerned to see his Credit lessened, than because he really deserv'd so rough a Treatment. He acknowledges, for instance, That the Title of *Mother of God*, given to the blessed Virgin, is not only an innocent Expression, but was always consecrated to her, and ought to be us'd; That when he said, That there are no positive Authorities for Purgatory in the Writings of the Fathers of the 3 first Centuries, he express'd himself too generally; That when he says, That *S. Cyprian* was the first that spoke very clearly of the necessity of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, he did not pretend to say, That the Fathers did not speak clearly concerning it, before him; That when he said, That General Councils called about Matters of Faith, have seldom given Peace to the Church, he did not mean, That Councils do not bring Peace, or that they ever take the wrong side: There are all the Doctrinal Retractions which the Author of the above-mentioned Extract has taken notice of; and then adds, *That his Explications are often very much forced*.

It is evident enough, from this short Specimen, That his Accusers had no Inclination to spare him, but would make him smart for all that Liberty with which he made his Abridgments, and pass'd his Censures upon the Writings of the ancientest Fathers of the Church. In Justice, they ought also to have proceeded against those Doctors of the *Sarkonne* who gave the Approbations, that are prefixed to the several Volumes, wherein they commend the Faithfulness and Judiciousness of his Extracts, and propos'd his Work as extremely useful to all sorts of Men: These Doctors certainly knew very well what they did; they knew what use Protestants would make of this Work and of their Approbations; yet this did not, it seems, deter

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ter them from giving such Characters as no Man could give who was not himself in earnest, or at least would have others believe him to be so: Accordingly the first Volume, against which there has been the greatest Clamour, was not animadverted upon for near six Years.

It appears by the Order of the Parliament, That that Court acted only *ex Officio*, and that that Illustrious Body has a great value for *M. Du Pin*. Otherwife the *Gens de Roy* would not have made such Excuses for a Man, upon whose Writings they are then passing Censure; but the Pope's Nuncio is at present too great a Man to be deny'd satisfaction, when he may be gratified with so small a Sacrifice; and it is probable, That the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, who went along with his Master in the greatest Oppositions which he made to Pope *Innocent XI.* was willing to embrace this Opportunity to shew the Pope how zealously he is concerned for the Interests of the See of *Rome*; especially, when he can gratify a private Revenge at the same time.

In the Second Edition of the First Volume of *M. Du Pin's Bibliotheca*, when he gives an Account of the Condemnation of *Paulus Samosatensis* by the Council of *Antioch*, he has this Expression, "*Enfin apres l'avoir accuse de tous les Vices Ordinaires aux Eveques des grands Sieges, ils disent qu'ils l'ont condamne principalement a Paris qu'il renouvelloit l'Erreur d'Artemas.*" In short, after they have accus'd him of all these Vices that are ordinary in Bishops of great Sees, they say they condemn'd him, principally at *Paris*, because he revived the Error of *Artemas*. These Words, at *Paris*, make the latter part of the Period non-sense; and could signify nothing to the Author's Purpose if they had been Sense: it should be read, *principalement parce qu'il renouvelloit; principalement because he revived*: And so it is in the English (edit. 1. p. 193. edit. 2. p. 173.) This unfortunate Erratum coming just after a very severe Character of *Paulus Samosatensis*, out of *Eusebius*, put every body upon making a Parallel between this Ancient Bishop of *Antioch* and the present Archbishop of *Paris*: And if the Reports that are spread against this Archbishop are true, the Comparison was too just to be overlooked; and it is said at *Paris*, that this Sentence, thus faultily printed in the second Edition, did *M. Du Pin* a great deal of Mischief.

A Censure thus carried on, will be so little to our Author's Disadvantage, that few Persons will think the worse of this Book upon that account; it is his Misfortune that he lives in a Country where he had no other way to save his Liberty, and perhaps his Life, but by yielding to the Storm: And, according to the Principles of his Religion, he was bound to submit to his Diocesan. But this will lessen the Authority of any Books that *M. du Pin* may hereafter print upon Ecclesiastical Matters, because Fear of giving Offence will make him extremely cautious, and he will dread a severe Inquisition that may set upon every thing which he shall write.

Those who are unacquainted with Antiquity will be hereby further confirm'd in their Opinion, of the Impartiality of our Author, in his Abridgment of the Writings of these Ancient Doctors of the Church, when they see how severely he has been dealt withal upon that account: Otherwise it is very probable that some might think him too favourable in his Accounts of Monks, Invocation of Saints and some other Superstitions which arose very early, and which were a means of introducing, in a course of Ages, such enormous Abuses into the Church; but tho' some Errors have a more ancient Original than is commonly believed, yet that ought not to be wonder'd at by any Man, who believes that the Church was never infallible since the Apostles' Days. Still, as we read downwards, we shall see how that Primitive Simplicity, which adorn'd the Profession of the first Christians, who were almost always under Fear of Persecution, lessened and wore away. Those who were sensible of the decay of the Primitive Zeal, sought to retrieve it by placing great Merit in the practice of monastical Austerities, whereby they hoped to obtain that Reward which was believ'd to be peculiarly reserved for those who laid down their Lives for the Name of Christ: This put them upon all those Opinions that tended to mortify, not only forbidden Lusts, but also the allowed Appetites of Human Nature, which the Christian Religion intended to regulate, and not to remove. And when those who could not be Martyrs, saw what Honours were paid to those who had formerly suffered for the Truth, *raised*

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raised in them an Emulation to do something for the sake of Jesus Christ, that should be more disagreeable to Flesh and Blood than Death itself. This, I believe, is the most probable Reason of that great Ardour wherewith so very many Persons bound themselves under Vows to embrace a Monastical Life, in the fourth and fifth Ages of the Church. The first Monks were some *Egyptians*, who in the tenth Persecution fled into the Deserts of *Thebais*; there they accustomed themselves to Retirement, and Life taught them to relish the Satisfaction of a Contemplative state: When the Storm was over, they returned home, and easily persuaded others, who had then, as they thought, no other way of shewing their Zeal for Jesus Christ, to embrace this austere Course of Life. In such warm Climates this was not so extraordinarily difficult: Those Eastern People could live upon a very little, better than other Men; so that the terrible Mortifications, mentioned in the oldest Aetical Books, were not so impracticable, as we, at this Distance of Place and Time may be apt to think them. The Monk in *Sulpicius Severus*, who heard *Posthumianus* give an account of the Abstinences of the Eastern Monks, cries out, *Edacitas in Gracis Gula est, in Gallis natura. Excessive Eating is Luxury in a Greek, it is Nature in a Gaul*: And though one can hardly believe all that *Posthumianus* there relates, of the Abstinence of the Monks of *Nivria* and *Cyrene*, yet it is most certain that they put a mighty Force upon Nature, such a one as nothing but the modern Practices of some of the *Mahometan* Dervises could make us believe to be possible.

But though the Honours paid to Martyrs, which gave Rise to an Opinion, That they could intercede for us in Heaven, or at least hear our Prayers, together with the Love which most Men then shewed for a single and a retired Life, may seem too excessive, yet the Opinions and Practices of these Ages were, generally speaking, very venerable. One sees a great and a serious concern for the Truths of the Gospel in almost all their Writings; one sees a sincere Respect paid by Men of all Parties, to the Censures of the Church, and to the Persons of those with whom they were entrusted. They always distinguished between the Faults of Men and their Character and Employment, and when they punished the one, they took care not to cast a Disrespect upon the other; by which means they preserved a real Veneration for Holy Things in their Minds, though their Divisions run as high, and were as eagerly managed as ever they have been since. This is not the only Age wherein Men have met with Temptations, and have shewn their Frailty, by being too weak to withstand them; so that an Acquaintance with the Opinions and Practices of these earlier Ages, before a general Corruption had infected the Church, will be of great Use to such as value Religion and Godliness for their own sakes, when it suggests such Thoughts as can only be effectual to restore that Sense of Piety and Charity which is so generally lost among us.

July 25,
1693.

W. W.

E R R A T A.

Page 96. line 10. from bottom. read 140th, *ibid.* l. ult. r. that *Hofhabna*, p. 97. l. 22. r. against *Jovinian*, p. 99. l. 3. r. altered in H, p. 100. l. 15. from bot. for speaking. r. when he speaks, p. 112. l. 12. r. published *five*, *ibid.* l. 25. for *Sons of Men*, r. *Sons of God*, p. 192. l. 6. from bot. del. being, p. 204. l. ult. for *year*, r. *yet*, p. 206. l. 5. r. working by Love, *ibid.* l. 18. from bot. for *suspicious*, r. *suspected*, l. ult. r. *Opinator*, p. 208. l. 28. r. *Zozimus's*, l. 29. r. for their making default, p. 215. l. 16. r. he maintains, p. 217. l. 2. r. This Practice is forbidden in very strong Terms, and upon, p. 222. l. 20. for *retrai*, r. *re-examine*, p. 226. l. 16. for *Parents*, r. *Relations*.

Proper Names mistaken.

Rufinus for *Rufinus*, *Zosimus* for *Zozimus*, *Province of Byzacena* for *Provincia Byzacena*, *passim*, *S. Maurus*, (p. 106.) for *S. Maurus*, *Lodeve* (p. 210.) for *Lodeve*.

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BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM:

OR, A

NEW HISTORY
OF
Ecclesiastical Writers.

TOME III. PART I.

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS
of the *Primitive FATHERS*, that Flourished in the Beginning of the *Fifth Century of Christianity*, with *Censures* upon all their *BOOKS*, determining which are *Genuine*, and which *Spurious*.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS.

E *Evagrius Ponticus*, a Disciple of the *Macarii* (not *Evagrius of Antioch*, mentioned in the Second Volume, nor *Evagrius Scholasticus*) was ordained Deacon of *Constantinople* by *Evagrius S. Gregory Nazianzen*. He Sided with the Defenders of *Origen*, and left *Constantinople*; but returned thither in the Year 379, to meet *Melanius*, and there took upon him the Habit of a Monk. From thence he retired into the Solitudes of *Nitria*, where he spent the rest of his Life untill about the Year 406. *Socrates* affirms that he wrote very useful Books: "One, faith he, is intituled, *The Monk*, or, Of an Active Life; the Other, *The Gnostic's stick*, i. e. Of a Contemplative Life, or for Enlightened Men. This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. The Third is intituled *Antirrheticus*, which is a Collection of Passages out of Scripture against the Temptations of the Devil; divided into eight Parts, according to eight Sorts of Thoughts. He wrote, besides Six hundred *Gnostic Problems*, Two Books of Sentences: "Whereof one is Addressed to the *Canobites*, and the other to a Virgin. Whoever reads those Books, will easily see their Worth, and find them to be worthy of admiration. *Palladius*, *Evagrius's* Disciple, in the 86th Chapter of his *Monastick History*, speaks much in his Commendation, and observes that his Writings were either Books of Piety, or Monastick, or Polemical Books; and this agrees with what *Socrates* said before. *S. Jerom* in his Second Book against *Pelagius*, says, That he wrote to Virgins, to Monks, and to *Melanius*, and that he composed a Treatise of *Apathy*, i. e. Of freedom from Passion; and that the Books of this Author were known in the West as well as in the East, because some of them had been Translated by *Rufinus* his Disciple. *Gennadius* mentions this Author in his Catalogue of *Ecclesiastical Writers*; and says, That he had Translated into Latin *Evagrius's* Treatise against the Eight principal Temptations, One hundred Sentences for the *Anchorets*, Fifty for learned Men, and some other Sentences that were something obscure: He speaks also of certain Rules dedicated to the Monks and Nuns. There is a Book commonly ascribed to this Author, intituled, *The Lives of the Fathers*; and some have believed that *Gennadius* said so: but they misunderstood him; for he doth not say that *Evagrius* was the Author of those Lives, but that the Book intituled, *The Lives of the Fathers*, did make mention of *Evagrius* as a learned and pious Man: and accordingly we find in the 27th Chapter of the Second Book of those Lives, that *Evagrius* is mentioned, and his Learning and Piety are commended; whereas it is not likely that *Evagrius* would have commended himself.

We have some Fragments of this Author's Works, and several of his Sentences in the Code of the *Novissima Regum*, in the *Legatione* and *Apophoreti* of the *Emperors*, in the *Menck Treasure*, published by *Pagius* and particularly amongst the Works of *S. Nilus*, where there are several of *Evagrius*'s Writings; whether *S. Nilus* quoted them, or whether it happened by the Additions of Transcribers, is uncertain. *Socrates*, Chap. 7. of the Third Book of his History, cites a passage of *Evagrius*, taken out of his *Gnolical Treatise*, where it is said, That it is impossible to define the Divinity, and to expound the Trinity. The same Author afterwards cites two passages of *Evagrius* in the 2d. Chapter of the 4th. Book of his History; whereof one is taken out of the Gnolical Book, and the other out of the Practical Book. *Maximus*, *S. John Damascene* and *Anthony*, quote many Sentences of this Author, which are found amongst the Works of *S. Nilus*.

Cotelerius in the Third Volume of his *Monuments of the Greek Church*, Page 68, &c. hath given us part both of the Gnolical and of the Practical Books of *Evagrius*, which he took out of two Greek Manuscripts, and out of Authors who quoted those Discourses. They begin with a Letter to *Anatolius*, which is as a Preface to the whole Work of the two Books: This Preface is followed by 71 Chapters or Sentences drawn from the Gnolical Book, which are written without Order, and confounded one with another: There is more Order in the 100 Chapters drawn from the Practical Book. The following Treatise contains eleven Instructions for the Monks. And this is what *Cotelerius* could find of the Works of *Evagrius*.

His Antirhetorical Treatise, or of the Eight Evil Thoughts, is equally imperfect, as we have it: For that which *Bigenius* hath given in Greek, the Translation whereof was found in *S. John Damascene*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, before the Book of *S. Nilus* of the Eight Vices, is not the Intire Treatise of *Evagrius*, but only an Epitome containing the Titles, and the Summ of those Eight Chapters, as *Bigenius* judiciously observes, and may be proved by the Testimony of *Socrates*; who assures us, That that Book of *Evagrius* contained several passages of Scripture, whereas there is not one in this.

Some also ascribe to *Evagrius* the History of an Hermite called *Paton*, related in *Palladius*, Chap. 29. and to be found amongst the Works of *S. Nilus*, published by *Suarez* at Rome, who observes that this Treatise was ascribed to *Evagrius* in his Manuscript, as well as the following, which is a Dogmatical Letter concerning the Trinity; the Author whereof refutes the Errors both of the *Arians* and *Macedonians*. This Letter belongs to *Evagrius*, who writ it while he was at *Constantinople* with *S. Gregory Nazianzen*.

It is very probable also, that the Sentences or Maxims which are from Page 543, to 575, of the Writings attributed to *S. Nilus*, are written by *Evagrius*, as *Helladius* confesses, upon the Authority of Manuscripts. The Greek Manuscripts have quoted some of them under his Name, and they have great relation to those which *Gennadius* speaks of. To these must be added those which we find under the Name of *Evagrius*, at the latter end of the First Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in Greek and Latin, of the Year 1624; and a final Treatise of the Names of God, which is very obscure, published by *Cotelerius* in the Second Volume of his *Monuments of the Greek Church*, p. 116.

MARK.

Mark.

MARK the Hermite, of whom we are to speak in this place, lived about the end of the Fourth Century; *Palladius* and *Sozomen* speak of him as of a very holy Man. He composed some Aferical Treatises, which have been attributed by *Bellarmino* and some others to one *Mark*, who lived under *Leo* the Emperour, in the Ninth Century: But *Photius* having made a very exact Extract of those Treatises, it is impossible they should be of a Man that lived since him; And therefore they must be ascribed to that *Mark* who lived about the latter end of the Fourth Century. This is what he saith of it in the Two hundredth Volume. "I have read Eight Books of *Mark* the Monk, whereof the First is intituled, *Of the Spiritual Life*; it may be profitable to those who have undertaken to lead a Religious life, i. e. to be Monks as well as the following; in which he shews, That they are deceived who think to be justified by their Works; shewing, that this is a very dangerous Opinion. He adds to this Instruction wholesome Precepts, that lead to a Spiritual life. The Third Book is of *Repentance*; his design here is to shew, that this Virtue is of use at all times. This Book aims at the same end as the foregoing, and the same use may be made of it. His Style is clear enough, because he makes use of common terms, and speaks of things in general; but he wants the smoothness of *Old Adam*. If there be some darkness, it does not proceed from the terms he useth, but from the things he treateth of; which are of such a nature, that it is easier to comprehend them by practice than by discoursing. Wherefore you shall find the same obscurity not only in the Books now mentioned, but also in those that follow, and in all the Books of those that have written of the Monastick life, and have discoursed of the Motions and Passions of the Soul, as well as of the Actions which they produce; it being impossible to teach with Words those things that depend upon practice. The Fourth Book, by way of Questions and Answers, shews, That by Baptism we have received not only the Pardon and Remission of our Sins, but also

Mark.

the Grace of the Holy Spirit; and many other Spiritual gifts. The Fifth is a kind of Conference of the Spirit with the Soul: whereby he proves, That we ourselves are Authors of our Sins, and that we ought to accuse no body else upon that account. The Sixth is in the form of a Dialogue between *Mark* and an Advocate, who discourse of these following Subjects: That none is to seek revenge for an injury received, because the wrong we suffer is to be looked upon as a punishment for our Sins; he adds, that it is difficult to please Men, and that Prayer is to be preferred before any other labour. He concludes, by explaining wherein the Desires of the Flesh consist. He treats of Falling in the Seventh Book, that is not written by way of Dialogue. The Eighth is directed to a Monk called *Nicolas*, treating of the ways of appeasing of Anger, and of quenching of Lust. There is also a Ninth Book against the *Melchisedechians*, wherein he speaketh not his own Father who had been tainted with that Heresie. Those that would read useful Books, will not lose their time in reading of this. The Order of these Books is not the same in all Copies; In some those are found last which we have named first. This Observation of *Photius* is verified by the Latin Edition of these Eight Books, which were published by *Johannes Picus*, President of the Inquests in the Parliament of *Paris*, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. The Four first are there in *Phorinus*'s order; but the Fifth in his order is the last there; the Sixth is the last but one; and the Book concerning Falling is immediately after that dedicated to *Nicolas* the Monk. That against the *Melchisedechians* is lost. This Author attributed much to the Faith and Grace of Jesus Christ, and very little to the good Works and free Actions of Men, differing therein from most of the Aferical Writers. He likewise ascribeth much to the virtue and efficacy of Baptism; and pretends, that it delivers us not only from Death, but also from Lust; and puts us in a condition of doing either good or evil: So that they who have received Baptism are as free either to good or evil as the first Man was. His Opinion is, That a perfect Christian is free from Temptations and from Passions; and maintains, that many of the Gospel-admonitions have the nature of Precepts; An ordinary excess of spiritual Men. In short, it cannot be denied that among many true Maxims, there may be some stretched, and contrary to Truth and right Reason: which is but too common in the most part of Books of a Spiritual Life, both Ancient and Modern. The Original Greek of these Homilies is not only among the MSS. of the King's Library, and in some others, as *Ordin* hath observed; but also in the First Volume of the Greek and Latin *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Printed at *Paris* 1624.

I say nothing of another *Mark*, a Deacon of *Gaza* in *Palestine*, who is reckoned to be the Author of the Acts of *S. Porphyrius* of *Gaza*, related by *Metaphrastes* and by *Sorinus*; because I resolved not to engage in writing any Account of the Acts of the Martyrs, being unwilling to launch into a Sea where it is difficult to avoid being often shipwreckt.

SIMPLICIANUS, Bishop of Milan.

SIMPLICIANUS, Bishop of Milan, Successor to *S. Ambrose*, exhorted *S. Austin* by his Letters to exercise his Parts, and apply himself to expound the Holy Scripture: So that he may be said to have been to *S. Austin*, what *Ambrose* was to *Origen*. We have several Expositions of hard places of Scripture which *S. Austin* dedicated to him. He also wrote a Letter, wherein he asked Questions, as if he had been to learn, and yet instructed by his questioning. This is what *Gennadius* observes of this Author. *S. Ambrose* writ several Letters to him; and we have two Letters of *S. Austin*, wherein he answered several Questions of *Simplicianus*, concerning some obscure Passages of the Holy Scripture. This Bishop held the See of Milan but a little while, for he died towards the latter end of the Year 400, or in the beginning of the Year 401.

Simplicianus Bishop of Milan.

VIGILIUS of Trent.

There were several of this Name (a). He that we speak of is the Bishop of Trent (b), who suffered Martyrdom under the Consulship of *Stilicho*, in the Year 400 or 405 of Jesus *Vigilius* of Trent, to whom *S. Ambrose* wrote a Letter, which is the 24th amongst his Letters. *Gennadius* of Trent.

(a) There were several of this Name. This is the ancientest. There was another of Africa, who writ upon the Revelations, mention'd by *Cassiodorus* in the 9th. Chap. of his Institutions. *Gennadius*, Chap. 51. speaketh of a Deacon called *Vigilius*, who wrote a Rule for the Monks. *Vigilius*, Bishop of *Tagus* in Africa, famous for his Writings against *Nestorius* and *Eusebius*, is a different Person from all these. There was one *Vigilius*, the Seventh Bishop of *Briscia* after *Philastrius*. One *Vigilius*, a Bishop subscribed in the Council of *Agatha* or *Ag-*

de. But these Names cannot be taken one for the other, without mistaking the Chronology and History.

(b) Bishop of Trent. It is certain that *Vigilius*, Bishop of Trent, lived at the latter end of the 4th. Century, because the 24th Letter of *S. Ambrose* is directed to him. *Vigilius* saith, that he suffered Martyrdom under the Consulship of *Stilicho*, who was Consul in 400 and 405. There is more probability that it was in 400, because in that very Year *Simplicianus* suffered Martyrdom.

firmeth,

Vigilius of Trent.

Armet, that this *Vigilius*, Bishop of *Trent*, wrote a Letter or small Book in commendation of Martyrs, dedicated to *Simplicianus*, which contained the Acts of those who suffered Martyrdom in his time by the Cruelty of the *Barbarians*. *Serius* mentions this Letter, *May* 23. And it is believed that that *Simplicianus*, to whom it is dedicated, is the Successor of *S. Ambrose* in the Church of *Milan* (c). There he gives an Account of the Martyrdom of *Sifinnius* and his Companions.

(c) *The belief is that that Simplicianus to whom it is dedicated, is the Successor to S. Ambrose in the Church of Milan.* This Conjecture of *Miræus* is indeed probable; this Letter is directed to one *Simplicianus* a Bishop. He of *Milan* lived at that time; and *Paulinus* observes in the Life of *S. Ambrose*, that the Reliques of *Sifinnius* were sent to *Milan*. It is true that *Gennadius* having spoken of *Simplicianus* as of an Author and Bishop known to him; and then,

speaking of *Vigilius* his Letter, he doth not say that it was directed to him, but only, *ad quemdam Simplicianum*, to one *Simplicianus*; which makes it doubtful, Whether it was to the Bishop of *Milan* that this Letter was directed. But perhaps *Gennadius* did not think upon it. However, *Vigilius*, Bishop of *Trent*, both lived and wrote at the same time that *Simplicianus* was Bishop of *Milan*.

PRUDENTIUS.

Prudentius.

*Q*uintus *Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* was born in *Saragossa*, a City of *Spain*, in the Year 348 (a); and being called to the Bar, was afterwards made a Judge in two considerable Towns, and then promoted by *Honorius* the Emperor to a very honourable Office. But at the Age of 57 Years, he resolved to mind the things of his Salvation, and to spend the rest of his life in composing of Hymns to the praise of God, and the honour of the Saints; with some Poems against the Pagan Religion, and touching the Duties of Christians. These particulars of his Life are set forth by himself in a Preface to one of his Poems. The Catalogue of his Poetical Works, to the most whereof he gave Greek Titles, is as follows:

Psychomachia, or *The Combat of the Soul*. There he describes in Hexameter Verse the Conflict of Virtue against Vice in a Christian; and particularly of Faith against Idolatry, of Chastity against Uncleanness, of Patience against Anger, of Humility against Pride, of Sobriety against Excess, of Liberality against Covetousness, and of Concord against Disension.

Cathemerinon, or Poems concerning each day's Duty; they contain several Odes or Songs about the most ordinary Exercises of Christianity: As for example; Prayers and giving of Thanks at lying down and rising up, before and after Meals, about Fasting, upon the Death of Kindred or Friends, of the Nativity of Christ, and upon the Epiphany.

After these Hymns come several others, entituled *Πνευματικῶν*, or of *Crowns*, because made in Commendation of Martyrs.

The following Poems regard several Points of the Christian Religion, and are therefore entituled *Apotheosis*, or Treatises upon the Divinity. In these he refuteth the Errors of the *Heathens*, of the *Jews*, *Sabellians*, *Arians*, and *Apollinarians*, and discourses of the Nature of the Soul, of Original Sin, and of the Resurrection.

Hamartigenia is a Treatise concerning the Original of Sin, against the Errors of *Marcion*.

The two Books against *Symmachus* oppose Idolatry. In the first is shewed the Original and Baseness of false Deities; and there is an Account of the Conversion of the City of *Rome*. In the second Petition which *Symmachus* presented to the Emperors, to obtain the Re-establishment of the Altar of Victory, and of the Service of the Gods, with the Ceremonies of the Pagan Religion, is answered.

The last of *Prudentius* his Works is an Abridgment of some Histories of the Old and New Testament in Distichs. *Gennadius* speaks of a Book written by *Prudentius*, called *Ditrochæon*, i. e. *Double food*, wherein he had comprised the Historical Part both of the Old and New Testament according to the Person's names. This Book is very like that we now speak of, but only written in a looser Style, and far from the beauty of his other Works. And whereas *Prudentius* calls the *Ditrochæon* a considerable Book upon the Old and New Testament, this is a small one

(a) *In the Year 348.* He saith in the Preface to the *Cathemerinon*, that he was born under the Consulship of *Salus*; for so we are to read and understand that place.

*Optatum ceteris me Salus Consulvis arguens
Sub quo primâ dies mihi.*

Most Authors understood not the meaning of it; as, *Aldus*, *Strabo Senensis*, *Possidinius*, and even *Labbé*,

who believed that he was Consul in a City called *Messalia*, which is thought by *Labbé* to be *Marseilles*; That's a mistake: They took the Name of the Consul *Salus*, who was Consul with *Philippus* in the Year 348, for the Name of a Town; and so they ascribed to *Prudentius* the Consular Dignity that belonged to *Salus*, under whose Consulship *Prudentius* came into the World. In the same place he says that he was 57 Years old when he began to write, which shews that it was in the Year 405.

upon

of the Fifth Century of Christianity.

Prudentius.

upon some places only; which makes me think that it is simply an Epitome of *Prudentius*'s whole Work (b).

However, *Gennadius* says, that *Prudentius* wrote a Commentary upon the *Hexameron* as far as to the Creation and Fall of the First Man: But that Book is lost.

Prudentius is no very good Poet, he often useth harsh Expressions not reconcilable to the Purity of *Augustine*'s Age.

Prudentius's Works were printed and published at *Rome*, by *Aldus Manutius*, in the Year 1501, in *Quarto*. This Edition was followed by those of *Germany*, and others which are conformable to them; where are added *Erasmus*'s Notes upon the Hymns upon *Christmas*, and the Epiphany, and those of *Sichardus* upon the *Psychomachia*. The Edition of *Antwerp* of 1540. in *Octavo*, contains the Annotations of *Antonius Nebrissenfis* and *Sichardus*. That of 1564. was made after the Notes and Corrections of *Putmannus*, *Graffenbergius*, and *Victor Giselinus*, who added his own Commentaries. Most of the late Editions, which are numerous, have been made after that. In 1613, *Prudentius* was printed at *Hanover* with *Weitzius*'s Notes; and in 1614. the two Books against *Symmachus* were printed at *Paris*, with the Commentaries of *Grangæus*: The last Edition of *Prudentius* was at *Amsterdam*, in 1667, in *Twelves*, with the Notes and Corrections of *Nicolaus Heinsius*.

(b) *Prudentius his whole Work.* This Abridgement is ascribed by some to *Amennus*; and *Gorgius Fabricius* observeth, that it goes under his Name in a Manuscript belonging to one of *Strasbourg*. It is also printed under this same Name in some Editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. In all the Manuscripts, *Prudentius* is said to be the Author of it;

and *Aldus* says, that he saw an Ancient one where the Title of it was *Ditrochæon*, or *Dyrochæon*: But it is not to be wonder'd at, if the Abridgement of *Prudentius*'s Works made by one *Amennus*, should be taken for the very Work of *Prudentius*, and perhaps this is the Cause of its being lost.

DIADOCHUS.

IT is well known that *Diadochus* was Bishop of *Photice*, a City of *Epirus*, but the time wherein he lived is not known. *Bellarmine* and others that mention him, place him at the End of the Fourth Century, but without proof. However he is antecedent than *Maximus*, who quotes him in his Answers to *Thalassius*. *Photius* in the 201 Volume saith, That he had read a Book of that Bishop, which contained Ten Definitions and One Hundred Chapters, and observeth that this Book is useful for those who design to live a Spiritual Life. The Ten Definitions prefixed before the Hundred Chapters are not extant: These (as we learn by the Titles which *Photius* hath preserved of them) were properly Reflections upon the principal Perfections of a Spiritual Life. The hundred Chapters of the Spiritual Life were published by *Tyrannius*; they contain several Maxims concerning a Religious and Spiritual Life; they are written in a plain Style, as most Affectual Treatises are. There are several false Thoughts, and such spiritual Notions, as will not be relished by every Body.

[*Spiritual Style is to be understood of those extraordinary Exercises and Mortifications, which the old Monks and Hermits obliged themselves to observe, over and above the ordinary Duties of the Christian Life, that every Christian was by his Profession, made at his Baptism, bound to practise.*]

AUDENTIUS.

What *Gennadius* observeth of this Author, whom he mentions immediately after *Prudentius*, is this: "*Audentius* a Spanish Bishop wrote a Book against the *Manichees*, *Arians*, and *Sabellians*, and chiefly against the *Phorinians*, who are now called *Bomafacks*; he intrusted this Book, *A Treatise of Faith against all Hereticks*. He there shews, that the Son of God is co-eternal with the Father, and that he did not begin to be God when he made himself Man, and that he was born of the Virgin *Mary*."

Audentius.

SEVERUS ENDELECHIUS.

WE have a Bucolic, or Pastoral Poem, of one *Severus Endelechius*, about the End whereof there is a Discourse of the Efficacy of the Sign of the Cross, and of the Christian Religion, to the embracing of which *Titus* exhorts his Companion. This Author lived since *Constance*, but the time is not known. His Poem is pretty well writ: It is likely he lived about the End of the Fourth, or the beginning of the Fifth Century.

Severus Endelechius.

FLAVIANUS.

FLAVIANUS Presbyter of *Antioch*, having governed that Church during the *Arian* Persecutions, in the Absence of *Meletius* his Bishop, was after his Death in the Year 380, chosen by the oriental Bishops to fill that See, which was not to be looked upon as vacant, since *Paulinus*, Collegue to *Meletius*, was yet alive. This Ordination renewed the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*. The Western Bishops, who of a long time favoured *Paulinus*, could not endure that a Bishop should be ordained while he lived, against the Agreement made with *Meletius*; That the Survivor should remain sole Bishop. They complained loudly of that Injustice; but those who sided with *Meletius* being the Major part, would not suffer *Paulinus*, and so nothing was enacted against *Flavianus*. The Death of *Pastinus* in the Year 389, did not put an End to the Division of the Church of *Antioch*; his Party acknowledged *Evagrius* for their Bishop, whom *Paulinus* ordained before his Death, and accused *Flavianus* before *Theodosius*. This Emperor commanded him to go to *Rome*, there to be judged: But *Flavianus* excused himself because of the Winter, promising to execute the Emperor's Orders in the Spring following. But the Synod of *Capua* in the Year 390, remitted this Business to *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt*. The Emperor commanded *Flavianus* to repair to *Alexandria*, which he refused to do, and answered the Emperor, That if they found fault with his Doctrine he was willing to be judged even by his Enemies; but if the Question was about his Bishoprick, he would not dispute the matter but readily quit it. The Emperor admiring his Constancy, sent him back to *Antioch*, and suffered him to live quietly: His resolution provoked *St. Ambrose*, and the Western Bishops: But *Theophilus* endeavoured to appease that Quarrel by a milder way than a determinate Sentence: *Evagrius* being dead, no other Bishop was ordained in his room, and there were but few Christians at *Antioch*, who owned not *Flavianus* for their Bishop. But he did not communicate with the Western Bishops before the Year 398, when *S. Chrysostom* undertook to make his Peace with *Anastasi* Bishop of *Rome*, and with the Western Bishops. And thus was *Flavianus* acknowledged by all as the lawful Bishop of *Antioch*, and ended his Days in peace, in the Year 404. *S. Chrysostom* often commends him in his Sermons. He describes his Journey to the Emperor's Court, to get a Pardon for the People of *Antioch*; and tells the particulars of the Speech he made. *Theodoret* also speaks much of his Advantage, and observeth, l. 4. of his History, c. 25. that *Diodorus* and he maintain'd the Faith of the Church against the Assaults of the *Arians*. He adds, that *Flavianus* did not then preach, but furnished *Diodorus* with Notions and Arguments from Scripture to use in his Sermons; but when he was Bishop of *Antioch* he preached himself. *Theodoret* in his Dialogues quotes some places of this Father's Homilies touching the Incarnation; he quotes a Homily upon *S. John* Baptist, upon the *Theophany*, and a Homily upon *Judas*'s Treachery, a Homily upon *S. Luke*, and another upon these words. *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*. None of these Homilies, nor any other of the Works of this holy Bishop are extant, unless perhaps some of his Sermons are among those that are attributed to *S. Chrysostom*.

[*Phoebus* cod. 52. of his *Bibliotheca* speaks of a Letter written by *Flavianus* to the Bishops of *Osborne*, and of another to an *Armenian* Bishop.]

S. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

Saint JOHN, Sir-named **CHRYSOSTOM**, because of his Eloquence (a), was of *Antioch*; his Father's Name was **SECUNDUS**, and his Mother's **ANTHUSIA**. (a) *Sir-named Chrysostom &c.* It is not known when he was first called by that Name, so justly given him: Some say he had it in his Life-time, but neither *S. Jerom*, *S. Augustin*, nor *Theodoret*, nor any other among the Ancients, give him that Name, but call him only *John* of *Constantinople*. *Sozomen* observes, that *Antiochus* Bishop of *Polemais*, had this Name given him, but does not say, that it was common to him with our Saint. Many Authors have written his Life, but very few have done it faithfully. *Palladius* alone may be credited in this Case. *Bigenius* published the Original Greek of this Author, and with him may be joined *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, who have in their Ecclesiastical Histories, given an Account of several Circumstances of the Life of *St.*

Chrysostom. *Theodoret* made some Speeches in his Commendation, the Extracts whereof are preserved by *Phoebus*, in the 273 Volume. Little regard is to be had to the other Writers of his Life: for they have filled their Relations with Fables. The first of them is *George*, who is thought to have been Bishop of *Alexandria*. Some think that part of his Relation was taken out of *S. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, but that is not probable. This Author lived about the Year of Christ 600. After him *Leo* the Emperor, *Simeon Metaphrastes*, an Anonymous Author, *S. Jobn Damascene*, *Colman* Psalter, *John Eusebius*, the Patriarch *Philothous*, and *Mathew Camerota*, have written Lives and Panegyrics of our Saint; but very ill, and stuffed with many Fables.

S.A.(b).

of the Fifth Century of Christianity.

S.A.(b). He lost his Father when he was young (c), and his Mother took care to breed him up like a Christian. He learned Rhetoric under *Libanius*, and Philosophy under *Andragathius*, both very famous in their profession. He first designed to follow the Law (d), but soon altered his Mind, and became a Church-man. He left *Libanius* his School to study the Scriptures, and had for his Tutors *Diodorus* and *Carterius* Superiors of the Monks, that were in the Suburbs of *Antioch*. He was afterwards baptized by *Meletius*, and chosen by this Bishop to be Reader. He was so highly esteemed, that he was mark'd out by an Assembly of Prelates to be made Bishop, as well as *Basil* his Friend (e). But knowing the Day when they were to ordain him, he hid himself, avoiding that Dignity with as much Care, as others sought for it with earnestness. About the Year 374, he retired to a Mountain near *Antioch*, where he lived with only one old Monk the Space of four Years; then he chose to dwell in a Cave for two Years, after an austere manner. The severity of a solitary Life, and continual Labour did much impair *S. Chrysostom*'s health, which obliged him to return to *Antioch*, about the Year 380. There the great *Meletius* ordained him a Deacon, and soon after he went to the Council of *Constantinople*, where he died. After his Death *S. Chrysostom* sided with *Flavianus*, who made him Priest, and having received that Order he gave himself wholly to preaching, and therein got such reputation, that after the Death of *Neftarius* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, he was with general Consent chosen to fill up that See. The Emperor was obliged to use all his Authority to make him leave *Antioch*, and at last he was forced to take him away secretly. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, whom the Emperor had sent for to ordain *S. Chrysostom*, had more inclination for one *Isidorus* a Presbyter; wherefore he secretly oppos'd the Ordination of *S. Chrysostom*. But *Eutropius* and other Officers of the Court upheld *S. Chrysostom* so far, that *Eutropius* (to oblige *Theophilus* to ordain him) shewed him a Memorial containing several Heads of an Accusation formed against him, and put it to his choice, whether he would ordain *S. Chrysostom*, or prepare himself for his Trial upon those Accusations. *Theophilus* chose the former, and ordained *S. Chrysostom* the first Day of *March* 398. This was the beginning of that hatred, which *Theophilus* bore to *S. Chrysostom*, and which proceeded further than can well be believed, as we shall see afterwards.

S. Chrysostom being entr'd upon the Government of the Church of *Constantinople*, began with endeavouring to reform the manners of the Clergy, and then fell to repressing the Vices of the Court; and this got him the ill-will of many, for he was of a severe Temper not agreeable to men of the World; and his way of living was singular and retired. They found fault, that he always eat by himself, and would never appear at those Feasts where he was invited, which they looked upon as proceeding from Scorn and Contempt of others, though it was only an Effect of his Constitution and Weakness of Stomach, or of his great Sobriety. He discharged the Duties of his Office with wonderful Exactness and Care, knowing that the Revenue of the Church is the Patrimony of the Poor; he cut off the superfluous Expences of his Predecessors, to increase the Allowances of Hospitals for the Sick. And the Hospital at *Constantinople* not being large enough, by reason of the great Number of Sick and Strangers, he caused several others to be built, and for each of them he appointed two Priests to take care of the Sick and Strangers.

(b) His Mother's Anthusa.] There was another *John*, Son of *Publia*, mentioned by *Theodoret* in his History, l. 3. c. 19. for in the first place all Historians assure us, that *S. John Chrysostom*'s Mother was called *Anthusa*; as *Palladius* in his Life, c. 5. *Socrates* in his History, l. 6. c. 3. Secondly, *Publia* was an old Woman in the Time of *Julian* the Emperor, in the Year 362. according to *Theodoret*, and *S. Chrysostom*'s Mother, was alive in 404, as appears by his own Letters, the 238th, and 239th, and she was but 40 Years of Age in the Year 368. In short, *John* the Son of *Publia* was an only Child; whereas *S. Chrysostom* had a Sister older than himself, to whom he writ his 238th Letter.

(c) He lost his Father when he was young.] *St. Chrysostom* says it in his first Book of *Priesthood*, c. 1. Some have affirmed that his Parents were Pagans, but he lays himself in the first Homily against the *idolaters*, that he was bred and brought up in the Church, and it is clear by the place we have quoted out of his Book of the *Priesthood*, that his Mother was a Christian when his Father died, which was soon after he was born.

(d) He first designed to follow the Law.] Some say, that he was called to the Bar, but *Palladius*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, only say, that when he was fit for it he quitted it. There is a Letter of *Libanius* to one *John* to congratulate him for a publick

Pleading, wherein he had spoken much to the Praise of the Emperor and of his Children. But this *John* is not our *S. John Chrysostom*, who was then a Priest: For this was the Emperor *Theodosius*, who left the Empire to his Sons about the Year 393. *S. Chrysostom* indeed confesseth in his first Book of the *Priesthood*, that he did follow the Bar, but does not mention his Pleading. Such was his Eloquence, that *Libanius* at his Death said, that he alone was worthy to succeed him, if the Christians had not snatched him away.

(e) Basil his Friend.] It is not certainly known who this *Basil* was, nor Bishop of what place; but it is certain, that he was not the great *S. Basil*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, have improperly confounded them; for *Basil Chrysostom*'s Friend was of his own Age, and instructed by the same Masters, as appears by the beginning of *S. Chrysostom*'s Book of the *Priesthood*, whereas *S. Basil* was much older, and was Bishop of the Church of *Cæsarea*, before *St. Chrysostom* was 25 Years old: *Phoebus* tells us, that *Basil* *S. Chrysostom*'s Friend, was *Basil* of *Seleucia*. This is yet a greater mistake, because this latter was not ordained Bishop before the Year 431, and he lived till 458. *Basil* *S. Chrysostom*'s Companion, was rather Bishop of *Raphanie*, or another of the same Name Bishop of *Bithynia*, whose Names are found in the Subscriptions of the Council of *Constantinople*.

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S. John
Chryso-
stom.

gets. He particularly provided for Virgins and Widows. He constantly preached to the People, exhorting them not to neglect the publick Service. And he is said, first to have instituted solemn Processions in *Constantinople*.

But his Pastoral care was not restrained to his particular Church, but extended it self also to the Churches of *Thracia*, *Pontus*, and *Asia*. He pulled down some Temples of false Deities that were still in *Phoenicia*. To the *Goths* that were infected with *Arianism*, he sent Priests, Deacons and Readers that spake their Language, thereby to endeavour the Conversion of that People from their Error: He also sent Missionaries to the *Scythians* that inhabited along the *Danube*. He wrote to the Bishop of *Tyre* against the *Marionites* of those parts, offering him the Emperor's help: But he never did the Church a more signal Service, than when he re-united the East and West, by reconciling *Flavianus* with the Western and Egyptian Bishops.

He assembled at *Constantinople* a Synod of Two and twenty Bishops about September in the Year 400. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Valentinople* in *Asia*, came to it, and presented to the Council a Petition containing Seven Articles against *Antoninus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, the Metropolitan of *Asia*. He was accused, First, Of Melting the holy Vessels, and converting them into Money, which he bestowed upon his Son. 2dly. That he had taken a Marble Stone from the entrance of the Baptistry, to use in his own Bath. 3dly. That the Pillars which remained after the Building of the Church were used to support the Roof of his own Hall. 4thly. That he kept a Servant who was guilty of Man-slaughter. 5thly. That he had sold the Lands, which were left to the Church by *Basilina*, Mother to *Julian* the Emperor, as if they had belonged to his own Estate. 6thly. That he had again taken his Wife, whom he had put away, and had two Children by her. 7thly. That a Custom was introduced by him, so as to become almost a Law, to take Money for the Ordination of Bishops, proportionably to the value of their Bishopricks. *Antoninus* appeared at the Council that was called by *S. Chrysostom*, where these Accusations were brought against him by *Eusebius*. They insisted particularly upon the last, as being the most important. *Antoninus* denied all; and could not be convicted, because there were no Witnesses; Wherefore the Council deputed three Bishops to go into *Asia*, and hear the Witnesses that were to be produced by the Accuser. One of these three Bishops being *Antoninus* his friend, feigned himself sick, that he might not inform against his friend. The two others went to *Hypape*, a City in *Asia*, where they waited to no purpose for Witnesses, because the Accuser was agreed with the accused, either through fear of his Power, or because he had no sufficient Proofs. The Deputies, weary of waiting, went away, having written a Letter, in which they Excommunicated *Eusebius* as an Impostor for making default. Sometime after *Antoninus* died, and his Death caused new Troubles in the Churches of *Asia*. In this juncture of time the Clergy of *Ephesus* and the Bishops of that Province made application to *S. Chrysostom*, and prayed him to come into their Country, to establish some Order in the Church of *Ephesus*. He came thither in the end of Winter, of the Year 401, and assembled a Synod of Seventy Bishops, wherein Six Bishops were deposed, who were convicted of giving *Antoninus* Money for their Ordination. The Heirs of that Bishop were enjoined to return them the Money he had received: and they Ordained *Heracleides* a Deacon, Bishop of *Ephesus*. What concerned the Church of *Ephesus* being thus regulated, *S. Chrysostom* returned through *Nicomedia*, where he turned out *Gerontius*, who was formerly *S. Ambrose's* Deacon, but went to the East and was ordained Bishop of *Nicomedia*: He settled in his room *Paschasius*; and going on in his Journey, in every place, he took from the *Novatians* and *Quartodecimani* the Churches which they were in possession of.

While *S. Chrysostom* was doing these things in *Asia*, *Severinus*, Bishop of *Gabala*, a famous Preacher, (to whom, at his going away, he had committed the care of his Church) did all he could to get the applause both of the Nobility and People. This begot some jealousy in *S. Chrysostom*, who expelled him out of *Constantinople* after he returned; and this he did by the Solicitation of a Deacon of his, named *Serapion*. But the Emperess caused him to come again, having reconciled them, though with much difficulty.

This Reconciliation was followed by another quarrel with *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, an old enemy to *S. Chrysostom*. The Historians represent that Bishop as an ambitious Man, passionate, fierce, covetous, and cunning; who would never yield, but compass every thing he undertook; who easily provoked Men to be his Enemies, and sooner or later would undoe them: He was no friend to *S. Chrysostom*, because he was obliged to ordain him against his will: but the hatred he bore to him broke out upon the account of three Egyptian Monks, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, and *Eulymius*, Sir-named the *Long-brethren*. *Theophilus* was very angry with them, because they reproved his Conduct, and received *Isidore* that was become his enemy: He condemned them in a Synod of *Alexandria*, assembled in 399, because they would not subscribe the Condemnation of *Origen*. After this Condemnation he went himself with Soldiers to drive them away, with all the Monks that lived under their Rule. These poor Monks not knowing whither to go, because *Theophilus* persecuted them every-where, came to *Constantinople*, and represented to *S. John*, the Violences of their Bishop, beseeching him to have compassion on them. *S. Chrysostom* gave them leave to say their Prayers in a Church he assigned for them, but did not admit them to the Communion of the Eucharist. He only writ to *Theophilus* to re-establish them. On the contrary, *Theophilus* sent Men to *Constantinople*, who delivered to the Emperor a form of Accusation against these Monks; who in their own defence, accused their Bishop also. *S. John*

Chrysostom

Chrysostom gave *Theophilus* notice of it, who answered him fiercely: That he ought to have known, that by the Canons of the Council of Nice, a Bishop is forbidden to judge of Causes that are out of the limits of his own Jurisdiction: That he had no right to receive Accusations against him; and that if he must be judged, the Judgment belong'd to the Bishops of Egypt, and not to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. *S. Chrysostom* having received this Letter, exhorted both the one and the other to Peace; but neither were disposed towards it. The Monks accused by *Theophilus*, and some of their Brethren, perfwaded of their innocence, continually Petition'd the Emperor; who yielding to their Supplications, at last appointed Judges; who after examination of the Accusations against the *Long-brethren*, found them to be Calumnies, and so gave Judgment against some of the Monks that were the Authors of them. All this happened in the Year 401.

In the Year 402, *S. Epiphanius*, Bishop in *Cyprus*, (who held with *Theophilus*, because he was a great enemy to *Origen*) came to *Constantinople*. *S. Chrysostom* invited him to take a lodging in his House; but *Epiphanius*, pre-engaged by *Theophilus*, writing to him, gave him this answer: That he was so far from lodging in his House, he would not so much as enter into it, nor joyn in the publick Prayers whilst he was there, unless *S. Chrysostom* first banish'd the *Long-brethren*, and condemn'd *Origen*. *S. John* having refused to doe it, *S. Epiphanius* designed to go himself into the Apostles Church on the Lord's-day, and there publicly condemn *Origen's* Books, and excommunicate the *Long-brethren* with their Adherents. But as he was going, he met with *Serapion* the Deacon, who told him from *S. Chrysostom*, that he undertook things against Order, and against the Canons: That he had ordained a Deacon out of his own Diocesis, and celebrated the Eucharist, without permission from the Ordinary; and that he was about a thing that was neither just nor reasonable, and dangerous for himself, for he had to doe with a populace which would soon be up; and that *S. Chrysostom* would not answer for what might happen. This discourse made *Epiphanius* withdraw, and desist from his enterprise. The *Long-brethren* after this went to him, and complained that he condemned them before hearing, and without conviction; they shewed, that they had not dealt so with him, having every-where defended both his Works and his Person. *Epiphanius* reflecting upon this Remonstrance, and considering what Troubles *Theophilus* had engaged him in, returned towards *Cyprus*. At his going away he told the Bishops, I leave you the Town, the Palace, and the Theater. He died before he got to his own Country.

After the departure of *S. Epiphanius*, *S. Chrysostom* made a Speech against the Disorders of Women: The Emperess *Eudoxia* supposing that it was meant of her, complained to the Emperor, and urged *Theophilus* to come to *Constantinople*. This Bishop, who waited for an opportunity to destroy *S. Chrysostom*, came immediately about the beginning of the Year 403, and brought with him several Egyptian Bishops. Those of *Asia* that were deposed by *S. Chrysostom*, or were not satisfied with his behaviour, repaired likewise to *Constantinople*. *Theophilus* had his Apartment in one of the Emperess's Houses; from whence he sent the Accusers of *John* to the Emperor, who commanded that both they and *Chrysostom* should appear before *Theophilus* his Synod, to be judged there. *S. Chrysostom* denied them to be his Judges; affirming, That it appertained to the Bishops of his, and of the adjacent Provinces, and not to Strangers, to take cognizance of that matter. Notwithstanding this reason, which *Theophilus* himself had alledged to avoid being judged by *S. Chrysostom*, he held a Synod of Six and Thirty Bishops, in the Suburbs of *Chalcedon*, to condemn *S. Chrysostom*. One *John* exhibited Nine and Twenty Articles against him.

S. Chrysostom was cited to the Synod to answer those Accusations, but he sent three Bishops and two Presbyters, who in his behalf declared to *Theophilus* and his Synod, That he was ready to submit to any that might be his Judges, but not to *Theophilus* his professed Enemy, nor to the Egyptian Bishops, who could not regularly judge the Bishops of *Thrace*. *S. Chrysostom* objected in writing, particularly against *Theophilus*; because when he came out of *Alexandria*, he said, I am going to depose *John*: Against *Acacius* of *Beraea*, because he threatened him long before: Against *Severianus* and *Antiochus*, because of the quarrels betwixt them, which were publick and notorious. He so much depended upon his innocence, that he promised to appear at the Synod, if these four Bishops would retire: They did not hearken to this Proposition, but cited him to the Synod three times. He answered still, That he would justify himself before a more numerous Synod; but he had reason to reject a Council, where his Enemies were to be his principal Judges. However, his Process was brought before the Council. *Theophilus* was present, and received the Memorials of Accusation which himself had made. One *Isaac* a Monk, whom *S. Chrysostom* had reproved, for going abroad oftener than Monks ought to doe, exhibited a Bill against him with Nine Articles: After examination of some of them, *Paul* of *Heraclea*, President of the Council, required the Bishops to give their Opinions: They all declared that *S. Chrysostom* ought to be deposed; and having delivered their Opinions, they wrote a Letter to the Emperor, and another to the Clergy of *Constantinople*, giving notice of the Judgment they had given against *S. John Chrysostom*. After this, three Bishops of *Asia*, deposed by *S. Chrysostom*, Petitioned the Council for their Restauration; and it is probable that it was granted them. And, on the contrary, *Heracleides*, who had been ordained Bishop of *Ephesus*, was deposed. This is what *Theophilus* his Caballing obtained of the Council: the Acts whereof were extant in *Photius's* time, who gives an Epitome of them in the 59th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*. They were divided into Thirteen Acts or Sessions.

D

The

S. John
Chrysoſtom.

The news of S. Chryſoſtom's depoſition ſtirred up a great Sedition at Conſtantinople; the Emperor commanded that he ſhould be baniſhed, and the People reſolved to keep him by force: But three days after he went out of the Church of his own accord, to ſurrender himſelf to them that had order to ſeize him, and was conveyed to a ſmall Town of Bithynia. His going away increaſed the tumult of the People, who both with Prayers and Threatnings addreſſed to the Emperor to call him back; which ſo amazed Eudoxia, that ſhe became Petitioner for his return, and ſent one of her own Officers to fetch him: When he was come back, he would not perform the Epitſcopal Functions till he was reſtored by a more numerous Synod than that which depoſed him; he beſought the Emperor to call one, and in the mean time withdrew to a place without the City: But the People, impatient of delays, led him into the Church, and he was reſtored by Thirty Biſhops, and Theophilus was obliged to depart.

After this, it ſeemed that S. Chryſoſtom had nothing to fear; but of a ſudden a new Storm aroſe againſt him. Towards the end of the Year 403, the Empreſs Eudoxia cauſed her Statue to be ſet up near the Church: The People, in honour to the Empreſs, celebrated ſome publick Games by that Statue. S. Chryſoſtom looking upon theſe as indecent things, preached againſt them: This provoked the Empreſs, who ſtill preſerved a grudge againſt him, and reſolved to have a new Aſſembly of Biſhops, to drive him out of the Church of Conſtantinople. It is ſaid that the Saint hearing of it, provoked her yet more, by beginning a Sermon with theſe words: *New Herodias is in a fury again; now ſhe demands the Head of John in a Chalice once again*: However, at the end of that Year, Theophilus being afraid to go to Conſtantinople, ſent thither three Biſhops from Egypt; who being aſſembled with them that were then at Court, and ſome others come from Syria, Pontus and Phrygia, they undertook to judge S. Chryſoſtom. He went to them, and deſired to ſee his Accuſation, or to know his Accuſers, that he might make his defence about the Crimes laid to his charge: But theſe Biſhops declared, that it was not neceſſary to examine, whether the things alledged againſt him were true or falſe; It was enough for his Condemnation, that he returned to his Biſhoprick when depoſed by a Council, and was not abſolved by another Council; becauſe it was provided in the Fourth Canon of the Council of Antioch, That whoſoever was guilty of this, could never hope to be reſtored, nor ſo much as be admitted to plead for himſelf. Epiſchius and Tranquillus, who defended S. Chryſoſtom; answered, That this Canon was made by Arius; and that he was reſtored by thoſe Biſhops that communicated with him. The Biſhops of the Council denied that the Canon was made by Arius; and inſiſted upon this, That the Number of thoſe who depoſed S. Chryſoſtom, was greater than of thoſe that communicated with him at his return to his Church. On this ground they confirmed the Sentence of Depoſition, which the firſt Council pronounced againſt S. Chryſoſtom.

By virtue of this Judgment, the Emperor, at the beginning of Lent, 404, forbade him to go to the Church: He obeyed, and left the Clergy alone to perform Divine Service. But he was not ſuffered to be long at reſt, for upon Holy Saturday, Lucius, Captain of the Guards, came with ſouldiers into the great Church in the Evening, and drove away forty Biſhops that communicated with S. Chryſoſtom, all the Clergy, and part of the People: Then he placed armed Men about the Sanctuary, entered into the Baptiſtery, and miſuſed thoſe that were there. Some ſouldiers that were not yet baptized, went to the Altar, and ſpilt upon their cloaths the conſecrated Elements that were in the holy Veffels. This Violence was followed by the Prince's Edicts againſt S. Chryſoſtom, and againſt thoſe that communicated with him. The next day the People met together in the publick Baths, and were driven out by force: So that ſuch as were for S. Chryſoſtom were obliged to meet in ſeveral places of the Town; and were afterwards called by their Enemies *Joannites*. They did not yet dare to meddle with the Perſon of S. Chryſoſtom, who was ſo much beloved of the People, that they were ready to take up Arms to prevent his being taken away. This Saint, unwilling to be the cauſe of a Civil War, got away from thoſe Guards that the People ſet about him, and put himſelf into the hands of thoſe that were to take him. He was led to Nice; and the ſame day that he went, which was the 20th. of June, there happened a Fire in the great Church, which burnt it to the ground, with the Palace adjoining to it. Seven days after one Ariſtides, an old Man of Eighty years of Age, Brother to Nectarius, was ordained in the room of S. Chryſoſtom. This Ariſtides furiously perſecuted S. Chryſoſtom's friends. This Saint tarried not long at Nice, but left it on the 13th. of July to go to Cucusus, the place of his Exile, where he arrived in September. He endured much by the way, but was kindly received by Diocorus Biſhop of the place. In the mean time Laws were publiſhed at Conſtantinople againſt thoſe that adhered to S. Chryſoſtom; Three of them are in the Theodoſian Code. The Firſt of the Firſt of September, l. 16. tit. 2. c. 3. It is againſt Foreign Clerks, who kept Meetings in private places. The Second of the Tenth of the ſame Month, is tit. 4. c. 5. of the ſame Book: By this Law thoſe are to be Fined who ſuffered their Slaves to go to private Meetings. The Third in the ſame place, c. 6. forbids all the Meetings of thoſe that did not communicate with Ariſtides Biſhop of Conſtantinople, Theophilus Biſhop of Alexandria, and Porphyrius who was choſen Biſhop of Antioch in the place of Flaviano. All theſe Laws are againſt them that took John's part, and held private Meetings, and reſuſed to communicate with thoſe Three Patriarchs. About the latter end of that Year a ſhower of hail of extraordinary bignets did much miſchief in Conſtantinople; and the Empreſs died ſoon after: John's friends looked upon both theſe accidents as Judgments from God for the injurious uſage of S. Chryſoſtom.

The

The Patriarchs of the Eaſt having declared againſt S. Chryſoſtom, he could expect no relief, but from the Weſtern Biſhops, and particularly from the See of Rome; which had always been S. John Chryſoſtom's. Theophilus ſent him a Letter by one of his Readers, acquainting him with S. Chryſoſtom's depoſition. This being publicly known in Rome, Euſebius, Deacon of Conſtantinople, petitioned the Pope, that he would ſuſpend his Judgment, till he was rightly informed of the matter. Three days after came four Biſhops, ſent by S. Chryſoſtom, who delivered to the Pope a Letter from him, imploring his ſuccour, and that of the Biſhops of the Weſt; with another Letter from Forty Biſhops, and the Clergy of Conſtantinople; which declared, that S. John Chryſoſtom was condemned unjuſtly; and without being heard. S. Innocent being perſuaded that Theophilus had not proceeded regularly, ſent Letters of Communion to S. Chryſoſtom, as well as to the Biſhops that condemned him; and declared, that it was requiſite to call an unexceptionable Council both of Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops. Theophilus afterwards ſent to Rome the Acts of the Council held againſt S. Chryſoſtom; but this altered not the Pope's reſolution; who declared, that he could not reſtore Communion with S. Chryſoſtom before a new Council had condemned him. Soon after Theophilus brought a Letter from Five and twenty Biſhops, ſignifying to the Pope, that S. Chryſoſtom had been expelled out of Conſtantinople; and ſent into Exile: the ſame was afterwards confirmed by another Letter of Fifteen Biſhops, brought by the Biſhop of Apamea; and by the Clergy at Conſtantinople, which gave an Account of the Violence exerciſed againſt their Biſhop, and the whole Church of Conſtantinople. The Pope moved with theſe things, writ to S. Chryſoſtom and to his Clergy thoſe Letters which are preſerved by Sozomen in his Hiſtory, l. 8. c. 26.

S. Chryſoſtom's friends every where publiſhed theſe Letters; and wrought ſo far with Innocent, that he obtained of Honorius, Emperor of the Weſt, a Letter to his Brother Arcadius, in the behalf of S. Chryſoſtom; by the which he requested of his Brother, that a Council might be aſſembled at Theſſalonica, where Theophilus ſhould appear as one accuſed. Three Biſhops, Two Presbyters, written in favour of S. Chryſoſtom. But theſe Deputies were ſtope at Athens by the Governor, and ſent by Sea with a Guard to Conſtantinople. They were not permitted to enter into the Town, but were conveyed to a Caſtle in Thrace, where they were ſhut up. A Counſellor of State, called Patricius, went thither to ask for the Letters; they answered, That their Order was not to deliver them to any but the Emperor, and the Biſhops to whom they were directed. Patricius withdrawing after this Answer, another Officer, named Valerius, was ſent to take them by force. The next day Money was proffered them, to admit to their Communion Arius, who ſucceeded Ariſtides in the See of Conſtantinople. They reſuſed it, and demanded to be ſent back. When they could not be made to comply, they were put into an old Veſſel with Twenty ſouldiers, that carried them to Lampſacus, where they ſhifted their Veſſel, and arrived at Orramo, a Port of Calabria, Twenty Days after their Embarking, and Four Months from their departure out of Italy. This Deputation was dated in the Year 404.

In the mean time S. Chryſoſtom being unhealthy in the place of his Exile, was obliged often to ſhift his Quarters, as appeareth by his 13th. Letter. But notwithstanding his baniſhment and infirmities, he ſtill ſent Priests and Monks to preach the Goſpel among the Goths and Perſians, and to take care of the Churches of Armenia and Phoenicia; as appears by his 14th. 123d. 126th. 201d. 204th. 206th. and 207th. Letters. But his Enemies would not let him be quiet, but perſuaded the Emperor to ſend him further to Pitryus, a Town upon the Euxine Sea: Immediately ſouldiers were ſent to convey him thither; The uſage which he endured, and the fatigue of the Journey fo weakened him, that he fell ſick of a violent Fever, which carried him off in a few hours. In the place where he died, there was a Church of S. Baſiliſcus Martyr, where he was buried the 4th. of November, 407, having been Three Years, Three Months, and Four and Twenty Days in baniſhment: Aged Sixty Years, and Ten Years Ordained Biſhop of Conſtantinople. After his Death, the Eaſt and the Weſt were divided for ſome time upon his account, becauſe thoſe of the Weſt revered his Memory; and the others on the contrary looked upon him as a condemn'd Biſhop, whole Name they reſuſed to infer into the *Diptych*; That is to ſay, in the Registers of thoſe that were to be mentioned with Honour at the Celebration of the Eucharift. One would have thought that the Emperor Arcadius his Death happening Five Months after, ſhould have removed the greateſt obſtacle, which hindered the Biſhops of the Eaſt from doing juſtice to the Memory of S. Chryſoſtom: but Theophilus exerciſed his hatred againſt him, even after his death: He wrote againſt him a book full of Invectives, and reproachfull Railings; and prevented, while he lived, any honour to be done to the Memory of S. Chryſoſtom in the Eaſt.

When Theophilus was dead, the Spirits of the Eaſtern Biſhops began to relent, and they began to be more favourable to the Memory of that Saint. Alexander Succellor to Porphyrius in the See of Antioch, was the Firſt, who in the Year 413, infered the Name of S. Chryſoſtom into the *Diptych*, and who by that means was re-admitted to communicate with Pope Innocent. Ariſtides of Berea likewiſe received Letters of Communion from the Pope, upon condition that he ſhould not ſhew any hatred againſt S. Chryſoſtom afterwards.

About

S. John
Chrysostom.

About the Year 338, *Atthanasius* Bishop of *Conftantinople*, inserted the Name of *S. Chryfoftom* into the *Diptych*, and exhorted *S. Cyril of Alexandria* to do the fame. This Bishop expounded at first, but at last *S. Iudeus Pelagius*, persuaded him to do it. Thus all the Churches did right to the Memory of *S. Chryfoftom*, and *Pelagius* was reformed.

The Number of *S. Chryfoftom's* Works is great, that the Ancient Critics durst not pretend to make a Catalogue of them: *S. Iudeus* and *S. Iudeus*, look'd upon it as almost impossible. *Gregory* and *Nicophorus* say, that he compos'd above a thousand Volumes. *Solidus* and *Cassiodorus* affirm, that he wrote Commentaries upon the whole Bible. From all which it is evident, that how many fewer of *S. Chryfoftom's* Works are extant, they are fewer than they have been, and so much the rather; because among those that we have, some are none of his, though they bear his Name.

The 65 Homilies upon *Genesis*, are the First of *S. Chryfoftom's* Commentaries of the Bible, according to the Order of the sacred Books; the thirty two first were preached in Lent, in the third Year of his being Bishop. This Subject was interrupted by the Festivals; for he was to preach upon the Passion of *Jesus Christ*. After *Easter*, he undertook to expound the *Acts* of the Apostles, and was near a Year about that Work: Afterwards he betook himself to his former Task, and finished his Exposition of *Genesis*, in thirty four Homilies. These Homilies are Commentaries upon *Genesis*, rather than Sermons: And he applies himself particularly to explain the Text of Scripture literally. The Examples of Virtues or Vices (spoken of in the Text, which he expounds, are commonly the Subject of his Homilies. The Style is plain, and without those Figures and Ornaments which are to be found in his other Sermons.

The Nine Sermons of *S. Chryfoftom* upon single passages of *Genesis*, are more florid, and contain more moral Thoughts. The first is, upon the first Words of *Genesis*. In the Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth; in it he treats of Fasting and Alms-deeds.

The Second is upon these Words of the first Chapter, v. 26. Let us make Man after our own Image: There he gives the reason why *Moses* (speaking of the Creation of Man, uses the Expression, God said, Let us make; whereas he said of the Creation of other things, God said, Let them be: And there he shews wherein this Resemblance with God consists.

In the Third he makes some further Reflexions upon Man being, like God, and upon the Dominion given to him over other Creatures; and there he answers the Question, Why Beasts fall upon and kill Man; and confesses that it is, because Man by Sin has lost the Empire he had over them. *S. Austin* quotes this Homily in his First Book against *Julian*, and produces a passage out of it to prove Original Sin.

In the Fourth the three kinds of servitude which Mankind is fallen into by Sin are discours'd of, which are, the Subjection of the Wife to her Husband, that of one Man to another, and that of Subjects to their Princes. He insists much upon this last, and occasionally speaks of the Attention Men ought to give to Sermons.

In the Fifth he shews, that those who live well purchase their Liberty; and declaims against those that refuse to assist the Poor.

The Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth, are concerning the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. In the First he shews, that *Adam* knew Good and Evil before he tasted the Fruit of that Tree: In the Second he shews, that it is so called, because Evil is more perfectly known after Communion; there he also explains those Words of our Saviour to the good Thief: This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. The Third is about God's forbidding Man to eat of the Fruit of the Tree.

The Ninth is upon the Names of *Abraham* and *Nomb*, where he discourses of brotherly Correction.

The Tenth Homily upon *Genesis* in the English Edition is not genuine; it has the same Preface with the Third Homily upon *David* and *Saul*; it is written in a swelling Style, and full of Metaphors, and quite different from the first Part.

The following Sermons are upon the History of *Hannab*, *Samuel's* Mother, in the first Book of *Samuel*; but it treats of several Subjects.

The Preface to the First is upon the Fast of the last Lent, and upon the Sermons which he had made since against the *Genites*; and after *Flavianus* his return upon the Feasts of the Martyrs, and against swearing. After this he resumes the Subject of Providence, which he was enter'd upon: he demonstrates, That it is God who gave unto Man the knowledge of the things which he ought to know; That sickness and death have their use: He takes notice that the Love which Parents have for their Children is an effect of Providence, and that Mothers are not less concerned in the Education of their Children than Fathers: And upon occasion of this last Reflection, he relates the History of *Hannab*, and he speaks of it in the following Sermon, and thereupon he discourses of Moderation, of Modesty, and the Reverence due to Priests, and of Grace before and after Meat.

In the Third, he speaks of the Obligation which lies upon Men, to give their Children good Education.

In the Fourth, upon the second Part of *Hannab's* Song, he reproves those who neglect Divine Service to go to Plays and publick Shows, and discourses of the usefulness of Prayer.

In the Fifth he shews their Error, who go to Church only upon great Festival Days. He expounds the rest of *Hannab's* Hymns, and he speaks of the Advantage of Wealth above Poverty.

These

S. John
Chrysostom.

These five Discourses were preached by *S. Chryfoftom* in *Antioch*, about *Whitsuntide*, after *Flavianus* his Return. In this last Sermon, he mentions a Discourse upon the first Part of *Hannab's* Hymn not extant.

There are three Sermons about *David* and *Saul*. In the first, after a Declaration against those that frequent Plays to the neglect of Holy Worship, and a Declaration that they should be excommunicated, he treats of patience, and forgiving of Enemies; proposing for an Example *David's* Action, who would not kill *Saul*, though God had delivered him into his Hands.

In the second, that Action is commended, and preferred before all the other great Actions of that King. He prosecutes the same Argument in the third Discourse, where he also complains of those that were given to Phys: He observes, that it is as great an Act of Vertue to bear an Injury patiently, as to give Alms.

At the end of these there is another Sermon against Idleness, which hath no relation to the Rest.

The Homilies upon the *Psalms*, are Commentaries rather than Sermons: *S. Chryfoftom* does not enlarge so much upon Moral Topics, as to give the sense and understanding of the Text. He follows the Version of the LXX, but he often hath recourse to the differences of the Ancient Greek Versions, and quotes even the Hebrew Text in some places to clear difficulties: There are some *Psalms* upon which we have no Homilies of *S. Chryfoftom*, as the first and second; but there are upon the third, and following to the 13th; upon the 41st and 43d, and so on to the 17th; and from the 119th to the last; which make in all sixty Homilies, which certainly are *S. Chryfoftom's*. To these may be added, the Homily upon the thirteenth *Palm*, and two others upon the fiftieth, which have likewise *S. Chryfoftom's* Style. Those upon the 51st, 95th, and 100th, are more doubtful; yet I see no reason that we should reject them. It is not so of the Commentaries upon the 101st *Palm*, and upon the six that follow, which are *Theodore's*. The Commentary upon the 119th, belongs to some modern Greek, that speaks against the Iconoclasts, and takes out of *Theodore's* Commentaries part of what he writes. There are also four Sermons upon particular passages of the *Psalms*, but they must not be joined to the rest; because they are not Explications of the Text of the *Psalms*, but Sermons upon distinct Subjects.

These are a Discourse upon these words of the 44th *Palm*: The Queen standeth at thy right hand, preached in *Constantinople* some Days after *Eutropius* his Disgrace, who had retired into the Church, but was gone out again. He speaks in his Preface, of the Advantage of reading the Holy Scripture. He describes afterwards how the Church was beset, when *Eutropius* had taken Sanctuary there. He relates what he had done to help him, and with what sincerity he had spoken, without fearing the Threatnings uttered against him. He observes that he was taken by his own fault, for the Church had not forsaken him, but he had quitted it: But yet it was no wonder that he reaped no greater benefit from that Sanctuary, because he entered not into it with a Christian heart; That when any Man flies into the Church to take sanctuary there, he ought to go in with his Mind as well as with his Body; because the Church is not made up of Walls, but of an Holy Union among the Members of *Jesus Christ*. Upon occasion of this *Eunuch's* Disgrace, he shews how little Solidity there is in the goods of this World, and draws a fine Picture of the Instability of Riches, and then concludes with an excellent Description of the Church. "Nothing," says he to his Auditors, is stronger than the Church; Let it be your Hope, your Haven and Refuge: It is higher than the Heavens, of a larger extent than the Earth: She never waxeth old, but still retaineth her strength and vigour, for this cause the Scripture calleth her a Mountain, to shew her stability; a Virgin, because she cannot be corrupted; a Queen, because of her Magnificence and Splendour; and it gives her the Name of Daughter, by reason of her Union with God, &c.

Both the Sermons upon these words of the 48th *Palm*, Be not thou afraid when one is made rich, were likewise preached in *Constantinople*. In them he recommends Alms-deeds and Hospitality; and he toucheth upon the Necessity of being present at Divine Service.

The Homily on these words of the 145th *Palm*, My Soul, bless thou the Lord, is a Sermon for the Holy Week, called then the great Week. The reason of that Name *S. Chryfoftom* gives in the beginning of his Discourse, which is this. "This Week, says he, is called the great Week, because *Jesus Christ* wrought great Mysteries at this Time: He delivered Man from the Tyranny of the Devil, he overcame Death, bound the strong armed Man, blotted out Sin. But as this Week is the great Week, because it is the first of Weeks; for the same reason Saturday is called the great Day: and for this cause many of the faithful do upon this Day double their Exercises; some fast with greater Austerity, others watch continually, others bestow much on the poor: some apply themselves with greater Zeal, to the Practice of good Works, and by their Piety bear witness to the Mercy of God: Emperours themselves honour this Week, they grant a Vacation to all Magistrates, that so being freed from worldly Care, they may spend these Days in the Worship of God: They give honour also to this Day, by sending Letters every where to command the Prison doors to be opened. Let us also have regard to these Days, and instead of Palm-branches, let us offer him our Hearts. Then he explains the *Palm*, My Soul, praise thou the Lord. The royal Prophet, says he, cries out, Praise the Lord, O my Soul; why does he direct his Discourse to the Soul? to teach us that

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"the Soul should apply her self to the words that are uttered: For if he that prayeth doth not understand his own words, how would he have God to give ear to him? God often doth not grant our Petitions, but that is for our good; he defers some time, not to decrease us with vain hopes, but to make us more zealous and diligent, for the fervency of Prayer commonly ceaseth when we have what we desired: so that to keep up our Devotion, God is pleased to withhold his Gifts. He observes in this Sermon, that the Righteous after Death, live with us, pray with us, and are amongst us, &c.

S. Chrysostom writ a Commentary upon *Isaiah*: but we have only part of it, since the beginning, to the eleventh Verse of the eighth Chapter. Both the historical and spiritual Sense is set forth with much solidity and clearness.

There are also five Homilies of his upon these words of *Isaiah*, ch. 6. *I saw the Lord upon an high Throne*, and one concerning the *Seraphim* spoken of in the same place; they are moral Discourses upon various Subjects, and especially of the reverence due to sacred things, and of the dignity of the Priesthood; there is a very remarkable passage concerning the Ecclesiastical and the Civil Power. "*Ozziah*, saith he, went himself into the Holy of Holies to offer Incense: being King, he would usurp the Priesthood: I will, said he, burn Incense, for I am worthy to do it. Oye Princes keep within the Limits of your own Power: The bounds of Ecclesiastical power differ from those of secular Government. The King rules over earthly things, the Churches Jurisdiction relates to heavenly goods. God hath committed to Kings the things of the Earth, and to me those of Heaven: when I say, to me, I mean to Priests. So that, though a Priest prove unworthy of his Office, yet for all that, you ought not to despise the dignity of the Priesthood. God hath made the Body subject to Kings, and the Soul to Priests. The King pardons corporal Offences, but the Priest remits Sins. The one compels, the other exhorts; the one imposes a law, the other gives counsel; one uses spiritual Weapons, the other sensible Arms; one wages War against *Barbarians*, and the other against *Devils*. But the Ecclesiastical power is the nobler of the two, wherefore the King receives the Priest's blessing, and in the old Law the Priests anointed the Kings. But this King would go beyond his bounds, and extend his Power too far, and enter the Temple by force, to offer Incense: but what did the Priest say to this? Sir, you are not permitted to offer Incense. Behold this is a generous liberty; here was a Soul that could not flatter basely. You are not, says he, to go into the Sanctuary, nor to offer Incense to the Lord, that's reserved for me to do. King *Ozziah* could not bear this reproach, but transported with pride, he opens the Sanctuary and burns Incense. The Priest is despised, the sacerdotal Function is set at naught: The Priest is without power: for the Priest's right is only to reprove freely, and to admonish judiciously. Having then advised the King with that boldness which became him, and the King refusing to yield, but on the contrary preparing Arms to assert his Authority, the Priest crieth out, I have done what my duty commanded me to do, I have no power to go further. O Lord defend the Priesthood which is despised; thy Laws are violated, and Justice is overthrown, undertake for them. This is the Account which S. Chrysostom gives of the High-priest's Contumacy in the fourth Homily. In the fifth he speaks of his Meekness. I have shewed you the firmness of the High-priest; now take notice of his lenity, for we have need not of Courage only, but much more of Meekness, because Sinners hate to be reprov'd, and seek all occasions to avoid admonition: and so must be drawn and restrained with Mildness and Charity.

In the Homily concerning the *Seraphim* he speaks of that Celestial Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy*: He says, that formerly that Hymn was sung only in Heaven, but since the Lord appeared upon Earth, we are allowed the benefit of that divine Comfort. "Wherefore, says he, when the Priest is by the holy Table to offer the Eucharist, he does not utter that Hymn, but after he has named the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Congregation have lifted up their Hearts to God. This passage discovers the Antiquity of this Preface to the Office of the Eucharist.

To these Homilies should be joined the Sermon upon *Isaiah*, ch. 45. v. 7. *I am the Lord, I form the Light and create Darkness, I make Peace and create Evil*.

There is no Commentary of S. Chrysostom's upon *Jeremiah* (f); but only one Homily upon *Ch. 10. v. 23.* of that Prophet, where he proves the freedom of man's Will.

To these Homilies upon the Prophets must be added two Sermons of the obscurity of Prophecies, wherein he gives reasons why prophecies are dark. He tells us in the first, that the Prophets spoke obscurely of the Evils which were to come upon the Jews; because that had they spoke plainly, they might have been ill used, and perhaps killed by the Jews. This he proves by an infinite Number of Examples of Prophets killed by them, for telling the truth. It is added, that Prophecies were dark, that the Jews might not understand them, till they were to comprehend them. In the second, he says, that the Event has cleared the Prophecies, that the Veil which covered them was taken off in the New Testament, and so the obscurity wherein they were wrapt up has been dissipated. At last he observes, that the Old Testament having

(f) There is no Commentary of S. Chrysostom's upon *Jeremiah*. [There was a Manuscript in some Libraries that went under S. Chrysostom's Name; but it was so pitifull a business, that it was not

judged worth publishing: no more than *Quæschia* upon the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. Mark, and S. Luke.

been written in Hebrew, is the less clear, because Versions commonly make the Sense more obscure.

This Father's Commentaries upon the New Testament are more full and entire.

S. Matthew's whole Gospel is expounded in four score and ten Homilies (g), and that of S. John in eighty seven. There are four and fifty Homilies upon the *Acts*, and thirty two upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; forty four upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*; thirty upon the second; a Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*; four and twenty Homilies upon that to the *Ephesians*; fifteen upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*; twelve upon that to the *Colossians*; eleven upon the first to the *Thessalonians*; five upon the second: Eighteen upon the first to *Timothy*; ten upon the second; six on the Epistle to *Titus*; three upon that to *Philemon*; and thirty four upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. It is said, that these last were collected after the Death of S. Chrysostom, by a Priest called *Constantine* who had been his Disciple: but there is no proof of this; and it is more likely that he writ them himself. Part of these Homilies were preached at *Antioch*, and the other at *Constantinople* (h).

These Homilies consist of two parts: The first contains a Commentary upon the Gospel, the other a moral Exhortation to the People. In the Commentary he gives a reason of the Contents of the Gospel, examines all the circumstances thereof, weighs the words, and discovers in those places which seem most plain, great Numbers of fine things, to which no attention would have been given, had he not taken notice of them. He keeps still to the literal Sense, and of all Explanations he always chuses, not the most subtle, but the most natural. He seeks for no Allegorical or figurative Sense. He useth no far fetched notions to prove his opinions; avoids all intangled and hard Questions, contenting himself to make clear and useful Observations upon the History and upon the Text of St. Paul. He gives a perfect light to all the places of this Apostle's Epistles, which seem most difficult, and particularly to those, which are thought to speak of Predestination and of Grace. His expositions remove all that which at the first view makes them appear terrible and fearful. Every-where God is represented as a good and merciful Being, and willing to save all Men, and who affords them all necessary means of salvation; Men are exhorted to answer that Call of God; since it is their own fault if they be not saved; for those that are damned damn themselves. He tells them often, that God requireth no impossible thing of them: That with God's help they may keep the Commandments, and practice Vertue. S. Chrysostom finds these comfortable Thoughts in the passages of S. Paul, which seem most terrifying; and endeavours to prove, that they are not contrary to the mind of

(g) S. Matthew's whole Gospel is expounded in 90 Homilies. [In the Translation there are 91, but the 29th is divided into two, though it is but one in the Greek Original; and so the Translation ought to be mended in the Number of the Homilies upon S. Matthew, and the Greek Text to be corrected in the Number of the Homilies upon S. John; for though it distinguishes 88 Homilies, yet there are but 87, because the Preface is not to be reckoned one of them.

(h) Part of these Homilies were preached at *Antioch*, and the other at *Constantinople*. [Phoebus observes, that it is easie to know which Homilies S. Chrysostom preached at *Antioch*; because they are more elaborate than those that were preached at *Constantinople*. But though this general Rule may serve to distinguish them, yet some particulars in the Homilies themselves are remarkable, to determine where they were preached. It is evident, that the Homilies upon *Genesis*, were preached at *Constantinople*, as we observed before after *Phoebus*, for he speaks positively in the 33d Homily upon *Genesis*, which is the 28th according to *Phoebus*, who reckoneth but 61 Homilies upon *Genesis*. *Erasmus* believed, that the 54 Homilies upon the *Acts* were not S. Chrysostom's; and Sir Henry Savile seems to have doubted of it: but without ground, for they are written in his style, and in several places he discovers himself. The style of the Homilies upon the *Psalm*, shews that they were preached at *Antioch*, not to mention the Authority of *George of Alexandria*, and some other modern Greeks that confirm the same. It cannot be known when he made the Commentary upon *Isaiah*. The seventh Homily upon S. Matthew, shews plainly, that it was preach'd at *Antioch*; for he says there, that they, to whom he spoke, boasted of being Inhabitants of that

City, where the Name of Christians took its beginning. That Town is again pointed at in the 68th Homily, according to the Latin, and the 67th according to the Greek: Whereby it is manifest, that these Homilies were preached at *Antioch*. In the 21st Homily upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he plainly says, that he was preaching at *Antioch*. In the 3d Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*, he makes mention of *Daphne*, a Suburb of *Antioch*, as belonging to the Town where he preached. Sermons upon the Epistle to the *Colossians* were preached at *Constantinople*; for in the 3d Homily he speaks with Episcopal Authority, threatening Sinners to deny them the Peace of the Church; he all mentions the Episcopal Throne whereon he was sitting, and calls himself Bishop. Of the same time are the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*. In the eleventh upon the first Epistle, he says, that he presided over them that heard him. The same is to be taken notice of in the 4th Homily upon the second Epistle. In the 4th upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, he threatens to put those out of the Church, who should hire Mourners at the Funerals of their Relations, which justifies his being Bishop. In the 26th Homily upon the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, there are these words, *That the Son of Constantine caused his Father to be buried in this City*. As to the rest, there is no certain proof from what he says, to tell us where they were preached: but the style of the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Galatians*, being smoother and more polished; whereas that of the Homilies upon the Epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, and *Philemon*, being careless and without Art; we may believe, according to *Phoebus* his Rule, that the former were preached at *Antioch*, and the latter at *Constantinople*.

this Apostle. The Exposition he gives of the most difficult places, is no ways forced; yea, it seemeth very often to be the most simple and natural. However, to my thinking, it is always the most profitable and edifying, and the fittest to be preached to the People, which are much edified by such Remonstrances as tend to practice, but can reap little or no fruit from Speculations about God's eternal Decrees, and other abstracted matters, that have but little Relation to the Government of Life and Manners.

All the Exhortations that conclude S. Chrysostom's Homilies, are ordinarily about some points of Morality; as about the fear that men ought to stand in of God's Judgments, the Necessity of Repentance, the Contempt of Riches, forgiving of Enemies, Humility, Abstraction of the Heart from worldly things, diligent Meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, and God's Laws; an Abhorrence of Plays and Shows, Charity towards the Poor, Alms, and Hospitality; brotherly Reproof, the Duties of Husbands to their Wives, of Parents to their Children, of Masters to their Servants, of Lay-men towards their Pastors, Patience in Afflictions, that Holiness wherewith Men should come to the Sacraments; the Benefit of Prayer, and the Conditions required therein, of Fasting, and the Advantages of a monastical and solitary Life, Assiduity in divine Offices, Attention to preaching, Sobriety, Purity, Modesty, Meekness, Clemency, Contempt of Death, and many other like Subjects, which he handleth with such familiar, and yet such solid and convincing Reasons, that there are no Discourses more capable of inspiring Notions of Piety and Vertue. He does not go about, as most Preachers do, to set forth studied Notions, which divert the Understanding, but do not touch the Heart. He goes to the bottom of things, searches the secret folds of Man's Heart; and not contented to have discovered and described Vice, he begets an horror of it; He sets forth the most powerful Motives to deter Christians from it, and the most proper means to correct it, and to practice true and solid Vertue. He stretches nothing too far, but distinguishes exactly the matter of a precept from the Advice therein contained: He is neither too meek nor too severe: He is neither too familiar, nor keeps too much distance; never complies beyond what is meet, nor terrifies to discouragement: In a word, his Exhortations are an excellent pattern of preaching to the People.

The Sermons in the Fifth Volume upon several Texts of the New Testament, are not Commentaries, but moral Instructions, or Homilies upon different Subjects.

The First is of Forgiveness of our Enemies, upon the parable of that Debtour, to whom his Master remitted ten thousand Talents, and yet afterwards exacted the hundred Pence from him that owed them to him. He speaks of the exact Account that Men must render to God. "Rich Men, saith he, must give account for the use of their Riches; poor Men of their patience; Judges of the Discharge of their Office; but above all, Church-men shall account for their Ministry; they shall be more strictly examined. It shall be asked of him to whom the Word of God was committed, whether out of Idleness or Flattery, he omitted none of those necessary things which his Ministry obliged him to speak; if he explained all and concealed no truth. A Bishop charged with the direction of a Diocese, hath yet a far greater Account to give: his Examination will be not only about his Doctrine, and his helping of the Poor, but especially about the Orders which he shall have conferred, and a Thousand other obligations of the Priesthood. S. Chrysostom speaking of S. Peter in that Homily, calleth him the Head of the Body of the Apostles, the Mouth of the Disciples, the Firmament of the Faith, the Foundation of Confession, and the Fisherman of the whole Earth.

The Second Sermon of this Volume is against Dancing and Luxury; there he shews, that Preachers are bound to reprove Vice, and that they ought never to forbear, though their preaching seems to be without Fruit: Then he begins to explain the Parable of *Dives and Lazarus*, making several moral Reflexions on the particulars of that Parable in the four following Sermons. The last is quoted by *Phorim* in the 277th Volume of his *Bibliotheca*, where he speaks of an Earth-quake at *Antioch*, where he preached these Sermons. He observes in the Fourth, that God does not permit any to return from the Dead, and gives the reason of it.

The Seventh Sermon is an Exposition of the Parable of the Man that was sick of the Palsie; he uses Jesus Christ's Words, concerning that sick Man, and his Cure, to prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ.

The Eighth is upon these Words of Jesus Christ in S. *Matthew*, Chap. 26. v. 39. *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass*, &c. There he explains the Mystery of Christ's Incarnation, and in what sense he feared Death, and would have avoided it.

The Ninth on these words of S. *Matthew*, *Enter in at the strait Gate*, is against publick Shews: At the latter End of it the case of *Dives* is compared with that of *Lazarus*.

The Tenth contains an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer: This Prayer is not written in S. *Chrysostom's* style.

The Eleventh is upon the Resurrection of *Lazarus*. That Discourse is none of S. *Chrysostom's*, the style, elocution, and the very thoughts, are quite different from his.

The Twelfth is upon the Title of the *Acts* of the Apostles: where after a Discourse, concerning the Establishment and Perpetuity of the Church, which could neither be shaken nor ruined by the severest Persecutions; he shews, that a Christian Life, and good Works, are more to be valued, than the Gift of working Miracles; he ends with a Commendation of the Bishop of *Antioch*, whom he calls the Successor of S. *Peter*. For, saith he, it is one of the Prerogatives of our

City is to have had for our Master S. Peter the first of the Apostles. It was just, that that City, which had the advantage of bearing first the Name of a Christian City, should have for her Bishop S. John the first of the Apostles: But having enjoyed that happiness, we would not ingross it to our selves, but contented he should go to Rome, the Imperial City: Yet in giving, we have not lost him, we have him still; we have not his Body, but his Faith; and having S. Peter's Faith, we may truly say, we have S. Peter himself.

He justifies himself in the Thirteenth for the length of his Prefaces; he shews there the Usefulness of Reproof, and treats of the Conversion of S. *Paul*, and of the changing of his Name, and reproves them that neglect to labour in their own conversion, under pretence that God will convert them. God, saith he, forceth no man; he draweth only them that are willing to go to him; he is willing to save us; but that is, if we be willing to be saved.

The Fourteenth is upon these words of S. *Paul*, *Rom. c. 5. v. 3. Rejoicing in tribulations*. Here he shews what is the fruit of afflictions, and of persecutions.

The same Subject is handled in the following Discourse, upon these words of the same Apostle: *All things work together for good to them that love God*.

The Preface of the Sixteenth is against such as frequent not the Assemblies of the Faithfull in Churches; and then he expounds these words of the Apostle, *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; exhorting Men to forgive injuries*.

In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Sermons he makes many very useful reflections upon these words of S. *Paul*, *Salute Aquila and Priscilla*. In these discourses we have an example, justifying how many Moral I thoughts may be suggested by a subject which of it self seems dry and barren. For what is there more simple in appearance, and of less instruction, than this Salutation of S. *Paul*? Yet by a wonderful Art S. *Chrysostom* makes use of it for the explanation of many important instructions. As about the respect we ought to have for the Poor, Charity towards our Brethren, the small regard that is to be had to Nobility, the profit of working with our own hands, and the reverence due to Church-men, &c.

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Sermons are about what S. *Paul* saith of Marriage in 1 *Cor. c. 7.* from which he takes occasion to speak against Dancing, Feasting, and other profane Pumps of Weddings. He teaches what ought to be the end of Marriage among Christians, and how it is to be used. "Marriage, saith he, is a remedy against Fornication, let us not therefore dishonour it by filthy Pumps. Christians ought to banish from their Weddings devilish Pumps, filthy Songs, lascivious Conforts, undecent Dancings, obscene Words, Riots, excessive Laughter; and they ought to introduce the Servants of Jesus Christ, and his Priests; to have Jesus Christ in Person in the midst of them, as of the Marriage in *Cana*. Let no man tell me it is the custom; do not tell me of a custom, if it is sinful. If the thing be Evil in it self, how old soever the use of it be, retrench it: If it be Good, and not usual, bring it in. But know that this custom is not ancient, but an Innovation. Remember the Marriage of *Isaac* with *Rebecca*, of *Rachel* with *Jacob*; the Scripture tells us how those Weddings were kept; it shews indeed, that there was a Feast more splendid than ordinary; that the Relations and Neighbours were invited, but there were no Fiddles, no Dancing, nor any other shamefull Excellences of our Age. Now at Weddings such lascivious Songs are sung, as teach Adultery, and inspire foolish Love; the Guests full of Wine do attend the Bride with impure Discourses. With what reason can you pretend to require Chastity in a Woman, whom you have taught from the very First day to be impudent, and before whom you suffer that to be said and done, which your Foot-men would blush to do or hear? To what purpose do ye bring in a Priest to crave a blessing, and the next day your selves commit base actions? In the same Homily there are a great many Exhortations of the same nature against such disorders, which are not less frequent in our days, than they were in the time of this Bishop. Afterwards he advieth both Men and Women to behave themselves holily in Marriage; and not only to avoid Adultery, but not so much as give an occasion of suspicion: He proves that Second Marriages are not forbidden, though it is better to forbear, and concludes with a sensible Declaration against Adultery and Fornication.

The Twenty-first is upon these words, 1 *Cor. c. 10. Our Fathers were all under the cloud*, &c. After a large Exposition of which words, he speaks of Alms-deeds, and of the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily.

The Twenty-second is upon these words of S. *Paul*, *There must be Herefter*. He commends the Old *Aquila*, or Feasts of Charity.

The Twenty-third is of Alms-deeds, and the care which Men ought to have of such as are in want. This should be placed among the Sermons of Morality.

The Twenty-fourth is upon these words, 2 *Cor. c. 4. Having the same Spirit of Faith*, &c. He gives great Praises to Virginity, and to a Monastical life; which he describes in these words: "Do you not take notice of those Monks who live privately, and dwell upon the tops of Mountains? What Austerities and Mortifications do they not practise? They are covered with Ashes, clothed with sackcloth, laden with Chains and Irons, shut up in little Cells, struggling continually with Hunger, they spend their time in Watchings to blot out part of their Sins. He observes also, that though Virginity is a super-natural Gift, yet it is unprofitable if it be not accompanied with Charity and Meekness.

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The Twenty-fifth is upon the same Text; he opposes the *Manichees*, and exhorts them to give Alms.

The Twenty-sixth upon the same words, preſſes the Duty of Alms-giving.

The Twenty-seventh is upon these words; 2 Cor. Bear a little with my folly. He lays down Rules very judicious, both at what time and upon what occasions a Man may commend himself.

The Twenty-eighth reproves them who abuse what S. Paul saith, Phil. c. 1. v. 18. *What matters it how Christ is preached?* His Discourse is about Prayer and Humility.

In the Twenty-ninth he treats of the Marriage of Christians, and of the Duties of those that are Married.

The Thirtieth is upon these words, 1 Thess. c. 4. v. 13. *But I would not have you to be ignorant, Brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope.* He discourses of the way how Christians should bear with the Death of Relations, and confirms what he says by the Examples of *Job* and of *Isaac*.

The Thirty-first is concerning the Duty of Widows, on these words, 1 Tim. c. 5. v. 9. *Let not a Widow be chosen of less than Sixty years.* He there discourses of Children's Education.

The following Sermons have less relation to Texts of Scripture, being, for the most part, upon solemn Festival-days.

The Thirty-second is about *Judas's* Treason, where he speaks of the necessary Dispositions to communicate worthily.

The Thirty-third concerns the Festival of *Christmas*, which was celebrated for Ten years before in the *East* upon the 25th of *December*, as it had been before at *Rome*. S. Chrysostom proves by several reasons, that this was exactly the day of *Jesus Christ's* Nativity.

The Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth are upon the Passion of *Jesus Christ*: In the latter he speaks of forgiving Enemies upon occasion of the good Thief.

The Thirty-sixth is upon the Resurrection from the Dead.

The Thirty-seventh is a Sermon upon the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, preached upon *Easter-day*.

The Thirty-eighth upon the Ascension, was preached in a Church of Martyrs.

The Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Sermons are upon *Whitsunday*. In the former he answers that curious Question, *Why Miracles are not wrought now, as they were in the time of the Apostles?*

The Forty-first is of the Dignity of the Eucharist, and the respect we ought to shew to the holy Mysteries. This discourse seems to me to be neither of the Style nor the Order of S. Chrysostom.

The Seven following Sermons being Panegyrics upon S. Paul, were translated by *Anianus*, who lived in *Abalaricus's* time.

The Forty-ninth is of *Moslems*.

The Fiftieth upon the Conversion of S. Paul, was preached at *Antioch* after that upon the Title of the *Acts*.

The Fifty-first is upon the Inscription in the Temple of *Athens*, To the unknown God, spoken of *Acts*, c. 17. v. 17.

The Fifty-second is upon the beginning of the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*: Paul called an Apostle, &c.

The Fifty-third shews the Profitableness of Reading the holy Scripture. It is dedicated to persons newly baptized; there he extolls the Quality of an Apostle. It is one of the Four upon the beginning of the *Acts*, preached at *Antioch* before *Flavianus*.

The Fifty-fourth of *Christ's* Prayers and Qualities, is the First Sermon upon the Incarnation.

The Fifty-fifth is against those that Fast at *Easter*.

The Fifty-sixth against such as observe the Jewish Fasts.

In the Fifty-seventh he speaks of Alms-deeds, upon occasion of the Hospitality practised towards the Prophet *Elijah*, who was relieved by the Widow of *Sarepta*.

The Fifty-eighth of the Pleasures of the Life to come, and of the Vanity of this World's goods.

The Fifty-ninth is against those that despair, when they receive not what they ask of God, or who petition for unjust things; he there occasionally speaks of the Duty of Husbands towards their Wives.

In the Sixtieth he compares Riches with Poverty; treats of the manner how Sinners are to be reproved, and blames those who call upon God against their Enemies.

The Sixty-first begins with an Exclamation against those that communicate unworthily: He shews that a Preacher is not to preach God's Word with complacency, but to reprove Vice with fervency, because this is profitable for Sinners to make them know and confess their Sins.

The Sixty-second concerns Martyrs; there he proves, That the best way of honouring Martyrs, is to imitate their Vertues.

The Sixty-third is against those who teach, That *Demons* govern the affairs of this World, and against such as do not endure with patience the Chastening of God; and, lastly, against those who are scandalized at the prosperity of the Wicked, and the misfortune of the Righteous.

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In the Sixty-fourth he treats of S. Paul's action in resisting S. Peter; and endeavours to prove, that both did it by agreement for the instruction of the Faithfull.

The Sixty-fifth is a Discourse, or rather a Treatise against *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to prove the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*.

The Sixty-sixth is another Treatise against those who were offended, because of the mischiefs that happened to the City, and the persecution of the Priests, and of the Faithfull. It is an excellent Explanation of that hard Question, *Why there is so much evil in the World, if the Providence of God governs it?* Both these Pieces should be put among S. Chrysostom's Treatises.

The Sixty-seventh is a Homily concerning the Two Paralytiks of the Gospel: There he proves the Divinity of the Son of God.

The Preface to the Sixty-seventh is about the Life that Men are to make of Sermons preached in the Church. He gives a reason why the Acts of the Apostles are read in the Church at *Whitsunday*. Lastly, he shews that the Miracles of the Apostles proved the Certainty of *Christ's* Resurrection, and rendered it more famous. This Sermon follows that which he made upon the Title of the Acts.

In the Sixty-eighth, having reproved those who complained that his Sermons were either too long or too short, he gives a reason of altering S. Paul's Name, and that of *Abraham*, and of the Signification of that of *Adam*.

The Sixty-ninth Sermon was preached at *Antioch*, in the absence of the Bishop. He commends the Martyrs, and treats of Contrition of Heart, and of Alms-deeds.

The Seventieth is upon the Feast of S. Bassus Bishop and Martyr, upon an Earthquake that happened at *Antioch*, and upon the Words of *Jesus Christ*, *Matthew*, c. 11. v. 29. *Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart.*

The Seventy-first is a Panegyrick upon S. Drosis.

The Seventy-second is a Sermon of Penance, mention'd in the Ninth Homily of Penance.

All these Sermons now mention'd were preached at *Antioch* by S. Chrysostom, when he was Priest of that Church. There are but two more in this Volume preached at *Constantinople*; the first was after the expulsion of *Gaius* from the City; and the other was after S. Chrysostom's return from his first Exile.

At the latter end of the Fourth Volume there are Three Sermons of the same. The First was preached at *Antioch* by S. Chrysostom immediately after his being made Priest. This Sermon is a Panegyrick upon *Flavianus*, who Ordained him. It is the First that S. Chrysostom ever preached. The Two others in the same place were preached towards the latter end of his Life: The First at the time when they contrived his Deposition and former Banishment; the second after he was recalled: In it there is an excellent Comparison of *Sarah* seized upon by the King of *Egypt*, and of the Church of *Constantinople*, deprived of his presence, by the Caballings of *Theophilus* an *Egyptian* Bishop; and a dextrous Commendation of the Empress *Eudoxia*.

The first Volume contains several other Sermons, preached for the most part at *Antioch*: The first Twenty-one are called *Sermons of Statues*; because they were preached at the time, and upon the occasion of a sedition in *Antioch*, in the beginning of the Year 388, wherein the People had thrown down and dragged about Streets the Statues of *Theodosius*, and of the Empress *Flaccilla*.

The first Sermon is upon these words of S. Paul to *Timothy*; *Use a little Wine for thy Stomach's sake, and often Infirmities*, wherein he alledgeth several reasons, why God permits his Saints to be afflicted; he preached it sometime before that Tumult, which obliged him to discontinue his preaching. But the heat of that sedition was no sooner over, and the People of *Antioch*, astonished with the fearful Threatnings of the Emperour, had acknowledged their fault, and turned their fury into Mourning; but he resumed the Chair for the comfort of that desolate People: And *Flavianus* their Bishop as a good Father, went to the Emperour to assuage his Anger.

The first Sermon of S. Chrysostom upon this Subject, is that which is called the second of *Statues*: There he bewails the Unhappiness of that City, exhorting the Inhabitants to implore the Mercy of God by fervent Prayers, and turn away his Wrath by good Works, to prevent the Danger that threatened them. This Discourse is very eloquent: Here are some Fragments whereby one may judge of the rest. "What shall I say? What shall I speak of? Our present Condition calls for Tears rather than Words, Lamentations rather than Discourses, and Prayers rather than Sermons. The blackness of our Action is so great, the Wound we have given to our selves is so deep, and so hard to be cured, that we have need to apply our selves to an Almighty Physician. Then having compared the Misery of that City to that of *Job*, he adds, "Seven Days have I kept silence, as formerly did *Job's* Friends: Give me leave to open my Mouth, and bewail our Misery. — I groan, I weep, not for the severity of the Threatnings, but for the excess of our Folly: For though the Emperour were not angry with us, and should forbear to punish us, how should we suffer the shame of our Action? After this, he describes very elegantly the Happiness which that City enjoyed before that Tumult, and the Misery it was now reduced to; and concludes this Description with these Words. "The great City of *Antioch* is in danger of being utterly destroyed; she that lately had an infinite Number of Inhabitants, will shortly prove a Wilderness; none in this World can help her: For the of-

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"fended Emperour hath no equal upon Earth, he is the Sovereign and the Master of all Men. All we can do is to make our Application to the King of Heaven; let us address our selves to him, and call upon him for help. If we obtain not Mercy from Heaven, we have no remission to hope for. He observes, that God permitted that Mischief, to punish the People for their Blasphemies, and teaches rich Men what use they are to make of their Riches.

The next Sermon was preached when *Flavianus* was gone to Court to solicit the Business of the City of *Antioch*: There he represents the Charity of *Flavianus*, who would undertake that Journey: He tells them the things that the Bishop was to represent to the Emperour, and bids them hope that these Remonstrances will be heard, affirming that he is confident of all through God's Mercy. "God, says he, will stand betwixt the petitioning Bishop, and the Emperour" addressed to; he will soften the King's Heart, and put in the Bishop's Mouth the Words which he should speak. He intreats the People to pray earnestly, that God would mollify the Spirit of the Emperour. He speaks of fasting in *Lent*, affirming that right fasting is to abstain from Sin. At last he advises the People to avoid three Vices, *Evil speaking, hatred of their Neighbour, and Blasphemy.*

He goes on to instruct and comfort the People of *Antioch*, in the following Sermons. In the 4th he praises God, that the Christian's Affliction in the City of *Antioch*, had put them upon thoughts of their Salvation, and exhorts them to Patience: And in the last place, inveigheth against Swearing, and promises to speak of it all the Week. This Sermon was preached upon *Monday* of the first week in *Lent*.

Next day he continued the same Subject, encouraging the People of *Antioch* to bear with Constancy and Generosity all the Threatnings against them, and not to fear either Death or Sufferings. He shews, that Sin is the only thing that Christians ought to fear, and he speaks again eagerly against Swearing.

The 6th Sermon was preached the next Day after, for the Consolation of the People that were intimidated by the Magistrate. He giveth God thanks that *Flavianus* was arrived before those that carried the News of the Mutiny. He tells the reasons that the Bishop was to use to the Emperour, and explains a Law, that was to be urged: He tells them, That Sin only was to be feared, and that Swearing ought to be avoided.

The 7th and 8th were preached upon *Thursday* and *Friday* of the same Week: He comforts the People, and explains the beginning of *Genesis*, which was then begun to be read in the Churches in *Lent*. He discourses against Swearing, and reminds them, that it was the sixth Day, that he had preached against Sin, and that it should be the last time: Which shews, that the 15th Sermon followeth this, for there he tells them, that though he had resolved the Day before to speak no more of God's Command not to swear, because he had sufficiently discoursed on that Subject the Days before, yet he found himself obliged to insist upon it, till he saw them reformed.

The 16th Homily was preached upon *Saturday*, in the second Week in *Lent*: Because, he says, at the latter End, behold we have passed the second fasting Week. He speaks of the foregoing Sermon, as of his last, though it had been preached some Days before.

It is very likely, that the 9th and 10th Sermons follow this, and that they were preached before the Judges, sent by the Emperour, had frighted the People; for *S. Chrysostom* says nothing there concerning the Defolation of the City, but handleth some Points of Morality, particularly against Swearing, and against those that refused to hear Sermons after Dinner.

The Officers of the Emperour having erected a Chamber of Justice at *Antioch*, to punish the Town for their sedition, and to condemn those that were most guilty; dreadful was the Condemnation of the People, which made them think of nothing else, but how they might appease the Judges, and mitigate the severity of the Judgment. *S. Chrysostom* describes the Day of that Judgment, as the most dreadful thing in the World: He says, that all the People expected nothing but Death, some fled, others hid themselves, the Streets were empty; that the rest of the Inhabitants assembled near the Palace-gate, waiting there for their Condemnation: That within the Palace, all was full of Men put to the Torture, or sentenced to Death: That Mothers wept for their Children, and Sisters for their Brethren: In one word, That the whole City was in a fearful Defolation, in expectation of all manner of mischief. In this sad Conjunction of Affairs, the Hermits left their solitude to come to *Antioch*, to solicit the Judges in behalf of the People; The Clergy also attended to move them to Clemency: And every one did his endeavour to work upon them, by all the Tokens of regret and submission, that can be given in such occasions. The Judges moved with these things, and touched especially by the Remonstrances of the Monks, inclined to Mercy, and contented themselves to take from *Antioch*, the Quality of *Asteropolis* of the *East*, and to forbid the acting of publick Spectacles for the recreation of the People: Having in the mean time sent to prison some of the Magistrates, and Chief men of the City, till they should know the resolution of the Emperour. This Judgment was no sooner pronounced, but *S. Chrysostom* opened his Mouth to return God thanks for the Success, as he doth in the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Homilies, which were preached one after another, those successive Days after the Judgment. But some having again struck a new Terror into the People, *S. Chrysostom* endeavours to settle them in the 14th Homily.

The 18th Homily was preached by *S. Chrysostom*, after *Mid-Lent*, as he saith in the beginning, complaining of some who rejoiced, that half the time of fasting was over, and of the Impati-

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ence which the Inhabitants of *Antioch* shew'd, because they were deprived of their bathings; and pleasures. He takes notice, that they had not been deprived of them above 20 Days.

S. Chrysostom being fallen sick, appeared not in ten Days, but was no sooner able to go abroad, but he began again, and preached the 19th and 21st Sermons, that are particularly directed to the People come out of the Country to *Antioch*, about the Feast of *Easter*.

The 22d was preached towards the end of *Lent*. He discourses there of the necessary qualifications, to communicate worthily at *Easter*; affirming, that it is absolutely needfull to forget injuries, and to be reconciled; from whence he takes occasion to speak against Enmities and resentments; he adds threatnings against such as had not yet left their Custom of Swearing, notwithstanding his manifold Exhortations to this purpose in the time of *Lent*.

The last Sermon upon the same subject is the 20th, about the Return of *Flavianus*, who came back to *Antioch* before *Easter*, having obtained of the Emperour's Clemency, pardon for the City of *Antioch*. In this Discourse *S. Chrysostom* eloquently describes the wonderful Conduct of *Flavianus*, the Dilcource he had with the Emperour, the Answers of that Prince, and the rejoicing of the People at *Antioch*, when they received the welcome News of the pardon granted them. This is the true Order of those 22 Sermons of *S. Chrysostom*, which is much perverted in the Editions.

The other Homilies in this Volume, are either Sermons upon some points of Doctrine, or of morals, or panegyrics upon Saints. The Sermons of the former kind are these: six Homilies of the incomprehensible Nature of God against the *Anomaans*, the last whereof was preached at *Constantinople*; a Discourse of the Consistency against the *Arians*, quoted by *Theodoret* in the sixth Council. A Discourse of the Judgment, which follows immediately after the last. One against those who like the Pagans, kept the first Days of the Months, preached upon New-years-day: A Sermon of *Jesus Christ's Baptism*; a Discourse about the Devil's Temptations; six Sermons against the Jews: The Homilies of Penance, which formerly were more in Number, and are now to be reduced into the following Order. The first beareth that Title in the first Volume; the second and third are lost, the fourth and fifth are also right set down in the first Volume: We have neither the sixth nor the seventh, except that which is in the 4th Volume be one of these two, for it is falsely intitled, *The third Homily of Penitence*, seeing he says in the beginning, that he had been some Days without preaching; whereas it is evident by the beginning of the 4th Homily of Penance, that he had preached the four first Homilies of Penance one after another without interruption. The 9th is the 65 Sermon of the 5th Volume of Penance, and of the sorrow of King *Abah*. The 10th Homily is the 9th in the first Volume, and the last is the eleventh.

The Discourse against the Gentiles, is not a Sermon, but a Treatise which is to be placed amongst *S. Chrysostom's* Treatises: But the Discourse of *Baptism*, is a Homily directed to the *Catechumens*.

The Discourse of *Anathema's* is *S. Chrysostom's*, though some Critics have doubted it. It is his Style, and therein he speaks of the Homilies of the incomprehensible Nature of God; and it was quoted near 400 Years ago by *Philothens*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; as written by *S. Chrysostom*. He proveth in that Homily, that an *Anathema* is not lightly to be pronounced against any, nor others rashly to be condemned.

The two Treatises of *Prayer*, are probably written by *S. Chrysostom*: but the six Discourses about Providence, which are in the same Volume are none of his, no more than the last of Penance, and Continence, which are supposed to belong to *John*, the *Faster*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who lived long after *S. Chrysostom*.

The first of *S. Chrysostom's* Panegyrics, is upon *S. Philogonius* Archbishop of *Antioch*: the Second upon *S. Babylon*, likewise Archbishop of *Antioch*: the third upon *Maximus* and *Jovennius* Martyrs, who suffered Martyrdom under *Julian* the Apostate. These two Sermons were preached one after the other upon the 24th, and the 26th of *January*, after the Three first Homilies of *Lazarus*, as is noted in the Fourth. The third is of *S. Pelagia* a Virgin of *Antioch*, who threw her self headlong rather than lose her Virginity. The Fourth of *S. Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*. The Fifth of *S. Romanus* Martyr of *Antioch*. The Sixth is a Discourse to the Praise of the Seven *Macchabees*. The Seventh is a Panegyrick upon *S. Meletius*. The Eighth of *S. Lucianus* Martyr of *Antioch*, preached the next Day after the Feast of *Christ's Baptism*. The Ninth upon *S. Julianus*. The Tenth is a second Discourse upon *S. Romanus* the Martyr. The Eleventh is a second Discourse of the *Macchabees*. The Twelfth is a third Discourse upon the same Subject. The Thirteenth is of *S. Domitius*, and of her two Daughters, *Berenice* and *Profecta*, who chose a voluntary Death before the Violation of their Virginity. The Fourteenth of *S. Eustachius* Bishop of *Antioch*. The Fifteenth is a Discourse of *Helias* and *S. Peter*. The Sixteenth is of the *Egyptian* Martyrs. The Seventeenth upon *S. Barlaam* Martyr in *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*. The Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Phocas*, and the Fragment of that of *S. Thecla*, which is in the same Volume, are not of *S. Chrysostom's* Style: But the Discourse upon all the holy Martyrs, is an excellent Sermon worthy of *S. Chrysostom*. Among the rest, this is one of the finest Passages there. "The Devil, says he, has introduced Death into the World, and God makes use of Death to introduce us into Heaven by Martyrdom. Martyrdom is a Combat, the Martyrs are on the one Side, and Tyrants on the other: The Tyrants are armed, and

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the Martyrs naked: Yet they that are naked get the Victory, and they that bear Arms are vanquished. What Wonder is this? He that is beaten proves Victor over him that beats him: He that is bound overcomes him that is at liberty: He that is burnt tames him that burns him; and he that dies furnishes him that puts him to Death. It is Grace that works these Miracles, they are above the strength of Nature.

The sixth Volume of the Greek and Latin Edition of *Paris* contains several Sermons, which *Fronto Ducens*, and other Critics, have judged not to be of *S. Chrysostom's* Style. *Fronto Ducens* passes this Judgment upon it: "We have collected in this sixth Volume some Sermons which are not upon whole Books of Scripture, but upon some places, written in a Style differing from that of *S. Chrysostom's* Works; for these Discourses are Dramatical and full of *Profopœia's*, the Style is sententious and concise, with frequent Allegories; and we find not there those Similitudes and other Beauties so frequent in *S. Chrysostom's* Works; and yet the Authors of these Sermons lived either in the Time of *S. Chrysostom*, or not long after him. But we ought not to wonder, that some of these are quoted under *S. Chrysostom's* Name, in very ancient Councils; because they were already published under his Name, and Councils do not usually examine narrowly into the Authors of those Books which they quote: Being contented to debate the Questions offered, and to oppose to Heretical Errors the Writings received in the Church; as did the Apostles and other Fathers who quoted Apocryphal Books. That's the Judgment which this Learned Jesuit makes of the Sermons contained in this Volume; but if we would know whether it is just, we must examine them strictly one after another.

The First Homily, (the Author whereof shews, that there is the same Law-giver both of the Old and New Testament,) is not *S. Chrysostom's*, though *Photius* quotes it under his Name; for, 1. The Style is quite different from *S. Chrysostom's*: 2. The order and disposition of this Homily differs much from those of *S. Chrysostom*. 3. It is full of Allegories, which are very rare in *S. Chrysostom*. 4. Most of the Thoughts are unworthy of him. 5. There is great Confusion. 6. It both begins and ends in a different manner from the Homilies of *S. Chrysostom*. 7. It is observed at the End of that Discourse, that it was written in a Time when the Roman Empire was under Oppression. 8. The Blessed Virgin is there often called *εὐαγγελία*; so that it is plain, this was not without Affectation.

The two following Homilies upon two Places of the Beginning of *Genesis*, are unworthy of *S. Chrysostom* for the same Reasons.

The Homily upon these Words of *Abraham* to his Servant, *Gen. 24. v. 2. Put thine hand under my Thigh*, &c. is more rational than the foregoing, as to its Notions, but the Style is too concise and close, and comes not near the easiness of *S. Chrysostom*. Yet this Discourse is ancient and worth reading, and I am apt to believe that it may have been written by *Severianus of Gabala*, to whom the following Sermon of the brazen Serpent lifted up by *Moses* in the Wilderness, is attributed in the Manuscripts, and under whose Name it is quoted by *S. John Damascene*, in the three first Discourses about Images, by Pope *Adrian* I. Ch. 26. and by the Assembly of Bishops at *Paris*, in the Year 824. The Author treats of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. It appears both by the Style, and by the Beginning, that it is written by the same Author as the foregoing.

The four Homilies upon *Job*, are Sermons written by a Monk of the latter Times, who having studied *Isocrates* his Oration to *Demonicus*, coldly imitates him in his four Discourses, where there is neither Wit, nor Order, nor Eloquence, nor Thought, nor Reasoning; yet he foolishly fancies that he out-did *S. Chrysostom*, in Point of Eloquence, many Bars length.

The fifth Homily upon *Job*, is the 22d of those Homilies, which *Simeon Logothetæ* composed out of several Passages taken out of *S. Chrysostom*.

The Homily upon this Verse of *Psalms* 38. *Mau disquieteth himself in vain*, comes nearer to *S. Chrysostom's* Style, and yet is not quite the same.

The Oration of the *Turtle-Dove*, or of the *Church*, is an impertinent Discourse, like the Treatise, intitled, *the Supper*, falsely ascribed to *S. Cyprian*, from which the Author of this hath taken some of his Impertinencies.

The Homily upon the Prophet *Elias* is more valuable, and yet seems not to me to be *S. Chrysostom's*. I should rather attribute it to *Severianus of Gabala*, as well as the three following, of *Joseph*, *Susanna*, and the three Children in the fiery Furnace.

The Homily of *Seals* written in the same Style with the foregoing, does certainly belong to *Severianus of Gabala*, being quoted under his Name by *Theodoret* in the third Dialogue, and by *Adrian* I. The same Character and Style may be found in the Sermons of *Faith*, and of the *Law of Nature*, in that of the *Holy Trinity*, in the Discourse of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, quoted by *Photius* under *S. Chrysostom's* Name; in the Sermon upon *Pentecost*; in the Sermon preached before *Arcadius Theodosius's* son, upon the words of the beginning of *S. John*. In the beginning was the Word. In the Sermon of *Circumcision*, that of the Remembrance of Martyrs, and upon *Jesus Christ's* being Shepherd and Sheep; in that upon these words of *S. Paul*, *My grace is sufficient for thee*, in that of the prodigal Son of *Herodias's* Daughters dancing; in that upon the Words of *Matth. 13. The Jews being assembled took counsel*; in the Sermon of the *Ten Virgins*, the Homily of the *Woman taken in Adultery*, and of the *Pharisees*; in that upon Good-Friday, of the Man that was born blind, and upon these words of *Jesus Christ*, *Matth. 6. Take*

heed

heed that you do not your Alm: before Men to be seen of them; in the Sermon against Hypocrites; in that upon the beginning of the Year; in the Homily about the barren Fig-tree, in the Ser-*S. John mon of the Pharisee's* Feast; that of *Lazarus and Dives*; and in that upon the beginning of *Chrysostom. Psalm* 92, which is the 10th in the 5th Volume of *S. Chrysostom*, of the *Eton* Edition. The Author of these Homilies, writes in a short, concise Style; enlarges much upon Dogmatical points, and very little upon Moral ones: What he says is intermixt with Allegories: In a word, if one compares these Homilies one with another, and with them that are certainly written by *Severianus*, he will find that they are very like.

The Homilies of the *Theophany*, and the *Marriage in Cana*, are two inconsiderable Discourses unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*.

That of the *evil Woman*, is yet worse. It was composed by some modern Greek, who having read in History that *S. Chrysostom* had made a Discourse against Women, made one to represent it: In which either he, or some body else, hath put these words in the beginning, that *Severianus* relateth: *Herodias is mad again, and asketh for S. John's Head*. The rest of this Discourse is a continual repetition of impertinent things.

The Homily of the *Canaanish Woman*, is also in Latin among the Homilies upon several passages of the New Testament, ascribed to *Origen*, and in the Collection of Homilies upon *S. Matthew*, Hom. 14th and 17th. But here it is in Greek, and larger. The Doctrine, and Thoughts of this Discourse are rational enough, but the Style is very different from *S. Chrysostom's*.

The Sermons upon *S. John the Fore-runner of Jesus Christ*; upon the Apostles, *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*; upon the *Twelve Apostles*, *S. Thomas the Apostle*, and *S. Stephen*; are unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*, not only for the Substance, but also the Style. Yet the last of them is something more rational than the foregoing. The Discourse of *S. Thomas* is quoted under *S. Chrysostom's* Name, in the sixth Council, and in that of *Lateran*, under Pope *Martin* I.

The Homilies of the *Annunciation*, *Theophany*, and the *Resurrection*, have no Relation to *S. Chrysostom's* Style.

The Sermon concerning the *Woman of Samaria*, is a Discourse, whose beginning is quite of another Style than *S. Chrysostom's*: The latter End is taken word for word from the 31st Homily of *S. Chrysostom*, upon the Gospel of *S. John*.

The four Sermons of the *Ascension*, published by *Vossius*, are not unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*, though the Style is not altogether the same with that of this Father's Works: In all probability, they are part of those Two and Twenty which *Photius* read, which he mentions in the 25th Volume, as well as the Sermon upon the same Subject, cited by *Facundus*, l. 1. c. 14.

The Homily which proves, that a Disciple of *Jesus Christ* ought never to be angry, does not come near to the Style, or the loinsness of *S. Chrysostom*.

The Sermon of the *false Prophet*, is a Declaration made by some Greek, rather than a Discourse really preached by *S. Chrysostom*, before his Death, as the Title proves.

The Homily of the *publick Games in the Cirque*, is a pitiful Discourse, not worth reading.

The Sermon of *Christ's* Nativity, Page 493, is quoted by *S. Cyril*, as *S. Chrysostom's*, in his Treatise to the Emperress, mentioned in the Council of *Ephesus*; there is no considerable difference of Style; which convinces me that it is *S. Chrysostom's*, or at least, that it was taken out of his Works.

The three following Sermons, the first whereof, is upon the Words of *S. Luke's* Gospel, ch. 2. *Cæsar Augustus made a Decree, that all the World should be taxed*, &c. the second upon the Answer given to *Zachariah*, Ch. 1. of *S. Luke*, and the Third upon *S. John's* Conception, are all written in the same Style, very different from *S. Chrysostom's*; they contain abundance of insipid Observations upon the Text of *S. Luke*, which one cannot read without Tediumous and Trouble.

The Homily upon the *Parable of the Householder, that hired Work-men into his Vine-yard*, doth much resemble *S. Chrysostom's* Style; if it be not his, it belongs to some ancient eloquent Author, and ought to be placed among those Discourses, which though perhaps not genuine, yet are not to be despised. Some Fragments of them may be found amongst the Homilies, which were collected out of the Works of *S. Chrysostom*.

I think the same Judgment ought to be made concerning the Sermon, or rather the Fragment of the Homily upon the *Publican*, and the *Pharisee*, and of that about the *blind Man*, and *Zacharias*, which are unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*.

A Discourse made to prove, that Monks ought not to use rallery or freedom of Speech, is of the kind and style of *S. Chrysostom*; there is a digression against those that kept Women with them. The Authors of *S. Chrysostom's* Life observe, that he wrote five Orations upon that Subject. This might perhaps be one of them.

The Panegyric upon *S. John the Evangelist*, is not worth any thing, but is a pitiful Discourse made up of obsolete and senseless Words.

The second Homily of the *Holy Cross*, is written by the Monk *Pamaleon*, Deacon of *Constantinople*, who lived in the 13th Century: The first Discourse upon the same Subject, does not belong to a better Author.

The beginning of the Homily of *S. Peter's* Abjuration, is likewise written by some modern Greek, who added at the latter End an Exhortation, taken out of *S. Chrysostom's* Discourse upon these words of *S. Paul*, *Having the same Spirit*, &c.

The

The Homily of *Bread and of Alms*, is a Collection of several Notions of *S. Chrysostom's* upon that Subject.

The Discourse of *Easter*, is very like *S. Chrysostom's* Style.

The Sermon about *Jesus Christ's* second Coming, is a Preface annexed to the moral Exhortations of the 25th, and 31st Homilies, upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

There are several other Sermons in the Greek Edition of *S. Chrysostom*, printed at *Etan*, which were not inserted into the Greek and Latin Edition of *Paris*; as not belonging to *S. Chrysostom*, or else but Collections out of this Father's Works.

In the 5th Volume, page 680, there is one upon these words *Psalm* 92. *Dominus regnavit*, &c. and upon those of *S. Paul*, *When Jesus Christ shall have given up the Kingdom to the Father*, wherein he speaks of Baptism.

Another in the same Volume, page 740, of those Women that brought Spices to embalm the Body of *Jesus Christ*: Wherein the Author shews, that the Evangelists do not contradict one another, upon the Subject of *Christ's* Resurrection: Both these Homilies are well enough written, but they are not *S. John Chrysostom's*.

There is a Third in the same Volume, page 789, upon these words of *S. Paul*, *The good that I would, I do not, but the Evil that I would not, it do*. The Author shews there, in what sense *Jacob* was a Type of *Christ*, and declaims against publick sheeps: This Discourse is full of Allegories contrary to *S. Chrysostom's* Custom: It may be attributed to the Author of the following Discourse on these words of the same Apostle, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*.

The 123d Homily in the same Volume, page 807, upon these words of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *When we sin willfully, there remains no more Oblation*, is a Collection out of the 26th, 15th, and 14th Homilies of *S. Chrysostom*, upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

The Homily upon the Nativity of *Jesus Christ* in the same Volume, page 843, where the guardian Angels of Countries and Provinces are discoursed of, is cited by *Photius* under *S. Chrysostom's* Name: Yet the Style shews it not to be *S. Chrysostom's*: It is more probable, that it belongs to *Severianus of Gabala*.

At the latter End of this Volume are several other Homilies, yet more unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*: Viz. the second Panegyrick upon *S. Stephen*, the Homily upon *Palm-Sunday*, upon the Thief, upon *Judas his Treason*, and many Sermons upon *Easter*, &c.

The sixth Volume is intermixt with several Homilies, which are only Fragments or Collections, taken out of the genuine Works of *S. Chrysostom*, such as these following Sermons; Of *Charity*, pag. 742. Of *Meekness*, pag. 750. Sermons concerning Fasting, pag. 885. A Discourse against those that slept upon the *Saturday* before *Whitsunday*, pag. 857. That the Salvation of the Soul is to be preferred before the Welfare of the Body, pag. 893. That Priests ought not to be upbraided with living at Ease, pag. 896. Three Discourses of Vengeance, pag. 903. That we ought not to weep for the Dead, pag. 943. Of Patience, pag. 949. Of the Soul's Salvation, pag. 961. Against those that abused Virgins consecrated to God, pag. 971. A Discourse against Heretics, pag. 979.

Lastly, The 7th Volume from pag. 271, to 587, contains above a hundred Sermons upon all sorts of Subjects, whereof some are not printed in the Greek and Latin Edition of *Paris*; namely, those that are either unworthy of *S. Chrysostom*, impertinent and foolish, or discourses of modern Authors, or Collections and Fragments taken out of *S. Chrysostom*. The Catalogue and Titles are in the Table of that Volume.

I believe, that most of *S. Chrysostom's* Sermons, which *Photius* professes he have read, and which are not, now extant, ought to be placed in the same rank. In the 25th Volume of his *Bibliotheca*, he speaks of a Book bearing the Name of *S. Chrysostom*, intituled, *Remarks upon the Death of Jesus Christ*: "Which," says he, contained two and twenty short Sermons, upon the Death of *Jesus Christ*: There were besides, as he adds, in the same Volume, two and twenty Discourses upon the Ascension, and seventeen upon *Whitsunday*. *S. Chrysostom* did not use to make short Sermons; his are generally long and full; he abounded in words and notions which he could not easily contract. Yet *Photius* hath taken no notice, that these Discourses were not *S. Chrysostom's*.

But he says, in the 27th Volume, concerning three Discourses of the beheading of *S. John the Baptist*, that their Subject and Method were very different from the other Sermons of this Father, as well as their Style, which was flat, and far from the Elegancy of *S. Chrysostom*. The extracts in the same place, which he made out of a Discourse, concerning the 40 Martyrs ascribed to *S. Chrysostom*, do prove his Assertion.

Among those Homilies, which he abridges in the 27th Vol. there are several which are rejected, as not being *S. Chrysostom's* (i), but *Severianus's* of *Gabala*, or of some other ancient Authors.

(i) There are several which are rejected as not being *S. Chrysostom's*.] There are Extracts, out of the Homily of the Holy Ghost, out of the Discourse upon these Words, *Jesus Christ is the last*, &c. of the Sermon upon the Incarnation, and the Guardian Angels; of the Treatise which proves, that both the Old and the New Testament have the same Law-givers; of the Discourse upon these Words of *S. Paul*, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*, &c. The Homily of the Holy Ghost is in the sixth Volume of

the *Paris* Edition: See the 221st and 222d page. The Homily upon the Nativity, and of the Angels, are in the *Etan* Edition, Vol. 5, pag. 843. That of the Law-giver in the Old and New Testament, is the first of the sixth Volume of the *Paris* Edition: There is also in the same Volume the Discourse upon these Words of the Apostle, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*; the Sermon upon these Words, 2 Cor. c. 11. *If any one be in Christ, let him be a new Creature*, &c.

But

But one ought not to pass the same Judgment upon those which *Theodoret* quotes in his Dialogues, which are certainly *S. Chrysostom's*, and which are now extant, most of them (k) at *S. John Chrysostom*.

Facundus l. 4. c. 2. quotes a Sermon of *S. Chrysostom's*, in Commendation of *Diadorus*, this Discourse was published both in Greek and Latin, by the Learned *Bigotius*, with the Life of *S. Chrysostom*, written by *Palladius*: It is a Thanksgiving of that Saint to *Diadorus* of *Tarsus*, who had publickly commended him. He there confesseth, that the Commendations given him by *Diadorus*, did put him to some trouble: "For," says he, with much humility, great praises do commend by others. After that, he returns upon *Diadorus* the Praises which he had given him; and as he was compared with *S. John* baptist, because of his Name; he shews that *Diadorus* deserved that Name better than he, having all the Virtues of that holy Fore-runner of *Jesus Christ*.

Lastly, *Cotelierius* in the third Volume of his *Monuments*, hath published an Homily under *S. Chrysostom's* Name, upon these words of *Matt. 20*. *By what Authority doth thou these things?* This Discourse is written by some ancient Author, but not *S. Chrysostom*; it has his Genius, the reflections are just, and the reasons solid: But one does not find that over-flowing Eloquence, nor that abundant fruitfulness which was so peculiar to *S. Chrysostom*, though it is not unworthy of him. There the *Assumens* are rated; and he proves, that none ought to pretend to penetrate into Myteries with humane reason; but that we ought to depend upon what the Scripture says, without searching further.

These are almost all the Sermons that are attributed to *S. Chrysostom*, which were printed in Greek and Latin. There are several other Manuscripts in Libraries, that falsely bear the Name of this great Saint, and which are not only unworthy of him, but also are not worth publishing. For in my opinion, it is equally prudent to suppress the ill pieces that are in Libraries, and to publish those that are worth it. It is a kind of Theft, to keep in obscurity from the publick those Monuments that may be useful: But it is also a great imposition upon the World, to set forth such Books as serve for nothing else, but to weary the Readers, to increase the Number of bad Books, and to fill Libraries with unprofitable Volume. I wish, that as Men prohibit the selling of bad Wares, so they would forbid publishing of bad Books, though they are under the Name of great Men. Had this Law been observed in the Common-wealth of Learning, from the beginning of Printing, the World would not have been over-wheeled with infinite Loads of bad Books, which cause so much Confusion in all Arts and Sciences, and particularly in Divinity. This may be laid by the bye, upon occasion of the vast Number of Sermons, which have been Printed under *S. Chrysostom's* Name. But it is less to be wondered at, that the modern Greeks, to advance the worth of their own productions, which of themselves were of very little value, would raise them, by the glorious Name of our Saint. That which is most surprising, is, that Men should have the impudence to give Discourses written by Latin Authors, the Name of a Greek Father. It may so happen, that the Original Greek of some Book might be lost, and that nothing might remain but a Version, as upon the Sermon of *S. Joseph*, and *Continency* quoted by *S. Austin*, which is in Latin, among the Works of *S. Chrysostom*: But it is impossible, that Sermons taken out of the Works of Latin Fathers, or which were wisely composed at first in Latin, should be written by a Greek Father. As for example, it were ridiculous to say, that the Discourse of *Adam and Eve*, which is made up of several passages of *S. Austin*, and which contains the 31st, and 32d Chapters of *Genesius's* Book of *Ecclesiastical Dogmes*: It were, I say, ridiculous to believe that this was ever written by *S. Chrysostom*: And that Man is little acquainted with the style of Authors, that cannot perceive, that the imperfect Commentary upon *S. Matthew*, is written by a Latin Author; and that most of the Homilies upon the Old and New Testament, whereof we have no Greek Originals, and which are found in the Latin Editions of *S. Chrysostom*, whereof we have his own proper Works, were composed originally in Latin and not in Greek. There are, the second Homily upon *Genesis*, and those that follow, to the 16th, from pag. 206. of the last Edition, at *Lyons*, to pag. 222. Eight Sermons upon several Histories of the Books of *Kings*, from pag. 243, to pag. 250. Five Homilies upon *Job*, pag. 261, &c.

(k) But one ought not to pass the same Judgment upon those which *Theodoret* quotes in his Dialogues, which are certainly *S. Chrysostom's*, and which are now extant most of them.] He quotes a Discourse preached by *S. Chrysostom*, after the Speech of the *Gothick* Ambassador, which is not found among *S. Chrysostom's* Discourses. The second passage which he quotes in the first Dialogue, is taken out of the Homily of the Nativity, Vol. I. pag. 426. The Homily which *Theodoret* cites, under this Title, *A dogmatical Homily, shewing that which is said of Jesus Christ, seems unworthy of the Power, and of the Divinity*, is that which is entituled, *Of Consubstantiation*, which he quotes out of the Commentary upon *Psalm* 41. is not in that which is now extant: I have not found the Homily of the Confusion of Languages, nor the Passage taken out of the Homily, preached in the great Church. The Homilies against those who affirm, that *Demons* govern the things of this World, against those that fast upon *Easter-day*, and the Homily of *Christ's* Assumption, are among those that we have, as well as the Passages taken out of *Theodoret's* Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, upon the Gospel of *S. John*, and that of *S. Matthew*.

H

Two

S. John
Chrysostom

Two other Homilies, pag. 267. Two Prefaces upon the *Psalms*, pag. 269, and 270. A Discourse upon the Usefulness of the *Psalms*, pag. 272. Homilies upon *Psalm*, 9th, 14th, 22d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 29th, 33d, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 42d, 68th, 71st, 84th, 90th, 93d, 95th, 96th, 121st, 122d. A Sermon upon these Words, *Wisdom*, Chap. 3. *They have dead in the Eyes of Fools, and of Men without Sense*. Four Homilies upon four places of *Isaiah*, pag. 598th, 613th, and 614th. An Homily upon *Jeremiah*, pag. 616th. A Sermon of the three Children, pag. 617th. One of *Susanna*, ibid. and one upon *Zach. Chap. 6*, pag. 619. Almost all these Discourses have the Style of the Latin Preachers, they are full of Sentences, Antitheses, Figures, and playing upon Words (*1*), which are usual in Latin Authors. One neither meets with the Eloquence, nor the Copiousness, nor Fruitfulness, nor Sublimity of the Expressions of S. Chrysostom, and the method is quite different from his (*m*). In a word, the matters there treated of are not such as S. Chrysostom uses to discourse of (*n*).

We cannot judge otherwise of the greatest part of those Homilies upon several passages of the four Gospels which are not in the Greek, viz. the 27 Homilies upon S. Matthew, in the second Volume of the *Lyon* Edition, pag. 465, &c. to 502. Of the 14 Homilies upon S. Mark, from pag. 503, to pag. 519. Of six Homilies upon S. Luke, from pag. 519, to pag. 529. Of that upon *Zaccheus*, pag. 551. and of 13 Homilies upon S. John, from pag. 164, to pag. 172. All these Homilies are either Sermons of Latin Authors, whereas some are among those of S. Chrysostom (*o*), or extracts from the imperfect Commentary upon S. Matthew, or Versions of some passages of S. Chrysostom, collected and stitched up together.

The 59 last Homilies upon the *Statutes*, which are in the fifth Volume of the Edition of *Lyon*, from pag. 75, to pag. 188. are of this last sort as well as several other Homilies upon different Subjects, from pag. 297, to pag. 298, and from pag. 312, to pag. 335. Three Sermons of Penance and Confession, and three Sermons of Fasting, and Alms-deeds, from pag. 361, to pag. 376. And lastly, common places upon Providence, Riches, Blasphemies, Debaucheries, and Pleasures, and upon some other matters of Morality which are in the same Volume, from pag. 582, to pag. 601.

The imperfect Commentary upon S. Matthew (*p*), divided into 54 Homilies, is undoubtedly written by a Latin Author, who quotes the old Latin vulgar Version, and cites Apocryphal Books. There are also erroneous Notions, and contrary to S. Chrysostom's Doctrine.

(1) Almost all these Discourses have the Style of the Latin Preachers, &c. They are full of allusions to words, of rhiming Sentences, as *Psalm* 33. *Ego fratres mei, hic modo respondere volo; quanti modo dicunt; nolo, qui jam dicunt, volo*. To this may be added, this fine Notion. *Oracula sancta lætissimæ, quæ sonant in auribus vestris, vidua faciant in cordibus vestris*. One may find also Explications of Latin and Greek Terms, as upon *Psalm* 90. *Mortales dicuntur, quia dividit diem; mortui enim per est dividit diem*. And upon *Psalm* 118. *Veritas præsum syllaba dicitur, quia in septima die Deus requiescit ab operibus suis*. There are several such passages which justify their Author to be a Latin. The style is sententious, concise, and full of Antitheses, and strokes of Wit, which are ordinary faults in the Latin Preachers, to which S. Chrysostom was never liable.

(m) The method is quite different from his. St. Chrysostom divides his Discourses into three. The first is a Preface: The second an Exposition of one or more places of Scripture: And the third a moral Exhortation. This Division may always be observed, in S. Chrysostom's Sermons. There have nothing like, they have neither Preface, nor moral Exhortation, neither do they conclude with the Doxology. The Author divides the Scripture into Verses, and cites Latin Authors, as *Cyprian* and *Wippolytus*; which S. Chrysostom never did.

(n) In a word, the matters treated of, are not such as S. Chrysostom uses to discourse of. St. Chrysostom always handeth Points of Morality, or common Doctrine; he never insists upon thorny and hard Questions, but avoiding them carefully, he expounds the Letter of the Scripture, and that in a plain way. The Author of these Sermons doth the quite contrary, he fills them with common places, upon Original Sin, Predestination, Grace, and hardening of the Heart, &c. Questions which

S. Chrysostom never meddled with. This Author seeks for the allegorical and mystical Sense, and takes little notice of the literal. In short, nothing can be imagined more unlike to S. Chrysostom's way of writing, than the Sermons here examined.

(o) All these Homilies are either Sermons of Latin Authors, whereas some are among those of S. Chrysostom. The 13th, and 16th, are amongst those attributed to S. Chrysostom: The 17th is among those that are attributed to Origen; the 6th is taken out of the 15th Homily of S. Chrysostom, upon S. Matthew. The 11th and 22d, are part of the 32d and 33d Homilies of the imperfect Work upon S. Matthew. The 25th is taken out of the 37th Homily of the same. The 27th and 28th, out of the 40th Homily. The Commentary upon S. Mark, is written by some ignorant Monk.

(p) The imperfect Commentary upon S. Matthew, &c. The Author of this Treatise cites the Scripture according to the vulgar Version, he quotes Arians, and Apocryphal Books, as that of *Seth*, *Ezechiel*, and the *Trinity* of S. Clement. He has heretical Notions concerning the Trinity, as in the 49th Homily, where he calls the Catholics *Homoian* Heretics. In the 7th Homily, he rejects the Baptism of Heretics. In the first Homily he speaks ill of Marriage; and condemns second Marriages, Homily 32d. *Augustinus Senensis* pretends that these Errors, and especially those that concern the Trinity, have been added false, because they are not in some ancient Manuscripts, and also because in some places, he teaches the Divinity of the Son. However, he confesses with all the Critics, that it is not S. Chrysostom's, but a Latin Authors: There are some short Commentaries upon S. Mark, S. Luke and S. Matthew ascribed to S. Chrysostom, and printed at Paris 1576, which bear S. Chrysostom's Name, but are none of his.

The

The Latin Sermon supposed to have been preached by S. Chrysostom, after his Return from *Asia*, is written by one that designed to exercise himself; as also the Discourses of S. Chrysostom, and S. John *Severianus* upon their reconciliation, which are at the latter end of the 7th Volume of the *Eton Chrysostom* Edition, and of the second of that of *Paris*. They rather belong to some Rhetorician, who desired to be thought eloquent, than Sermons written in earnest.

And now we are come to the Books which S. Chrysostom writ in his Study, which are almost all collected in the 4th Volume. The first and most excellent are the six Books of the *Priesthood*, which, according to *Suidas*'s Observation, exceed all the other Books of S. Chrysostom, both for Elevation of Style, Beauty of Eloquence, and Sweetness and Elegance in the Choice of his Words: "S. *Isidore Pelusiota* observes, in the 156th Letter of his first Book, that "all those that read that Book reap a considerable Advantage from it, seeing that on the one side this Book represents the Priesthood as an Eminent Dignity, not to be approached unto, "but with much respect: And on the other side, it teaches Men to enter into it with great purity and innocence. It is composed with so much subtilty, discretion, and exactness, that as they who perform as they ought the Duties of the Priesthood, do find there a Picture of their Vertues; so they who negligently go about the functions of their sacred Ministry, cannot but discover there the representation of their Vices and Sins. And indeed there is not any one Book in all Antiquity, that speaks more nobly concerning the Honour and Functions of the Priesthood. It is in form of a Dialogue between his friend *Basil*, and himself, and divided into six Books. The first is a kind of Preface, in which, having spoken first of the intimate Friendship that was betwixt S. *Basil*, and him, and of the Design they had to embrace a retired Life; he relates, that when it was noised abroad, that they would make both *Basil* and him Bishops, he did not discover to *Basil* his resolution to retire, and that having hid himself at the time of the Election, *Basil* was chosen and consecrated Bishop. On this occasion, *Basil* is introduced complaining of that Deceit, and accusing him of refusing the Bishoprick out of Vanity.

S. Chrysostom justifies himself from the injury that *Basil* pretended to have received of him, by shewing that there are innocent Cheats, which are causes of much good. He proves in the second Book, that he had deceived him to his own advantage, by giving him an opportunity of exercising his love to Jesus Christ after a most excellent manner, in feeding his Sheep. Afterwards he discourses of the Vertue, and Widow, which that Office required, proving how great the Charge of Pastours is by the great difficulty of healing Souls fallen sick, either by the Contagion of Vice, or by Errors in Faith. *Basil* interrupting him there, and telling him, that therefore he was to blame, for avoiding the Cure of Souls, since it was the best way to justify his love of Jesus Christ; he answers, That he did it, because he thought himself unworthy of it; but on the contrary, that *Basil* was very capable of it. And then to excuse himself towards those, who thought, that by his refusal he had offended them that had chosen him; he answers in the first place, That one ought to be afraid of offending Men, when they cannot any other ways avoid it, but by offending God: 2. He shews, that he was so far from disgracing them by his Denial, that he pretended on the contrary, that he obliged them very much, by not exposing them to the reproaches to which they might otherwise have been subject, and the false reports which might have been raised against them. "Is it not certain, says he, that I have accepted the Bishoprick, then those that love to calumniate might have suspected, and spoken many things, "not only of me, but also of my Electors? They would have said, for example, that they "had respect to Riches, or were blinded with the Lustre of Birth, or won by my Flatteries. "I know not whether they would not have dared to say, that I had bribed them with Money. But, thanks be to God, I took from them all these occasions of Evil-speaking, and they can no more tax me with Flattery, than they can accuse these good Men of being corrupted. "For why should he, that bestowed Money, or used Flattery to get an Office, suffer another "to take it when he might have it himself? Again, what might not have been said, by detracting Men after my coming to the Office? Could I have made Apologies sufficient to answer their Accusations? Though all my Actions had been without reproach, had they found "no pretence to blacken me? But now they have none, for I have delivered those that might "have chosen me from all imputations; No complaints will be made of them; It will not be "said publicly, They have entrusted young Fools with the highest, and most considerable "Offices; they have exposed God's Flock to all sorts of Corruption; Christianity is now made "a jest, and they delight to render it ridiculous; Now the mouth of iniquity must be stopped: "For if Calumniators do thus complain of You (addressing himself to *Basil*) you will "let them see, that a man's Wisdom is not to be judged of by the Number of his Years, nor "old Age measured with Gray-hairs; and that not young Men, but *Neophytes* are to be excluded from Ecclesiastical Dignities. Thus he concludes the second Book.

To defend himself against such as accused him of refusing the Bishoprick out of pride, he says, that it is not to be presumed, that any Man could refuse to eminent a Dignity out of Vanity, and that such as are of that opinion must needs be defilers of that high Office. To undeceive them, he speaks of the Priesthood in these Terms: "Though the Priesthood is exercised upon Earth, "yet it ought to be reckoned amongst heavenly Goods, since neither Man, nor Angel, nor "Archangel, nor any created Power, but the Holy Ghost himself, established that sacred Order, "and

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"and made men think, that they exercised a Ministry of Angels in a mortal Body. Wherefore whoever is raised up to the Priesthood, ought to be as pure as if he were already in Heaven, among those blessed Spirits. When you see our Lord placed, and offered upon the Altar, the Bishop celebrating the Sacrifice, and praying for the whole People dyed, and made red with his precious Blood, do you think that you are amongst Men, and upon Earth? Do you not believe your selves to be taken up into Heaven for that moment? And do you not pur off the thoughts of the flesh? Do you not behold heavenly things with a pure Spirit, and a naked Soul? O Miracle! O Bounty of God! He that is above with his Father, suffers himself to be touched by the hands of all in this moment, and gives himself to be held and embraced by those that desire it. Afterwards he compares the Divine Mysteries to *Eliat* his Sacrifice, which caused Fire to come down from Heaven to consume the Victims. He saith, that the Bishop in like manner caught by his Prayers, not Fire from Heaven, but the Holy Ghost to descend upon the Altar. Having thus exalted the Dignity of the Priesthood, because of the Power which they have to consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, he discourses of their Power of binding and loosing Sinners, which is not less honourable, nor less useful to the Salvation of Men. "For, saith he, living as yet upon the Earth, they dispose of the things of Heaven, and they have received a Power which God would give neither to Angels, nor to Archangels; having said unto Men, and not to them, *What you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Temporal Princes have a power to bind, but that is the Body only, whereas Episcopal Power bindeth the Soul, and reacheth unto Heaven, because God ratifieth above, what the Bishops do here below, and the Master confirmeth the Sentence of his Servants. This Power is as much above the Temporal; as Heaven is nobler than the Earth, and the Soul than the Body. It were madness to despise a Power, without which we could hope for no Salvation, nor the possession of the promised Goods: For if none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he be first regenerated with Water, and the Holy Ghost: And if he that eateth not the Flesh of the Lord, and drinketh not his Blood, is deprived of Eternal Life: And if it be these holy Hands, I mean by the hands of Bishops, that all these things are done: How can either the Fire of Hell be avoided, or the Crowns prepared for us in Heaven, be obtained without their help? They and only they, are intrusted by God with these spiritual Births, and that regeneration which is wrought by Baptism: By them we put on Christ, we are united to the Son of God, and become Members of his sacred Body. Bishops do not judge of the Leprosy of the Body, as the Priests did under the old Law; they judge of that of the Soul, and they do not only enquire whether Souls be purified, but they have power also to purify them: Wherefore those that despise them, commit a much greater Crime, and are worthy of a much severer Chastisement than *Dathan*, and his Companions.

Having thus exalted the Dignity of the Priesthood, he discovers the Dangers that attend this Office on all sides: He compares a Bishop that has the Care of a Diocese, with a Pilot that hath the Charge of a Ship. "But a Bishop, saith he, is more agitated with Cares, than the Sea with Winds and Storms: The first Rock he meets with, is vain Glory, Anger, Peevishness, Envy, Quarrelling, Calumnies, Accusations, Lying, Hypocrisies, Treachery, and precipitate Violence against the Innocent; joy to see those that serve the Church, neglect their Duty; and sorrow to see them discharge it worthily; love of Praise, desire of Honour, which is one of the most pernicious passions of the Soul; Discourses where pleasure is more looked after, than the profit of the Hearers, servile Flatteries, base Complacency, Contempt of the Poor, degenerate Civilities towards rich men without reason, favours ill-bestowed, which prove hurtfull both to the giver and to the receiver; guilty fear, bashfulness in speaking, false modesty, silence, cowardice and fear of reproving great Men. There is no slavery equal to ours, which makes us do even shameful things to please Women. They have got such Power, that they give and take away Turnspicks, even to whom, and from whom they please: Hence it is, that all things are turned upside down: Those that should obey, will be Directors of those that are to command. Yet I pretend not to tax all Bishops with the Crimes now mentioned, there being many; I say many, who have not been caught in these snares, and who far exceed those in number, that are unhappily fallen into them. Neither will I say, that the Episcopal Dignity is the cause of these Evils, I am not so extravagant as to have any such thought. The Sword is not the cause of Murder, nor Wine of Drunkenness, &c. All wise Men accuse and punish such as abuse God's Gifts, as the true Authors of those Abuses: And the Episcopal Dignity is so far from being guilty of these Evils, that it may rather complain, that Men do not exercise it well: We are those whom it may upbraid. Since we dishonour it as much as in us lies, when we admit the first that comes, who having not examined their own strength, nor considered the greatness and importance of that Office, receive it readily, as soon as it is offered. And when they are obliged to act, being blinded with Darkness, they engage their People in a thousand Disorders. For, from whence think you, do so many Troubles arise in the Church? I see no other Spring of them besides the want of Circumspection, and Choice in the Election of Bishops.

He discourses afterwards of the necessary qualities in a Bishop, and affirms, that the first is to have no desire to that Dignity, which ought to be looked upon with respect, and such a moderation

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moderation as may inspire Men with a Desire to avoid so important and difficult an Office: And also, that when a Man engages in it, he should not stay for the Judgment of others, to quit it, but having committed faults unworthy of the same, he should despise himself. "Perchance, says he, it will be objected to me, that I contradict the Words of *S. Paul*, That he that desireth to be a Bishop, desireth a good work, but I am lo far from opposing, that I do only follow them, since it is the desire of the Power and not of the Work which I condemn. The second quality, noted by *S. Chrysostom* as requisite in a Bishop, is to be clear-sighted and vigilant, because he lives not for himself, but for a great People. The Third, according to his Opinion, is Meekness; he observes, That a Bishop ought not to be Peevish, Violent or Angry; and that whatsoever his other Vertues be, if these be in him, he is not worthy to be a Bishop. He saith further, That the Vices of a Bishop are of worse consequence than those of a private Man, because, when they are once discovered, they cause a general Scandal, and draw others by their example; and besides, the least faults of a Bishop, being magnified by envious Men, will utterly ruin his Reputation. In the next place, he gives an account of the Disputes and Difficulties which commonly attend the Election of a Bishop, and that the reason of it is, because they do not all agree in the only design which they ought to have, which is to chuse the Wise and most Vertuous. "They, says he, have all different Pretences of promoting a Man to an Office; one will have this Man because he is of a Noble Family; another votes for the other, because he is rich, and a third endeavours to advance his Friend, or his Kinsman: This last goes by Calling and getting of Favour: No Man chooses the most worthy; no Man hath respect either to Vertue or Merit. Then he concludes this Book by a Description of the three main duties of a Bishop, *viz.* The care of Widows, of Virgins consecrated to God, and their obligation to do Justice to the People, and to help them in their necessities.

S. Chrysostom having ended this Discourse, *Basil* told him, That had he sued for that Dignity, his fear might have been rational, but having been chosen when he fought it not, he ought to think himself secure in accepting it. *S. Chrysostom* answers, That not only those that seek for Ecclesiastical Promotions thro' Ambition, but also those that do not discharge them well shall be severely punished, because they should have refused them, knowing that they were above their Capacity; and that even those shall be without excuse, who through insufficiency do not perform their Functions in the Church as they ought, under pretence that they were forced to accept of them; neither shall they be acquitted before God, who chuse Insufficient Men, by saying that they were deceived, and that they knew them not. This ought to oblige those that are to chuse, to consider well what choice they make: and those that are chosen, to examine themselves, Whether they are capable of the Dignity to which they are to be promoted. He discourses afterwards of a Bishop's Learning, that being to preach God's word with Strength and Knowledge, to refuse Pagans, Jews and Hereticks, and to instruct the Faithful, he hath great need of Learning, of Prudence and Eloquence.

He goes on in the next Book to speak of the Conditions which are necessary to exercise the Ministry of God's Word, as we ought; He observes, That Commendation is not to be regarded, and that Envy and Malice is to be despised; but that a good Reputation is to be maintained by constant labour: That a good Bishop ought not to be proud for being praised, nor dejected when he is blamed; and that his only aim in his Discourses should be to please God. "This, saith he, is the only Rule, and the only Object which they ought to propose to themselves in this excellent Ministry, and not to be applauded and praised. If Men do commend them, let them not reject their Commendations; if they do not, let them not desire it, nor be concerned at the omission: This is sufficient comfort for him in his Labour; yea, the greatest he can have, if he knows in his Conscience, that he hath studied his Discourses for no other end, than that they might be acceptable to God only; adding, that he cannot be envious against, nor jealous of those who have more talents than himself.

In the last Book he proves, That Bishops have need of a higher degree of Vertue than Monks, because they are exposed to many more dangers; and that it is easier to live well in a Solitude than as a Bishop; yea, that whatsoever Vertues Monks may have, yet they are not fit to be Bishops, because the accidents of a Bishop's life may easily excite those Vices and Infirmities which were hid in Solitude. Lastly, he declares, That the trouble he was in, when they spoke of making him Bishop, made him resolve to hide himself. He sets forth this trouble by two Comparisons; the one by describing the vexation which a Prince's, incomparable both for Beauty and Vertue, might be in, who being passionately beloved by a Prince, should be forced to marry a mean and contemptible Man; the other, by describing the affrontment of a Clown, that was forced to take upon him the Conduct of both a great Land-Army, and of a Navy that was ready to give Battle to a dreadful Enemy. He concludes by comforting *Basil*, who was afflicted to see himself engaged in so hard an Employment, and loaded with so heavy a Burden.

Some say, that he writ these excellent Books when he was very young, which is not likely. Others think with *Socrates*, That he composed them while he was a Deacon; but it seems rather, that he made them in his Retirement, before he was ordained Deacon, about the Year 376.

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The three Books in *defence of a Monastick Life*, against those that blamed that state, were the first fruits of S. Chrysostom's Retreat. In the first he argues for a Monastick way of life, because of the usefulness and necessity of separating from the World. In the Second he answers the *Gentiles*, who complained that their Children forsok them to retire into desert places; and then he comforts the Christians who were troubled to see themselves bereaved of their Children that embraced a Solitary Life, to dwell in Wilderness. He affirms in these Books, That a Monk is more glorious, more powerful and richer than a Man of the World; representing the great difficulty of saving our selves in the World, and how hard it is to bring up Children to Christianity; and comparing the condition of a Monk with that of Saints and Angels.

The short Discourse upon the *comparison of a Monk with a Prince*, is upon the same Subject. He shews, That Men are mistaken, who prefer the condition of Kings before that of Monks and retired Men. *First*, Because the greatness of Kings ends with them, whereas the advantages of a retired Life continues after death. *2.* Because the advantages of Retirement are much more considerable than the Fortune of Great Men. *3.* Because it is more glorious for a Man to command his Passions, than to rule whole Nations. *4.* Because the War of a Monk is nobler than that of a great Captain, and his Victory more certain; the one fights against invisible Powers, and the other against mortal Men; the one engages for the defence of Piety, and the honour of God, the other for his own Interest or Glory. *5.* Because a Prince is a charge to himself and to others by reason of those many things which he needs; whereas a Monk wants nothing, does good to all, and by his Prayers obtains those Graces, which the most powerful Princes cannot give. *6.* Because the loss of Piety may sooner be repaired than the loss of a Kingdom. *Lastly*, Because, after death, a Monk goeth in splendor to meet Jesus Christ, and entereth immediately into Heaven; whereas, tho' a King seems to have ruled his Kingdom with Justice and Equity (a thing very rare) yet they shall be less glorious and not so happy, there being a great difference in point of Holiness, between a good King, and a holy Monk, who hath bestowed all his time and care upon praising God. But in this King hath lived ill, who can express the greatness of those punishments that attend him? He concludeth in these words; "Let us not admire their Riches, nor prefer their happiness before that of these poor Monks. Let us never say, that this rich Man is happy, because he is clothed with sumptuous Apparel, carried in a fine Coach, and followed by many Footmen: These Riches and great Pumps last but for a time, and all the Felicity that attends them ends with the Life, whereas the Happiness of Monks endures for ever."

It was likewise in his Solitude that he wrote the two Books of *Computation of Heart*, whereof the first is dedicated to *Demetrius*, and the second to *Sisylchius*. In these Books he discourses of the necessity and conditions of a true and sincere Repentance; affirming, That Christians ought to have their sins always in view, to abate them with all their Heart, to lament, and continually beg of God the forgiveness of them: That this sorrow ought to be a motion of that Charity which the Holy Ghost inspirith into our Hearts, and to be animated with the fire of a Divine Love, which consumeth sin, and is accompanied with a Spirit of Mortification and Disinterestedness from the Goods of this World, with an esteem of the Treasures of Heaven, and of Spiritual Virtues. He saith in the first Book, *That it is not Grace only which makes us do good, since we ought our selves to contribute on our part, all that depends upon our Will and Strength; wherefore, saith he, God's Grace is given to every one of us, but it abideth only in the Hearts of them that keep the Commandments, and departeth from them that correspond not with it; neither doth it enter into their Souls, who begin not to turn to the Lord. When God converted S. Paul, he foresaw his good Will before he gave him his Grace.*

The Three Books of Providence were composed by S. Chrysostom, when he came out of his Solitude, and returned to *Antioch*. There he comforteth a Friend of his, one *Sigurinus*, who having quitted the World, was so tormented with an Evil Spirit, that he was ready to fall into Despair; exhorting him to look upon that affliction as a Grace of God rather than a Punishment; for as much as it appears by the most notable Examples both of the old and of the new Law; that from Adam to S. Paul, Troubles and Afflictions have commonly been the lot of the Saints and Righteous Men: For this reason these Books are intituled, *Of Providence*, because they clear that great Question which so much perplexed the learned *Gentiles*, *Why the Righteous are afflicted and persecuted if there be a Providence over-ruling the things of the World?* He sheweth there, that this Question hath no difficulty, if Men believe, that there is another Life, a Heaven and a Hell: For, saith he, *since every one is punished or rewarded in another World, to what end are we concerned at what happens in this?* If wicked Men only were persecuted here, we should easily believe, that out of this World there is neither Punishments nor Rewards; and were there none but good Men in affliction, Virtue might be looked upon as the cause of Adversity, and Crimes the reason of Prosperity. Of necessity therefore there must be in this World Righteous and wicked Men, some happy and others unhappy. He adds, That by God's permission the Righteous are afflicted, to expiate their sins, and to correct them for their faults. He saith further, That God makes use of the Righteous Man's Fear, to oblige others to look to themselves, and to mind their own Salvation. But why doth it happen, That such as lived well before they were tempted by Afflictions should fall into sin, when Temptation cometh? S. Chrysostom answereth, *First*, That many seem to be Righteous before Men, who are great Criminals before God,

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God, that searcheth the Hearts. *Secondly*, That God permits the most righteous to fall into sin, to humble them, to keep them from Pride, and from an Opinion of their own Merit; and to put them in mind, that if they have any thing that is good, it is not of themselves, but of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

The Book of *Virginity* is written with much Prudence and Wisdom: For, whereas most of the Authors that have written of Virginity, could not forbear, whilst they commended this Virtue, to condemn marriage, or at least, to speak slightly of it. On the contrary, S. Chrysostom answereth, at first, those Heretics that condemned Matrimony; and proveth, that their Virginity will not only be unprofitable, but also pernicious; adding withall, that as many as condemn Marriage, are Despisers of Virginity: It being a greater advantage to be what it is, a good thing, a nobler and more excellent than another good thing, than simply a Virtue in opposition to Vice. "I commend Matrimony, saith he, it is the Haven of Continency for those that will use it well; but there are excellent persons, who have need of that help, and are able to quench the Fire of Lust by praying, watching, and lying upon the Ground. These I exhort to Virginity, but forbid them not to marry: If they follow not my Advice, I condemn them not; I excommunicate those that commit Adultery and Fornication, but commend those who make an holy use of Matrimony. Marriage is good, that's my Opinion, but Virginity is better. This I own, and if you will have my Sense, It is as much above Matrimony as Heaven is above the Earth, and makes Men like to Angels."

Afterwards he makes an Objection to himself against Virginity, which seems natural enough: If it be better to live unmarried, why did God institute Marriage? why did he make Women? and should all Men embrace Virginity, how should Mankind be propagated? To answer these Questions, S. Chrysostom goeth back as far as the creation of the first Man, and takes notice, That while he was in the earthly Paradise with Eve, he was taken up with a Conversation with God, that he was then freed from Lust and the desires of the Flesh, and lived in a perfect Virginity, and the whole World was at that time a vast Solitude. But Man having disobey'd God's Commands, and becoming mortal and corruptible, with that happy Life which he enjoyed, he lost also the glory of Virginity; so that Sin being the cause of Death, became at the same time the cause of Marriage. It is probable, that tho' there had been no Marriage, yet the World might have been peopled, and that God had created other Men as he had done the first: adding, That it is not the frequent use of Marriage that multiplieth Mankind, but God's Blessing; and he believes, that Marriage is more necessary to the World at present, for a remedy against Incontinency, than for the preservation of Mankind; he grants, That it is necessary for the weak, but that Virginity is far more honourable and profitable too. He pretendeth, That whoever S. Paul said of Marriage ought to induce Men to embrace Virginity; and at last he describes the troubles and inconveniencies of a married life, and opposes to them the quiet, liberty, sweetness, pleasure, and other advantages of a single one, and then concludes with this noble Sentence; "Here below we are seriously to work out our Salvation; let him that has a Wife live as if he had none; and he that hath not should endeavour with Virginity to get all other Virtues; that fo in the next World he may not lament the disorders that he committed whilst he was in this. This Treatise of Virginity is quoted in the 19th Homily upon the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, preached at *Antioch*. It was by consequence compiled in that Town, S. Chrysostom being a Deacon, or newly ordain'd Priest."

The two Treatises against the cohabitation of Clerks and Women, were composed, if *Palladius* may be believed, at *Constantinople*, against the abuse of those Churchmen, who lodged devout Women with them, or themselves lodged in the Women's Houses.

Against these Disorders S. Chrysostom wrote two Books, whereof the first reproveth the Virgins that dwelt with Churchmen; and the second admonisheth Churchmen who admitted Women into their Lodgings, and shews, That such mixt-habitation is an occasion of scandal, and cannot be wholly free from sin.

In the Discourse to a *young Widow*, he both comforts and exhorts her, To continue in her Widowhood. He made another little Book on purpose to shew, That she ought not to marry again; where he proves, That tho' second marriages be not absolutely forbidden, yet it is much better to continue in Widowhood.

The small Treatise upon this Paradox, *That no Man is offended but by himself*, was written by S. Chrysostom in his Exile. It is upon a Subject very proper to administer Comfort to a Man in Persecution, for he proveth there by several Examples out of Holy Scripture, That Persecutions and Vexations are so far from doing any harm to those that are tempted wrongfully, that they make them more happy and glorious, and that nothing but Sin can make Men truly miserable.

In the first Exhortation to *Theodorus*, who is thought to be the Person who afterwards was made Bishop of *Mysia*; he adviseth him to do Penance for quitting a retired life to return into the World; shewing him, That how great soever his fault might be, yet he might hope for pardon from God's Mercy, because he always granteth it to those that truly and earnestly repent; which Penance is not to be judged of according to the length of Time, but by the disposition of the Heart, and which consisteth in a change of life. Afterwards he represents Heaven, Hell and Judgment, whereof he maketh an excellent Description, to oblige him to do Penance, and then

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he comforts him; by the hope that his Repentance will recover, not only his former Innocence, but also an higher degree of Holiness and Perfection.

Among the Examples which he mentions to confirm this Truth, he citeth the History of that famous Thief who was converted by S. John, which *Ensebius* takes out of *Clement Alexandrinus*.

The second Discourse to *Theodorus* containeth some milder Motives, to oblige him to forsake a Secular life; where he represents the Labours and Cares of the World, to make him out of love with it. This last Exhortation ought to be placed first: These Treatises were written at *Antioch*.

All S. *Chrysostom's* Letters were written during his Banishment.

The first is a Circular Letter to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, and *Chromatius* Bishop of *Aquileia*, in which, having described the attempts of *Theophilus*; the Injuries which he receiv'd from him; the Injustice and Violence exercised towards him; and the Disturbance in the Churches of the East, upon his account, very eloquently, he entreats them to write to the East to tell them, That what was done against him, was to be look'd upon as of no force, as being done against the Laws, in his absence by his Enemies, and to the prejudice of those professors which he had made to appear before lawful Judges; and consequently, that such as acted so Unconsciously were to be punished according to the severity of Ecclesiastical Laws; declaring, That he was ready to justify his Innocence, and to convince his Accusers of Imposture and Violence before uncorrupt Judges.

There is another Letter to Pope *Innocent*, wherein he thanks him for the good Offices which he had endeavour'd to do him; but it was written long after the former, in the third Year of S. *Chrysostom's* banishment.

The Letter to the Bishops and Priests that were put in Prison for defending his Innocence, and refusing to communicate with *Afacius*, was written in the first Year of his Exile. There he commends the Constancy and Courage of these generous defenders of Justice, whom he troubles not to call Martyrs.

The thirteen following Epistles are directed to the Widow *Olympias*, who was united to him by the bonds of an intimate Friendship; he comforteth her for the Persecutions she had endured, the Affliction she was in, and for the Sickness she lay under.

These are some of the Maxims which he lays down to comfort her and himself. "Nothing is to be feared but sin, all other accidents of this life are but a Fable and a Comedy; Afflictions, Persecutions, Sicknesses and Death itself should not move us; these are to be born with patience for God's sake, no other Blessing is to be compared with Patience. We are neither to desire Death, nor to neglect Sickness; not the Persecuted but Persecutors are Objects of pity; and the latter are so much the more to be lamented, because, like Men in a Frenzy, they feel not their Distemper. This present life is but a passage, all the Goods of this World are but Dust and Smoak. Such Christian thoughts as these employ'd the Spirit of S. *Chrysostom* in his Exile, and furnish'd him with matter for the Letters he writ to his Friends: He thanked them likewise in his Epistles, for the care they had of him, and for the generous Methods which they followed to justify him; with other Letters to oblige his Friends to continue steadfast to him, to let them hear of him, to let them know what they might do for him, and to pray them, That they would write to him. These are the subjects of the greatest part of 225 Letters written to his Friends. Some are concerning the Affairs of the Church in *Phoenicia*, the Conversion of the *Goths*, and the helping of the Poor; which shew, That tho' he was banished and deprived of his Bishoprick, yet he preserved an Episcopal Spirit, and Pastoral Watchfulness.

The Judgment which *Photinus* makes of these Letters, is this: (Vol. 36. of his *Bibliotheca*) "I have read, faith he, the Letters which S. *Chrysostom* writ to several persons in the time of his Banishment; the most useful are those severent to *Olympias*, and that to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he gives an account of the Persecutions which he suffered, as much as the extent of a Letter could permit. The Style of these Letters is not very different from that of his other Works, for it is clear and lofty, florid, pleasant and persuading." The Letters to *Olympias* are not so artless as the others, because he could not suit an Epistolary Style, with the Matter he was to write, which, if we may so say, has done Violence to the Laws of the art of Writing.

This Reflection of *Photinus* is particularly to be apply'd to the Letter directed to Pope *Innocent*, and the other Western Bishops, wherein he denbeth the Persecutions which he endur'd with great force of Eloquence. There is not among these Letters That directed to *Casarius* the Monk: *Peter Martyr* was the first that quoted it in these latter times; and since he did not tell whence he took it, and that the words seem'd contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, and of S. *Chrysostom* upon the Eucharist, those of the Church of *Rome* did long suspect *Peter Martyr* as guilty of Imposture, and look'd upon the fragment of that Letter as a piece of his own Invention. But since that time, *Bigotius* having found an ancient Manuscript of the Version of that Letter in the *Dominican's* Library at *Florence*, it was no longer doubted, but that *Peter Martyr* took from thence the fragment which he quoted, and I think we ought not to reject it as unworthy of S. *Chrysostom*: For tho' the Greek Original is not extant entire, yet, some-

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something of S. *Chrysostom's* Eloquence appears in that Version: and this Letter is mentioned by several Greek Authors (q), who have taken several Quotations that are Printed with the ancient Version.

By this Letter it appears, that *Casarius* to whom it was written, admired a certain Book, wherein it was averred, That in Jesus Christ there was such an Union, or mixture of Humanity with Divinity, that they made but one Nature: S. *Chrysostom* tells him, that this was the Error of *Apollinarius*, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, and *Manichæus*, about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. And the Origin to inform him better, he bids him take notice, that there were two Natures in Christ; and each of them doth preserve its Properties, without mixture, and without confusion, tho' united together, in the same Person: to explain this truth, he alleges the Example of the Eucharist, and cut enim faith, That as Bread is called Bread before the Sanctification, but that after the Divine Grace hath antequam hallowed it by means of the Priest, it ought no longer to be called Bread, but to bear the Name of Sanctified Christ's Body, tho' it remains in the same nature of Bread, and that Men do not say, that they are two Bodies, but One only Body of Jesus Christ; so we ought to say, that the Divine Nature is united with the Humane, makes but one Christ, and one Person. And yet it must be acknowledged, that each of these Natures continueth perfect and intire, without mixture, and without confusion; for, *mus, Divi*, if there remained but one Nature, how could it be said that there is Union? The words of *mus, Divi*, S. *Chrysostom*, instead of destroying the real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, do suppose *illam* (and prove it invincibly: for otherwise how could he affirm, that the Body of Jesus Christ is as truly *Gratia*, in the Eucharist, as the Divine Nature is in the Person of Jesus Christ? He saith indeed, that the Bread remains in its own Nature. Which seemeth to be against Transubstantiation: but we may understand by Nature, the consistency and appearance of Bread. In a word, this passage is not harder to be understood, than those of *Theodoret* and of *Celsus*, who use the same Comparison: Nay, it is much easier, because S. *Chrysostom* in several places explaineth his Opinion very clearly upon the real Change of the Bread, and Wine into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

one panis, dignus autem habitus est DOMINICI CORPORIS appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in eo permansit, & non duo corpora, sed unum corpus filii prædicatoris: Sic & hic Divinæ eucharistiae, id est, infundite corpori Naturæ unum folum, unam Personam, utraque hæc fecerunt: Agnoscendum, tamen inconsumam & indivisibilem rationem, non in una solum Naturâ, sed in duabus perfectis: Thus translated into English, by the Learned Defender of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, against the Bishop of *Mauis*. "For as [in the Eucharist] before the Bread is Consecrated, we call it Bread, but when the Grace of God by the Priest has Consecrated it, it is no longer called Bread, but is offered up to be called the Lord's Body, altho' the Nature of Bread still remains in it; and we do not say there be two Bodies, but one Body of the Son; so here the Divine Nature, being join'd with the [Humane] Body, they both together, make up but one Son, one Person. But yet they must be Consecrated to remain without confusion, after an indivisible manner, not in one Nature, but in two perfect Natures." Now if we suppose that S. *Chrysostom* designed his Comparison to be just, or believed that it was so, it will not be easy to find other words more expressive of the Sense of the Church of England in this matter, than those here made use of: and there is no Dispute, but those who took so much Pains to conceal this Testimony, believed that the greatest force that could be put upon this Passage, could never persuade unconcerned Readers, that the Person who wrote it believ'd that Doctrine of the Eucharist, which is at present taught in the Church of *Rome*.]

This Letter ends with an Exposition of his Doctrine, about the Mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, in these words. "It must be Confessed, that the same Jesus Christ who is Mortal, hath two complete Natures, the Divine, and the Humane, and yet he is one and the same only Son, not divisible into two, who comprehends in himself the Properties of both Natures, without any Alteration. They are not two Persons, but the same God, Lord, and Saviour, Word of God, who hath put on our Flesh, but animated Flesh, not Flesh without matter of Soul, as the impious *Apollinarius* maintains. To this we are to hold; let us avoid those that say we separate the two Natures, for tho' there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, yet their Union is indivisible in short: subtle and inseparable. We ought to acknowledge that this Union is made in one and the same this; Person, and Hypostasis of the Son. Neither let us hear those who affirm, That after this *genius* has Union there is but one Nature in Christ; since they are obliged by their own Hypothesis, to vinge ascribe Sufferings to the Divine Nature, which is impossible. The Version of this Letter which *Bigotius* brought a *Bigotius* could not get Printed at *Paris*, for some particular Considerations; it was Printed after this Letter the Latin Copy, by Mr. le Moine, at the end of the first Volume of his *Varia Sacra*, at *Amster-* from *Flo-* *romæ*, annexed it to his Edition of *Palladius's* Life of S. *Chrysostom*, which was Printed at *Paris*, 1680. In his Preface, he vindicated its Authority against those Exceptions, which had before been made to it: and being afraid that the Licensers might suppose it, he reserved some few entire Printed Copies of the Book, before it came into their hands. His fears proved very Reasonable, for some of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, whereof Mr. *Grandin*, and Mr. *Favre* were charged as Principal, suppress'd the Letter it self, and cut out so much of the Preface of Mr. *Bigotius*, as related to it, without taking care to fill up the Blank. The Learned Vindicator of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, against Mr. *de Mauis*, tells the Story, and Prints that part of *Bigotius's* Preface which was erased, with S. *Chrysostom's* Letter to *Casarius*, at the end of his Vindication, in *London*, 1688. And this explains Mr. *Du Pin's* particular Considerations, leaving every Body to guess at the true Reason.]

(g) By several Greek Authors. These Authors are *Anastasi* in the M.S. Collections of the Library of *Clement*, *Nicophorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in two MSS. in Mr. *Colbert's* Library, an Author that wrote against the *Severians*, published by *Turrianus*; S. *John Damascenus*, *Tom. 4. Var. Lett. Censuræ* p. 211. [*Theophilus* in *Legatione ad Armenios*, p. 74. These Fragments are in the *Roterodam* [and *London*] Editions.

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dam, 1685. and with the Greek Fragments in the Margin at Rotterdam, by Achers, 1687. This Edition was publicly sold at Paris, which shews, that tho' it was not suffered to be Printed in France, before it was more exactly examined, yet they never design'd to suppress it. And indeed the most Skillful Criticks having well considered it, do confess that it was written by an ancient Author, and is not unworthy of S. Chrysostom: and the Learnedst Divines of the Church of Rome agree, that the Doctrine set forth in this Letter, is agreeable to that of this Father, and do not find it a difficult thing to expound that passage concerning the Eucharist.

The Liturgy attributed to S. Chrysostom now Extant, in all probability is not written by him: It is a Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, made or altered at least since S. Chrysostom, to which his Name was given, because it was for the use of the Church of Constantinople [and to give it more Authority.] We do not find there the Prayers and Ceremonies, which S. Chrysostom mentions in his Homilies, as in use in his time, in the Celebration of the Eucharist; and there were some things which do not suit with the Customs of that Age. The Manuscripts of this Book are very different; in some there are the Names of S. Chrysostom, of Pope Nicholas II. and of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, who lived long after S. Chrysostom. These passages indeed are not found in that which was translated by Erasmus; but for all that, there is enough to prove that that Liturgy is not of the time of S. Chrysostom.

This Father is one of the most Eloquent Christian Orators, and his Eloquence is the more to be esteemed, because it is without Affectation and Constraint: Fruitfulness of thought, and abundance of Words and Notions is natural to him; tho' he did not trye up himself as S. Gregory Nazianzen, and S. Basil did, to an Artick purity; yet there is a lofty Greatness in his Style; His Style is pure and pleasant; His Discourse is beautified with a wonderful Variety of Conceptions and Figures; He extendeth his Matters, by an infinite Variety of Expressions; He is very ingenious in finding out Similitudes between things, abundant in Examples and Comparisons; His Eloquence is popular, and very proper for Preaching; His Style is natural, easy and grave; He equally avoideth Negligence, and Affectation; He is neither too plain, nor too florid; He is smooth yet not effeminate; He useth all the Figures that are usual to good Orators very properly, without employing false strokes of Wit, and he never introduces into his Discourses, any Notions of Poets or prophane Authors, neither does he divert his Auditory with Jest; His Composition is Noble, his Expressions Elegant, his Method Just, and his Thoughts Sublime; He speaks like a good Father, and a good Pastor; He often directs his words to the People, and expresses them with a Tenderness and Charity becoming an holy Bishop; He teacheth the principal Truths of Christianity, with wonderful Clearness, and diverts with a marvellous Art, and an agreeable way of ranging his Notions, and persuades by the strength and solidity of his Reasons; His Instructions are easy; His Descriptions and Relations pleasant; His Inducements to meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded; His Discourses how long soever are not tedious, there are still some new things which keep the Reader awake, and yet he hath no false Beauties, nor useless Figures; His only Aim is to convert his Auditors, or to instruct them in necessary Truths; He neglects all Reflections, that have more subtilty than profit; He never busies himself to resolve hard Questions, nor to give mystical Sences, to make a shew of his Wit, or Eloquence; He searcheth not into Mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; He is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible Truths, which none can be ignorant of, without danger of filling of Salvation; He particularly applies himself to moral Heads, and very seldom handleth speculative Truths; He affects not to appear Learned, and never boasts of his Erudition; and yet whatever the Subject be, he speaks with Terms so strong, so proper, and so well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound Knowledge of all sorts of Matters, and particularly of true Divinity.

He proveth the truth of the Christian Religion, by the strongest, the most probable, and sensible Reasons; He urgeth Miracles, Prophecies, and other Proofs of the truth of Religion; but particularly insists upon the miraculous Establishment of the Church, and in this Argument he triumphs; He shews that it is impossible, that the Doctrine of Jesus Christ could have been received, and believed all the world over, notwithstanding the opposition of Secular Powers, the Contradictions of the Wise men in the World, and the endeavours of Devils, had it not been supported by the power of God himself: "For, says he, there is need of more than humane Ability, to produce such wonderful Effects, both in the Earth, and upon the Sea, and to oblige Menal ready prejudiced by extravagant Opinions, and prepossessed with prodigious Malice to such Actions; yet Jesus Christ delivered all mankind, not only Romans, but Persians also, and all other barbarous Nations from their Calamities: And to bring about these Wonders, he made use of no Arms, and was at no expence; raised no Armies, and fought no Battles; but by eleven Men, who at first were unknown, despisable, ignorant, Ideots, poor, naked, and without Arms; He persuaded different Nations, and made them embrace an high Philosophy, not only relating to the Government of this present Life, but also to things to come, and Eternity itself; His power over all mankind was such, as that it made them abolish the Laws of their Fathers, renounce their ancient Customs, and follow new ones; He spoiled them even of the love of those things they were most fond of to falsen their Affections, upon such things as are most difficult and painful. But the Promulgation of the Gospel, and the setting of the Church, are not the only Proofs of the truth of our Religion, the stedfastness and perpetuity of the Church,

Church is also in S. Chrysostom's Opinion an invincible Argument of it. "For he addeth, that it is not only a thing worthy of Admiration, that Jesus Christ should settle his Church over all the Earth, but also that he should render it invincible against so great numbers of Enemies as assaulted it on every side. The Gates of Hell that cannot prevail against it, are the Dangers which seem to hurry it to the very Gates of Hell. Doe you not perceive the truth of that prediction of Jesus Christ. . . . Tho' Tyrants took up Arms against it, tho' Soldiers conspired her Destruction, tho' the People rag'd furiously, tho' a contrary Custom oppos'd it self, tho' Preachers, Philosophers, Magistrates, and rich Men stood up to destroy it; 'Tis Divine word breaking with greater force than fire it self, consumed these Thorns, cleared these Fields, and diffused the Seed of preaching over the whole Earth. And though such as believed the Gospel were shut up in Prisons, sent into Banishment, spoiled of their Goods, thrown into the Fire, call'd into the Sea, and expell'd to all manner of Torments, Reproaches, and Persecutions, and tho' they were treated every where, as publick Enemies; yet they multiplied daily; their being persecuted increas'd their Zeal. . . . Those Rivers of Blood caus'd by the Maltreats of the Faithful, before their Eyes excited their Piety, and the Pains they endured inflam'd their Zeal.

This same Saint observes in another place, that Christians are never so disorderly in their Behaviour, and so cold in their Devotion, as when he that sits on the Throne is of their Religion. "Which, saith he, justifies that this Religion is not established by the Powers of the World, but is not upheld and preserved by Earthly force.

S. Chrysostom's way of dealing with Hereticks is not less rational, than that which he useth towards Heathens and Jews. He expoundeth the Myteries very plainly, and proveth them by Testimonies of Holy Scripture, and the Authority of the Church, not pretending to penetrate, or give the Reasons of them, and to answer those Difficulties, which have no other Foundation but humane Reasonings. He confesses, that he does not understand the Reasons of what he believes, "I know, saith he, that God is every where, and entire in every part of the World, but I know not how this can be. I doubt not, but that God is without beginning, but I conceive not how the Son is begotten of God the Father, but I cannot imagine how that was done. He believes that the Divine Nature is so high and unsearchable, that it is not possible to comprehend it; and pursues this Reasoning so far, that he fudgeth not to say, that Seraphims and Angels themselves do not see the Substante of God, but only an Emanation of his Divine Light. This passage hath made some modern Greeks suppose, that the Saints do not see the Substante of God, but only a Corporal Light, such as (they say) appeared upon Mount Tabor. This also hath excited the Subtily of our Divines, who constitute Happines in the Vision of the Substante of God: And yet S. Chrysostom hath respect in this passage, neither to that Light of the Modern Greeks, nor to the Disputes of the Schoolmen; his only design is to shew against Arians, that the Divine Nature is not to be comprehended, and that evident Reasons of the Myteries are not to be given.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the Opinions of S. Chrysostom, concerning the Mystery of the Trinity; it is certain, that he maintained the Faith of the Council of Nice, and that he proved the Divinity both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; yet it ought to be observed, that he was of Meletius's opinion, concerning the Signification of the word *Hypostasis*, and that he owned Three *Hypostases*, and one Nature in God.

As to the Mystery of the Incarnation, tho' he was equally contrary to the Error of those who distinguished two Persons in Christ, and that of those who confounded the two Natures, and their Properties; yet he in several passages of his Writings, declared against the latter Opinion very eagerly.

In his *Panegyrics* of the Saints, he ascribeth to them all manner of Felicity; he places them in Heaven, in the same Rank with Angels, and Archangels, of Prophets, and Martyrs; and yet in other places, he seems to affirm, that their Happines is referred to the Day of Judgment; but these may agree well enough, if we lay, that he spake in the latter of a perfect and consummated Happines.

Angels, if we believe S. Chrysostom, are so called, because they declare the Will of God unto Men; for which cause the Scripture representeth them with Wings; They take care of Men, are present at Divine Services, and every Christian hath his Guardian Angel.

The Devil is not wicked of his own Nature, but is become such by Sin. God permits him to tempt Men for their good. It is a Childish thing to believe, that those are Angels which the Scripture calleth the Children of God in *Genesis*, and of whom it is said, that they converted with the Daughters of Men; since they are of a spiritual and incorporeal Nature.

He Confesses in several places, that the Fall of the first Men was prejudicial to the whole Race, which ever since is become subject to Pains, Sickneses, and Death, from which it was free before Sin: He acknowledgeth, that an inclination to Evil, and Lusts, are Consequences of the first Man's sin; but he seemeth not to have owned Original sin, after the same manner that S. Austin doth; at least it cannot be denied, that he hath given another Sence to those places of S. Paul which

Orat. con-
tra Genti-
les, de S.
Babyl.

Orat. 1. de
incompreh.
Homil. 24.
in Joannem.

ib. Orat. 1.

Ep. ad Casarium, Homil.
de Confess. in lib. Rud. Chri-
stus J. deus. V. Theodor.
in Dialog.

Homil. de B. Philog. Hom.
de S. S. Homil. 39. in ep.
1. ad Cor. & Hom. 28. in
ep. ad Hebr. Hom. 29. Matthe.

Homil. 3. de Incompreh.
Hom. 3. in ep. ad Coloss.
Hom. 14. in ep. ad Hebr.

Hom. de Diabolo tenta-
tor. Hom. 22. in Gene-
sim.

S. John
Chrysostom.

which seem to prove it most. As for Example, when he expoundeth that famous passage, *Rom. 5. 12.* By One man sin entered into the World, &c. He understandeth of Death what S. Paul saith of Sin; because it is the Wages of Sin; and upon those other words of the same Chapter, *As by the disobedience of one, many are become guilty, &c.* This Sentence, saith he, seems to have much of Difficulty: for how can it be, that one only Man having sinned, many should be made guilty by his sin? We may easily conceive, that the first Man being become mortal, it was necessary, that his Offspring should be mortal likewise; but what Likelihood, and what Reason is there, that a man should be a Sinner, because of another's disobedience? What then signifieth the word Sinner? In my Opinion it signifieth nothing else, but a condemned Man, subject to Pain and Death: This is a way of speaking which does not agree with S. Augustin's Doctrine: Tho' it is not hard to defend S. Chrysostom, by saying, That tho' he spake thus, yet he admitted all that Divines own concerning Original sin: For what is Original sin, according to them? It is either a Privation of Original Righteousness, or Lust with the guilt of Sin, or pain and Guilt together. But S. Chrysostom acknowledges all these: for in the first place he Confesseth, that by the first Man's sin, all men were deprived and spoiled of the State of Innocence, that by the first Man's sin, all men were subjected to Pain and Grief, but also inclined to Evil. Thus they are become not only mortal, and subject to Pain and Grief, but also inclined to Evil. They, in his Opinion, Lust is an effect of the first Man's sin: and that Concupiscence in men, makes them unworthy of eternal Life, if the Grace of Jesus Christ saveth them not by Baptism.

He ascribes much to the strength of Free-will; He always speaks as if he believed that it depends upon our selves to do good or evil, and affirms that God always gives his Grace to those who on their side do all they can; That we must begin, and God makes an end; That he followeth the motions of our Wills, and giveth them their Perfection; yet he owns the necessity of Grace to do good, but submits it still to our Will: So that according to him, We are to will and choose the good, and God gives us the necessary Grace to fulfil the same; he prevents not our Will, but our Liberty may not be prejudiced; he worketh good in us, but that is when we are willing: when our Will is determined, he draweth to himself, but only those who do all their endeavours: *Rom. 12. in come near to him.* Those Principles about foreknowledge, and Predetermination, agree very well with these Conclusions. God did not predestinate men, but as he foresaw their merits: foreknowledge & 8. in ep. is not the cause of the event of things, but God foresaw them because they shall happen. He calls all men; Jesus Christ died for all men; he prepared his Grace for all, he predestinated those whom he foresaw would use his Grace well: He Confesses, that no man is free from sin in this Life, nay, he excepteth not the holy Virgin Mary.

S. Chrysostom attributes much virtue and efficacy to Sacraments, but he requires very holy dispositions, that Men may be the better for them. He saith, That Circumcision and the other Sacraments of the Jews, did not blot out Sins, but cleaned only Bodily filthiness; whereas our Baptism hath far greater Virtue purifying the Soul, delivering it from sin, and filling it with the Grace of the Holy Spirit: that John's Baptism was indeed more excellent, than that of the Jews, but much inferior to ours, because it conferred neither the Holy Ghost, nor the remission of Sins, but only exhorted Men to Repentance. The Baptism of Jesus Christ, not only frees the Soul from sin, but also sanctifieth it, wherefore it is called the Laver of Regeneration, because it reneweth the Soul through Grace. Yet he does not believe, that Baptism produces these Effects in those of riper years, unless they are well disposed to receive it. He exalts from those that come to this Sacrament, that they be watchful in the things of their Salvation, disengaged from worldly Cares, and that they renounce all disorderly Conversation: that they be zealous in their Devotion, and banish from their Hearts all thoughts unbecoming so holy an Action, and keep their Souls prepared for the coming of this great King. And because the *Clinicks*, (that is such as receive Baptism at the point of Death) have not time thus to prepare themselves, he doubts of their Salvation. He speaketh of their Condition in such terms, as describe the Case of a dying man very naturally, who desirous to repent of his Sins till the hour of Death, and then would receive the Sacraments. Altho', saith he, Sacraments contain the same Graces, when the Preparation is different, yet all may not receive them. They receive Baptism laying upon their Beds, you receive it in the bosom of the Church, which is the Mother of all the Faithful; they receive it weeping, and you with joy; they with groans, and you with thanksgiving; they in the heat of a Fever, and you under the Sense of the heavenly Grace: every thing here hath a Relation to the Grace received, there every thing disagrees with it; there are sighings and tears, while the Sacrament is administered, Children cry, the Wife tears her Hair, Friends are dejected, Servants weep, the whole House is in Mourning; and if you mind the Spirit of the sick Person, you shall find it more full of Sorrow, than that of the Standers by; for as a stormy Sea divides into several Waves, so his Soul being agitated with troubles is torn with a thousand Disquietudes, racked with infinite Troubles. In this torture comes in a Priest, whose Presence is more dreadful both to the Company, and to the sick Man, than the Sickness it self: his Visit ordinarily causeth greater Despair, than the Physicians Sentence, that there is no hope of Recovery. They imagine that Sacraments, tho'

" Instruments

" instruments of the Spiritual life, are infallible tokens of Corporal death. But this is not yet the end of his Miserie, nor the height of his Affliction; sometimes while Necessary for the Sacrament are preparing, the Soul departs out of the Body; and often, tho' remaining in the Body, yet it receives not the fruit of the Sacrament; for when the Sick person knows no body, hears not the Prayers, and cannot utter the Words whereby he is to engage with God, when he is half dead; what benefit can he reap from the Sacrament?

S. Chrysostom doth not discourse oftner, nor in higher terms of any one Mytery, than of the Eucharist. He says in many places, that the Body and Blood of Christ are upon the Altars: That Jesus Christ hath left us his Body and Blood: That the Bread and Wine become Hom. 45. in the Body and Blood of Christ: That we ought not to doubt of it, seeing Christ himself affirmed it: That it is a surprizing Miracle, comparable to the greatest Wonders: That by the virtue of Christ's Words, in the Celebration of this Mytery, Christ is offered in Sacrifice: That Jesus Christ offereth himself to God the Father: That this Sacrifice is made without shedding of blood: That Angels and Arch-angels are present at it: That fire from Heaven consumeth the things offered, and changeth them into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: That this Table is to be approached unto with reverence and trembling: That there is need of Holiness, to receive holy things: That Penitents ought not to come near; and that these Myteries must be hid from Catechumens: That Men ought not only to be freed from Sin, but also from Earthly affections, and penetrated with divine Love, transported with an holy Zeal, and possessed with fervent Charity. Three sorts of Prayers were made at the Celebration: The Hom. 51. in First for those that were possessed; the Second for Penitents; and the Third for the Faithfull. There was mention made of the Dead, and Invocation of Saints; The Sanctus was recited; Hom. 52. de The Catechumens and Penitents were put out; The Euergetes were brought in at the Consecration, and Prayers were made for them. S. Eusebius. Hom. 14. & 17. in ep. ad Eph.

Hebr. 1.6. de Sacer. c. 1. Hom. 51. in Matth. Hom. 15. in ep. ad Cor. Serm. de prodit. Jude. Hom. in S. Enst. Hom. 33. in Nat. Domini. Serm. de prodit. Jude.

S. Chrysostom wisht that all those who were present might communicate; and sticks not to say, That all those that are unworthy to communicate, are not worthy to partake of the Prayers: And that as he who finds not himself guilty of any Sin, ought to communicate every day; so he, on the contrary, that hath committed Sin, and repented not, should not do it, upon Festivals.

De Sacerdot. c. 4. Hom. in Christi Natalem. Hom. 83. in Matth. Hom. 45. in Pop. ad. Hom. 22. ad Pop. Ant. 1.6.

The Sacrament was administered to dying persons, and it was preserved in a Box. Lastly, That none but the Priests alone have the power to administer the Eucharist, which is the great thing that exalteth their Dignity.

But there is another Power invetted in them which is not inferior to the other, which is that of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting of Sins. It were to be wisht that Men needed no Repentance, but that they might keep their Baptismal purity without spot: But it being impossible not to Sin, God hath prepared the remedy of Repentance. Those that are guilty of high Crimes, as Murder, Adultery, or Fornication, and the like, are put out of the Church and enjoyed public Penance; but if they mend their faults, they may come in again, having purified themselves by Repentance. As many as continue in Sin, and yet will come into the Church, notwithstanding the Admonitions of Christ's Ministers, aggravate their crime. Men may hope for pardon, whatsoever their Sin be; but let them have a care of being too confident: Few days are enough to get pardon for Sin. God, saith he, in the Ninth Homily of Repentance, doth not consider the length, but the zeal of Penance. If you have sinned several times, repent; come into the Church and put away your Sins. As you will rise up as often as you fall, so as often as you have sinned repent of your Sin, and never despair. If you sin a second time, repent again; and beware lest ye fall into that legion. Confession, which may make you lose the hope of future benefits. Tho' ye should sin in the last day of your life, yet enter into the Church by repentance; this is the time of Repentance, and not of Judgment: God requireth not the penalty of Sin, but grants pardon for it. He wisely addeth in the following Homily, That none ought to despair, but every one ought to beware of presumption; for these two extremes are equally dangerous, because Despair hinders Men from rising again, and Presumption makes those fall that stood upright before: Sloth causes us to come short of Heaven, and Despair precipitates into an Abyss of Malice.

de Diab. tentatore. Hom. de B. Philogonio. Hom. 9. de Penitentia. Hom. 72. in Matth. Hom. 41. in 1. ad Cor. Hom. de Seraphim. Hom. 15. in 1. ad Cor. Hom. 3. in ep. ad Eph. Hom. 17. in ep. ad Heb. Hom. 29. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 17. in 1. ad Cor. Hom. 24. in ep. ad Cor. Hom. 31. de B. Philogonio. Hom. 33. in Matth. Hom. 17. de Sacerdot. ibid. Hom. ad illud min. Hom. de Davide & Saul. Hom.

And thus S. Chrysostom observes a just Medium between the exceeding Severity of some who thrust Men into despair, and the soft Compliance of others, who promise Remission without a true and sincere Repentance. Whosoever hath committed Sin, must own and confess it before God, if he would obtain pardon: He must be truly affected with a sensible grief for his wickedness; he must truly return to the Lord, and be converted; abhor his iniquity, forsake his vicious

L

S. John Chrysostom.

Hom. 21. ad Pop. Ant.

Hom. 9. de incompreh. Dei natura.

Hom. 8. de Penitentia.

Hom. 9. de Penitentia.

Hom. 20. in Genesim.

Hom. in Ps. 50.

Hom. 11. in Lazarum.

In Hom. de non euilegendis fructibus peccati.

Serm. de penit. & malitia Regis Achab.

Hom. de bapt. Christi.

Hom. 22. ad Pop. Ant.

De Davide & Saul.

Hom. 17. in Matth.

Hom. 4. in ep. ad Hebr.

In lib. contra gent. de S. Babyla.

Hom. de S. Babyla.

Hom. de B. Philogenio.

Hom. 2. ad pop. Antioch. Hom. 1. in ep. ad Theff. Hom. 1. in illud Modico vino utere.

Hom. 21. in Añ. Hom. 41, 42. in 1 ad Cor.

Hom. de bapt. Christi.

ibid.

Hom. 3. de incompreh.

cious habits, after his course of life, and love God with all his heart, and above all things, and do every thing for his sake, &c.

The only thing that may seem difficult in S. Chrysostom's Discourses concerning Penance, is what he saith of Confession of Sins: For in several places he seems to affirm, That it is not necessary to confess to Men, but that it is sufficient to confess to God, who knoweth the secrets of the heart. Those passages are remarkable, and have often been alledged by the Enemies of Confession. It has been answered by some, That S. Chrysostom spoke only in opposition to a publick Confession, supposed to have been abolished by Nestorius; but these Men do not observe, that most of these passages, even the most express, are taken out of the Homilies preached at Antioch by S. Chrysostom. The best, and the most natural Answer is, That S. Chrysostom does not speak in these places of those enormous Crimes that are subject to Canonical Penance; but in general of such light offences as Christians daily commit; for the remission whereof, they need neither Confession nor Absolution, but only true Motions of inward repentance. He likewise discourseth of that sort of Sins, when he saith, That they are forgiven by Tears, by Alms, by Humility, by Prayer, and other remedies of that nature. However, S. Chrysostom was very severe in the punishment of Sinners; and he not only wisht that notorious Sinners might be put out of the Church, and enjoyed Penance, as Adulterers and Blasphemers; but he threatened also to excommunicate those who came to the holy Mysteries negligently, and such as lived in hatred and quarrels, that minded Stage-plays, were envious, proud, &c. Neither would he have great Lords to be spared; "For, saith he, as to Ecclesiastical Correction, Princes are but as other Faithfull, there ought to be no distinction." He adds, That the Ministers of Iesus Christ should do their Duty, tho' there were no hope that their reproof could prevail. Yet he would not have the Sword of the Church used lightly, or that Anathema's should be indifferently pronounced. This is the subject of the discourse concerning Anathema's; wherein he endeavours to refute those, who without lawfull authority, undertook boldly to condemn their Brethren, and to pronounce Anathema's upon such matters as they were ignorant of. And he observes, that Men ought to be extremely reserved in this case, and not to publish Anathema's inconsiderately against any: But when there is necessity, it ought to be done with an intention to cure, and not to destroy those that are under that penalty. † He saith further, in another place, That Zeal must be tempered with Mercy, for otherwise it degenerates into Fury, and other Men's faults are not hardly to be judged of.

In lib. contra gent. de S. Babyla. Hom. de Anathemat. † Hom. 9. in Genesim.

In S. Chrysostom's time Martyrs were had in honour; they were commemorated in the publick Services; their Festivals were kept, and their Relicks reverend; not that they believed there was any vertue in those Bones, but because the sight of their Graves, Urns, or Bones, affected and awaked the Mind, after the same manner, as if the Dead were present, and prayed with us; because the sight of their precious Relicks made an impression upon the Mind. They visited the holy Places with Devotion; but S. Chrysostom observes, that the chief intention of those Pilgrimages ought to be the assisting of the Poor. The Dead were pray'd for: and S. Chrysostom exhorts their Relations to give Alms in their behalf.

Hom. 21. in Añ. Hom. 41, 42. in 1 ad Cor.

Sundays and great Festivals were kept with great Solemnity. S. Chrysostom exhorteth Christians to spend that day in Exercises of Devotion: He zealously reproveth all those who employ that day about Business or Recreations; affirming, That God's Curse will light upon their Labours, and dissipate what they get by neglecting his Service. In several places he encourageth the Faithfull to frequent Divine Service and the Publick Prayers of the Church, and shews that they are more powerfull and of greater efficacy, than private ones: He reproves those that gave attention to Sermons, but would go out as soon as the Sermon was ended.

When I preach, (says he, in the Third Discourse of the incomprehensible Nature of God) I that am Christ's Servant as you are, you come in throngs to hear me; you hearken to my words, and exhort one another, and attend with patience unto the end; but when Iesus Christ appeareth in the Mysteries, the Church is empty; you go out as soon as you have heard the Sermon, which is a sign that you have profited nothing; for had the Truths preached unto you made any impression upon your Minds, you would have stay'd in the Church, and have partaken of these stupendous Mysteries with reverence and devotion; but, alas! you depart immediately after the Sermon, as if you came only to hear a Comfort of Music. Some, to excuse themselves, use this weak reason; We can pray at home, but can hear no Sermons but at Church: You deceive your selves; for tho' ye may pray at home, yet your Prayer cannot have the efficacy of that in the Church, where so many Priests join their Prayers with yours, and where a common Voice crieth to Heaven to implore God's mercy. Common Prayer is a wonderful Concord, proceeding from a Concord of Charity: To which we are to add the Prayers of the Priests, who are set over the Assemblies; that the Prayers of the People, tho' weaker of themselves, may gather strength by being joined to those of God's Ministers.

The

The Fast of Lent was exactly observed, with Abstinence from Meats; but for any Bodily Infirmary it might be dispensed with. Two days of the week were exempt from Fasting, that the Body might have some Respite.

S. Chrysostom looks upon the Holy Scripture, as the ground and Rule of all the truths of Religion; He exhorts all the Faithfull to read it exactly; and this Advice he prefaces an infinite number of times; He expounds it literally, and draws from it edifying moral Instructions, but he never propounds any forced Allegories, nor resolveth those Questions that have more of Curiosity than Profit, as most Writers of Commentaries, whether Ancient or Modern very frequently do: I should never make an end, if I should Collect all the common places of S. Chrysostom upon moral Subjects: I shall only mention two or three of the most considerable upon every Subject, and point at some others.

in Joannem. Hom. 11. & 31. in Eudem. Hom. 1. in ep. ad Rom. Hom. 9. in ep. ad Colof. Hom. 19. in Añ.

Opinions of S. Chrysostom upon several moral Principles. Of the Love of God.

MOST Men have taken up a false Notion of the Love of God, looking upon it as an Act of the mind, which thinks it has a Love for God, and expresses it with words. S. Chrysostom to undeceive them of this Error, proves by a comparison with the love men have for the Creature, that the love which they ought to have for God, is a strong cleaving of the Heart to God, which is the Rule, Principle, and Motive of all their Actions, and which begets in them a contempt of all that is not God. "If those (saith he in his Comment upon Psalm 91.) that are in love with Corporal Beauties, have no Sense for all other things in the World, and follow no business, but that of beholding continually an Object which is so dear and so acceptable to them; Can a man that loveth God, as God ought to be loved, have any Sense afterwards of the good and evil, of the Pleasures and Afflictions of this Life? No truly, for he is above all these things, and his delight is only in good things that are Immortal, and of the same Nature with him whom he loveth; those that love the Creatures do quickly change, the unwillingly their Affection, for Oblivion; because the things which they love decay and corrupt; but this spiritual love hath neither end nor bounds, but contains in it self more Pleasure and Profit than any thing else, and nothing is able to extinguish it.

He compareth the love that we ought to have for God, with that which covetous Men have for riches: in the Sixth Homily upon the Second Epistle to Timothy. "It is a shameful thing, saith he, that Men possessed with a violent Passion for riches, should have nothing of that love which they ought to have for God; and that we have less Consideration for God, than covetous Men have for wealth. For to get Money they watch much, undertake long Journeys, expose themselves to Dangers, Haired and Ambushes, and undergo all Extremities, but we refuse to bear with the least word for God, or to expose our selves to the least hatred for his Service, &c."

In the Third Homily upon 1 Cor. he tells Christians, That they love Iesus Christ less than their Friends. "Many, saith he, have endured the loss of their Goods, for the Service of their Friends; but none are willing, I will not say, to be deprived of their Goods for Iesus Christ, but even to be reduced to mere Necessaries for his sake, or to content themselves with what they have at present. We often bear with Affronts, and make our selves Enemies for our Friends; but none will incur the Hatred of any for the Service of Iesus Christ, and both this Hatred and Love are looked upon as unprofitable things; we never despise a friend when we see him hungry, but would not give a Morfel of bread to Iesus Christ who cometh to us daily. If our Friend besick we visit him immediately; but tho' Christ is often detained in Prison in the Persons of his Members, we come not at him. When a Friend is going a Journey we melt into tears, but tho' Christ daily departeth from us, or rather we daily put him away by our sins, yet we are not affected with Grief upon that Account."

Last of all, S. Chrysostom observeth Hom. 52. upon the Acts, That, "Whosoever loveth God truly, will despise all the things of this World, even those that are the most precious and illustrious. Glory and Shame are indifferent things to him; he is no more Sollicitous than if he were left alone in the World: He despiseth Temptations, Scourgings, Dungeons, with as much Courage, as if all these were endured by another, or as if his Body were a Diamond; he laughs at the Pleasures of this Life, and is not in the least susceptible of Pains. See the Twentieth Homily upon S. Matthew, where he shews that God is to be loved not in Words but in Deeds. Hom. 30. upon 2 Cor. Hom. 3. upon 1 Tim. Hom. 52. upon the Acts."

Of

A New Ecclesiastical History

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

CHARITY (saith S. Chrysostom in the Sixth Homily upon the Epistle to Titus) is the greatest of all Vertues, it brings the Lovers thereof to the very Throne of God. Virginity, Fasting, and Austerities profit only those that practise them, but Alms-deeds reach to all, and embrace all the Members of Jesus Christ: Now there is no Vertue greater than that which reunites scattered and separated parts. Charity is the Badge of Christian Religion, whereby the Disciples of Jesus Christ are known: That is it which cures our Crimes, cleanses the Spots of our Souls, it is as a Ladder to ascend into Heaven, and it joyns all the parts of Christ's Body together.

See the Sixtieth Homily upon S. Matthew, the 15th, and 78th, upon S. John, the 40th, upon the Acts, the 8th, upon the Rom, the 32d, upon 2 Cor, the 9th, upon Ephes, the Second upon the laft to Tim, the 33d, upon 1 Cor, the 4th, upon Thes, the 10th, upon the Epistle to the Ephes, the Second upon the Epistle to the Philippians.

Of Alms-deeds.

THE first effect of Charity is to give Alms, and the Obligation to Alms-deeds, is included in the Commandment of Loving our Neighbours as our selves. S. Chrysostom recommends this Vertue in so many places, that he saith himself in the 89th. Homily upon S. Matthew, That they upbraided him with speaking of nothing else. Giving of Alms (saith he in several places) renders Men like unto God, cleanseth from sin, and appeaseth the Anger of God. To give to the Poor, is to give unto God, it is to lend to him upon Life. We are not only advised, but commanded to give Alms. Men are not Masters but only Stewards of their Goods. God who is the Sovereign Lord hath entrusted them with the rich, that they might relieve the poor. All other good works are unprofitable without Alms-deeds. Alms should be given with Joy, and in abundance. Men ought not to stay till Death to dispose of their Charity; but if they have done nothing in their Lifetime, it is good to leave to the poor after Death, and give them as much as to a Child, or at least as to a Servant. These Principles and Maxims S. Chrysostom repeateth often in his Homilies, as the Thirtieth Homily upon Genesis, that upon Psalm 101. the Second Sermon concerning Lazarus, the Seventeenth Homily upon 2 Cor, the Sixth upon Titus, The 5th, 35th, 45th, 47th, 48th, 52d, 66th, 78th, 80th, 86th, upon S. Math. The 23d, 25th, 27th, 40th, 76th, upon S. John, the Seventh upon Colos, the 11th, 15th, 18th, upon Rom, the 20th, 21st, and 43d, upon 1 Cor, the 5th, Homily of Penance, the Sermon upon the Petition of the Sons of Zebedee, the first Homily of Fasting, and in an infinite number of places besides.

Of Riches and Poverty.

AS the Luxury of Riches hinders Men from giving of Alms, so we ought not to wonder that S. Chrysostom preaching upon Charity, declaims vehemently against Riches, and speaks in Commendation of Poverty. Riches (saith he in the Second Homily of Statues) are not forbidden, if a good use be made of them. But what Probability is there that Men should not neglect Jesus Christ who is naked, while they build marble Palaces for themselves? O wretched Man! to what purpose is the Magnificency of thy House? This Palace will not, but thy good works will follow thee. . . . To day rich, and to morrow poor. I must confess, that I cannot forbear smiling when I read in Wills and Testaments, I give and bequeath to such a one, the Revenue of my Estate for Life, and to such a one the Fee-simple. To speak Properly, we have but the use of things, the Propriety belongs not to us, and tho' we should possess them all our Lifetime, yet will they leave us when we die. . . . Poverty is a singular advantage to those that know how to use it well. It is a Treasure that cannot be taken away, a support that cannot fail, and a Sanctuary that cannot be violated. If you ask the Admirers of that foolish Magnificence, what is the Object of their Admiration? They will answer you, that it is either the brave Horse that carrieth this new Cavalier, or his rich Livery, his gilded Clothes, or the delicate Meats that are set before him, or the Pleasures he enjoyeth. This is what is admired, and what cannot be too much deplored; and yet none of these Commendations are directed to this rich Man, they all belong to his Horse, his Clothes or his Equipage, they admire how well he is mounted, they praise his Men, his Horses, but they say nothing of his Person. Can there be a greater Folly? But on the other side, if you see a poor Man in want, and under contempt, despised by those that see him, make

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of the Fifth Century of Christianity.

"much of him, and by your esteem of him, the Beholders will be excited to Vertue. They will tell you, that he is an indigent Fellow, a Wretch; but do you say on the contrary that he is a happy Man, because he hath God for his Friend, because he hath not fastened his Heart to perishing Riches, nor defiled his Conscience. With such Christian Discourses as these instruct your Brethren; let both your Praises and your Contempts have no other Aim than the Glory of the Almighty. . . . One may commend, reprove, and be angry for God's sake. If you find a Servant, a Friend, a Neighbour, robbing, or committing Lewdness; If you hear one telling a Lye, or Blaspheming; If you perceive that your Neighbour is going to prostitute his Soul at a Play, call him back, check, and correct that Sinner: These good works will be done to the Honour of God. If this Servant, or this Friend hath offended you, and is departed from his Duty, forgive him, that will be Forgiveness for God's sake; make allo Friends and Enemies to your selves for God's cause. Do you ask how; thus it is: Never contract that sort of Friendship which is gotten by Luxury, Interest or Ambition, but seek to make you such Friends, as may advise you to Moderation under a great Fortune, and Comfort you in Adversity, who may prompt you only to Honesty, and who by their Counsels and Prayers may unite you to Jesus Christ. If you see a lewd Person, one full of dangerous Opinions, break off all commerce with him. . . . If you speak in any Company, let your words be Godward. He did so often Discourse against Riches, and the abuse of them, that he saith himself, in the Sermon against Eutropius, upon Psalm 44. that they accused him of hating rich Men. "But, saith he, why should I not speak continually against them, since they cease not to torment the Poor? I complain not of them because they are rich, but because they use their Riches ill: for I make this Profession, Never to blame any Body for being wealthy, but for with-holding what is not his own. . . . The present Life (addeth he) is a Pilgrimage; let no man say, I have a Town, a House, an Estate, &c. No Man hath any thing here below: all the good things of this Life, are the Instruments of our Journey; we are travelling as long as this Life lasteth. Some gather wealth in this Journey, and bury Gold in the way, and pray tell me, when you are come into an Inn, do you furnish it with superfluous Household-stuff? No certainly, you are contented to eat and drink there, and to be gone as soon as you can. This Life is an Inn, we are scarce come into it, but we are obliged to quit it, therefore let us do it readily; let us keep nothing here, that we may lose nothing in the next Life. You are Travellers in this Life, and less than Travellers; for a Traveller knoweth, when he cometh into his Inn, and when he goeth out, &c. In this dreadful Ignorance I lose a great deal of time; and while I am laying up of Provisions, God calls me, and upbraids me thus, Thou Fool! whose shall these things be which thou hast prepared? for this very Night thy Soul shall be demanded of thee. . . . But what, will some Persons say, must be done in this Case? even this, Hate temporal Goods, love eternal Life, part with your Estate, I do not say with all, but with what is superfluous; do not covet what is another's; spoyl not the Widow, nor rob the Orphan; ravish not the Goods of this World, but take Heaven by violence; Jesus Christ approves of this violence, &c. Do not vex the Poor, but doe him Right, &c.

See Hom. 4. upon S. Matthew, where he proves by the Example of the Three Children, that were cast into the Fiery Furnace, that Riches are not to be worshipped: The 9th. Homily upon S. Matthew, where he shews, that we ought not to be lifted up, because of Riches: The 20th, and 64th, against the desire of wealth: The 42d, against Luxury and Pleasures: The 43th, against excess in Clothes: The 80th, and 81st, Homilies against Covetousness: The 88th, against the Luxury of Women: And, the 19th. Homily upon S. John, concerning the use that ought to be made of Riches.

Of Forgiving, and against Revenge.

THE Second effect of Charity towards our Neighbour, is forgiving of our Enemies, in opposition to a Spirit of Revenge, of Enmity and Resentment. S. Chrysostom declaims severely against this Vice, in an Homily purposely composed on that Subject, which is the Twenty-second, concerning Statues. These are some of his Notions. "The revengeful Man, saith he, is not less unworthy of the Communion, than the Blasphemer and Adulterer. The lewd Person puts an end to his Crime when he has satisfied his impure Desire; but he that keeps up an obdurate Hatred, sins continually, and never makes an end. The fire of Lust is spent by enjoyment; but that of Hatred feeds it self, and is renewed every moment. With what face then can we implore the Mercy of God, whilst we are full of bitter hatred against our Brethren? Your Brother hath done you an injury; but do you not often commit injuries against God? Doe you compare the Servant with his Master? In the mean time, he that wrongeth you, was perhaps wrong'd by you before: But what wrong hath God ever done you? or rather what benefits hath he not taken pleasure to bestow upon you, and you in requital return only injuries to him again? In a word; pretending to be revenged of others, you punish your selves: The hatred you harbour, is your own tormenter, to tear your own bowels. Is there any thing more unhappy than he who meditates revenge? He is a Mad-man that never enjoyeth any rest, his

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S. John Chrysostom. "Heart being filled with Storms and Troubles: He abhorreth all the Actions, the Words, and the very Name of his Enemy. And to what end is this Fury, and these Torments? We ought to forgive our Enemies to prevent the pains we feel by hating them. What folly is it to seek revenge at our own cost: to do our selves a great mischief, that another may receive a lesser, &c. See the 6th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*; the 39th. upon *S. John*; the 38th. upon the *Acts*; and Homily upon the Epistle to the *Theſſalonians*, and ſeveral other places.

Of Fasting.

NEXT to giving of Alms, Fasting is one of the moſt powerful means to obtain pardon for Sin; but that Fasting may be profitable, it muſt be accompanied with a regular life. This *S. Chryſoſtom* takes notice of almoſt every-where, when he diſcourſes of Fasting. See how he expreſſeth himſelf, in the Second Homily of Statues. "I do not call Fasting a meer abſtinance from Meats, but forbearance from Sin: For Fasting is not able of its own nature to blot out the pollution of our offences, except neceſſary Diſpoſitions doe attend it. . . . Let us therefore have a care, that in Fasting, we fall not ſhort of the price and reward that belongs to it: But let us learn perfectly to praſe it holly. Afterwards he ſets forth the qualities of a Faſt by the example of that of the *Ninevites*. . . . He (ſaith our Author) offers an injury to Fasting, who defines it to be an abſtinance from Meats. You Faſt, Brother; but ſhew me your Fasting by your Works: but you will ask me, what Works? I require therefore, that when you lee a poor Man, you be ſure to help him in his miſery; that you reconcile your ſelf to your enemy; that another Man's Glory may not excite your Envy; and that you ſhut your Eyes when you meet an handſome Woman: For Fasting reſpects not the Mouth barely, but the Ear, the Hands, the Feet, and all the other Parts of the Body. Covetous Hands ſhould faſt, and touch no more other Men's goods; the Feet ſhould faſt, and run no more to profane Shews; and the Eyes ſhould faſt, by turning aſide from that beauty, whole fight is fo dangerous. In the Fourth Homily of Statues, he lays down the ſame Maxims again. "We lee, ſaith he, nothing but People making merry, and ſaying one to another, Victory, all is our own, Midlent is over. My advice to theſe is, That they ſhould conſider, whether the inward Man is in a better condition than it was when the Faſt began: For then indeed we have reaſon to rejoyce, when our Fasting does not end with thoſe Vices that it began with, and when we are come to the Feſtival of *Eaſter* with a Conſcience purified by Fasting. I know fome who, in the middle of Lent, do dread already that of the next year. . . . Can there be a greater weakneſs? But whence cometh it? Even from this, That we make Fasting to conſiſt only in forbearing of Meats, and not in the reforming of our Manners. There may be (ſaith he in the 22d. Homily) ſeveral reaſons not to Faſt; but there is none not to correct a vicious habit. You have broken your Faſt, becauſe of a bodily infirmity. Well: But why doe you not forgive your Enemy? Is there any corporal indilpoſition that hinders? Laſtly, He obſerveth in the 7th. and 11th. Homilies upon *Genefis*, that the true Faſt is abſtinance from Sin; for forbearance of Meat was introduced to refrain the motions of the Fleſh, and to ſuppreſs the Paſſions. See the Homilies of *Faſting* and of *Alms-deeds*, and the 57th. upon *S. Matthew*.

Upon this; That Man is obliged to doe all for God, and to direct all his Actions to him alone.

Concerning a Chriſtian's Duty, *S. Chryſoſtom* diſcourſeth thus in the 23d. Homily, againſt thoſe that kept the Feaſts of the New Moons. "S. Paul (ſaith he) commands us to doe all things to the Glory of God: *For whether you eat, or whether you drink, or whatſoever ye doe, doe all to the Glory of God.* You will ask what relation theſe things to the Glory of God? I invite a poor Man to your Table; this is called to eat and drink to the Glory of God. You may alſo work for God by ſhutring up your ſelves in your own Houſes: How, and by what means, will you ſay? When you hear the Diſorders and Inſolencies committed in the Streets, by lewd Men, then ſhut your doors, have nothing to doe with that helliſh Crew, and you ſhall keep your Houſes for the Glory of God. You may alſo glorifie the Lord both by your Praiſes and by your Contempt: As for example; When you lee a wicked Man gorgeouſly appareld, and ſumptuouſly adorned with the ſpoil of the Countries, which he hath brought to deſolation, and attended with a great number of Servants; and ſome weak Soul is blinded with that vain luſtre, diſcover to him his error, and make him ſee the vanity of that ſignificant Pomp, and pity the happineſs of that unhappy Man. Thus may Men deſpiſe things for the Glory of God. This contempt is an inſtruction for thoſe that are witneſſes thereof. We prove God to be preſent at all the actions of our lives, even in our purchaſes and ſales, when we are contented with

S. John Chryſoſtom. "an honeſt gain, and when we take no advantage of other Men's neceſſities to advance the rates of our Commodities. "In your Faſts and Prayers, in your Contempt and Praiſe, in your Silence and Diſcourſes, in Selling and Buying, think always on the Glory of God. See upon the ſame Subject the 6th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, the 79th. upon the ſame, the 9th. and 14th. upon the *Acts*, and the 18th. upon the *Romans*.

Of the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to communicate worthily.

NONE of the Fathers have ſpoken more powerfully and largely than *S. Chryſoſtom*, concerning the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to communicate worthily, nor more dreadfully againſt unworthy Communicants.

He requireth in the firſt place, that thoſe who draw near to the Lord's Table, ſhould put away their Sins. "It is written (ſaith he in the Firſt Sermon of Penance) That without Holineſs no Man ſhall lee God; but whoſoever is unworthy to ſee God, is not worthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Chriſt; wherefore *S. Paul* will have a Man to examine himſelf, &c. Reform the Diſorders of your life paſt, and then come to that holy Table, and participate of that Sacrifice with a pure and unpotted Conſcience.

He ſaith the ſame things in the 22d. Homily of Statues; Seeing we are advancing into *Lent*, let us advance in Vertue; it is in vain to run, except we get the prize of the Race: Our Austerities and Faſtings will prove us nothing, if we come not to the holy Table with an exact purity of Heart: For Lent, Prayers and Sermons are appointed in the Church, for no other purpoſe, but to make us participate ſafely of the unbloody Sacrifice, and to waſh away with the Waters of Repentance, the filthineſſes of our Sins; without this our labour is vain: But if by Abſtinance you have corrected one Vice, and gained one Vertue, and put off one evil habit, then you may boldly take place at the Table of the Lord.

He recommends the ſame thing in the Homily of *Seraphims*. I tell you plainly, ſaith he, I pray, I beſeech you not to come to the Lord's Table with a Conſcience deſiled with Crimes: For to communicate in this condition, is not Communion, but Condemnation; and tho' you ſhould a thouſand times come to the Body of Jeſus Chriſt in that condition, yet inſtead of receiving benefit by it, you would become the more guilty. Let Sinners therefore keep away; that is, thoſe who perſevere in their Sin. This I warn you of betimes, even now, that when the day of that heavenly Feaſt ſhall come, you may not ſay, I am unprepared, you ſhould have given me warning. . . . I know that we are all guilty, that no man can boaſt of having a pure heart in this World: That's not the worſt; but that not having a pure heart, they will not draw nigh unto him that can purifie them.

But to be pure is not ſufficient, according to *S. Chryſoſtom*, to partake of that holy Table; Men muſt have a care beſides, that they come not thither negligently. "Let no Man (ſaith he in the 33d. Homily upon *S. Matthew*) approach this Sacred Table with diſguſt, negligence or coldneſs; but let all come with a longing deſire, with zeal and love. . . . You ought therefore to watch over your own actions carefully, knowing that thoſe who receive unworthily the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, are threatened with a dreadful puniſhment. If you cannot endure, without horror, *Judas*'s crime, who ſold his Maſter; and the Jew's ingratitude, who crucified their King; beware alſo of becoming guilty of profaning the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt: Let no *Judas*, no covetous Man come hither; let none but true Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt be preſent at that Feaſt, &c. For this Reaſon this holy Father obſerves in the Homily of *Judas*'s Treachery, that this holy Altar is not to be approached unto without reverence. . . . That no Hypocrite, no Man full of iniquity ought to come near to this Sacred Table. According to theſe Principles, (he ſaith in the 17th. Homily upon *Hebrews*) That, generally ſpeaking, no reckoning is to be made either of thoſe who communicate but once in the Year, or of thoſe that doe it often, or ſuch as receive ſeldom; but of thoſe that communicate with a pure Conſcience, a clean Heart, and a blameleſs Life. Let as many as are thus diſpoſed come always; and as many as are not, let them not come once, becauſe they cannot but draw God's judgments upon themſelves, and become worthy of Condemnation. Doe you think that Forty days Penance is ſufficient to cleanſe you from all your Sins?

See upon the ſame Subject the 52d. Homily againſt thoſe that Faſt at *Eaſter*; the Homily upon the Nativity of Jeſus Chriſt; the 7th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*; the 24th. 27th. and 41ſt. upon *1 Cor.* the 3d. upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; the 17th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; the 5th. upon *Titus* and ſeveral other places.

Of Prayer.

"GOD requireth of us fervent and constant Prayer; he often with-holds those things that we ask of him to excite our Zeal. This Observation is found in the First Homily concerning Statues, in those upon *Genesis*, in the Commentary upon *Psal.* 7. and in the Homily upon these Words, *Phil.* 1. *What then? Christ is preached.* He describeth both the Conditions and the Effects of Prayer in the 2d. Homily upon *Hannah*. In the 5th. Homily upon the same Subject, he sheweth the Strength and Virtue of Prayer; He lays down the Necessity of Prayer in several places of his Works. See the 22d. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, the 36th. upon *S. John*; he speaks of Thanksgiving in the 25th. upon *Matthew*, in the 35th. upon *S. John's* Gospel, and in the 14th. upon *2 Cor.*

Of Attention in Prayer.

"WE pay less respect to God, than a Servant doth to his Master, a Soldier to his General, or even a Friend to his Friend; for we speak to our Friends with attention: But whilst our Knees are on the ground, and we are treating with God about the business of our Salvation; whilst we beg pardon for our Crimes, we faint, our Mind is at Court, or at the Bar, and there is no correspondence betwixt our Thoughts and our Words. We daily commit this fault, &c. "Many go into the Church, and there utter a great number of Prayers; and then come out, not knowing what they have said: They move their Lips, but they do not apply their Minds to their Discourses! What? you hearken not to what you say, and would you have God hear it? "I kneeled, say you, but your Heart was some-where else: Your Mouth uttered Petitions, but your Mind was about Bargains, Trading, Exchange or Visits. It is in the time of Prayer that the Devil assaults us, knowing that then we profit spiritually; he suggests to our Spirits a multitude of Thoughts. See the 36th. Homily upon the *Acts*, wherein he exhorts Christians to pray in the Night.

Of Humility, against Pride.

Humility, according to *S. Chrysostom*, is the principle of all Vertues, and the ground of all good Works. This he proveth in the 47th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*: "We should not be lifted up for our good Works, but acknowledge our unworthiness before God. Vertues are like Riches; if we expose them publicly, we are in danger of losing them; to preserve them, they must be hid. The more good we do, the less we should boast of it; if we be proud for it, we lose its reward. The greatest Action, and the most acceptable to God, is to entertain low Thoughts of our selves. ... Nothing conduces more to make us beloved of God, than to reckon our selves most imperfect; that is the height and perfection of Wisdom. See the 3d. Homily upon *S. Matthew*; the 4th. upon the same Gospel; the latter end of the 25th. and 65th. upon the same; the 28th. 38th. 41st. and 48th. upon *S. John*; the 21st. upon the *Romans*; the 11th. upon *2 Thessal.* and the 2d. Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*; where he speaks against the love of Glory.

Of Christian Watchfulness.

S. Chrysostom describeth in several places the various Devices which Satan useth to tempt us, very eloquently. Upon this Subject one may consult the Homily of the Tempter, where he proves that Temptations are profitable for us, provided we stand always upon our guard, and watch continually over our selves. This he recommends in that place, and in the 13th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*; where he proves, that in this World the Devil's temptations are to be resisted: In the 14th. where he shews that the diseases of the Soul are not to be neglected; and in many other places, where he gives both Precepts and Means to avoid Temptations and Sins.

Against

Against Covetousness.

S. Chrysostom declares his Indignation against Covetous Men in many places, and the Picture which he makes of them is enough to beget in us an abhorrence to them. Thus he speaks of them, *Hom.* 9. upon *1 Cor.* "What can be more impudent, shameless and bold, than a miserably covetous Man? A Dog is more modest than the covetous Man, who fetcheth upon that which is another Man's. Nothing is more filthy, than those Hands which take all; nothing more cruel, than that Mouth which devoureth all, and is never satisfied. Look not upon his Face, and Eyes, as if they were the Eyes and Face of a Man. The covetous Person is never contented, till he hath got all that the World hath; all is brutish in his Face; he is Inhumanity itself, &c. In the 39th. Homily upon *1 Cor.* he sheweth how abominable a thing a covetous Man is, who having gathered great quantities of Corn, to sell it dear, laments, because it is growing cheap. In another place, *Hom.* 18. upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; he says that Covetousness is a kind of Idolatry. He carries the same Notion in the 64th. Homily upon *S. John*. In a word, all his Homilies are full of Invectives against covetous Men; He writes against Ulfury in the 56th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, in the 12th. upon the *Romans*, and in the 15th. upon *1 Cor.*

S. John
Chrysostom

Of Meekness, and against Anger.

Tho' *S. Chrysostom's* Zeal gave his Enemies occasion to accuse him of being passionate; yet one may easily judge by his Writings, that he was a great lover of Meekness, and that he disapproved of Passion; See his Moral Exhortations, in the 29th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, the 33d. and 48th. upon *S. John*, the 6th. upon the *Acts*, and the 17th. upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

Against Envy.

"ENvy is the most abominable of Sins: Hell never produced one more to be abhorred. Other Sinners have some pleasure; but the Envious Man torments himself, whilst he torments others. Envy hath been the cause of all mischief. This crime is so much the more dangerous, because no Penance is enjoyed for it. Men fanse they may blot it out by some small Aims, or a short Fast; they do not weep bitterly for it, as for Adultery or Fornication, &c.

These are some of *S. Chrysostom's* Notions about Envy, taken out of the 40th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*. One may read upon the same Subject the Homily upon *Psal.* 49. *Hom.* 37. upon *S. John*, the 3d. upon *1 Cor.* the 24th. and 27th. upon *2 Cor.* and the 3d. upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*.

Against Drunkenness.

"THERE is not a more dangerous or hateful Sin than Drunkenness, saith *S. Chrysostom*, in the first Discourse upon these words of *S. Paul* to *Timothy*, *Use a little Wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities.* A Drunkard is a dead Man living, voluntary sick, a person useless either for the Commonwealth, or for his Family; one whose presence is intolerable, whose breath, voice and steps are equally odious.

See the 27th. Homily upon the *Acts*, the 25th. upon the Epistle to the *Romans*. See also the 56th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, and the 27th. upon the *Acts*.

Against Swearing and Blasphemies.

S. Chrysostom discourseth against Swearing and Blasphemies almost in all the Homilies of Statues, where he declaimeth vehemently against that Vice. See also the 8th. 10th. and 11th. Homilies upon the *Acts*.

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Concerning Publick Shows and Stage-plays.

S. John
Chrysostom

S. Chrysostom living in Two great Imperial Cities, where Plays, Shows, Comedies, &c. were very frequent, and to which the People were much addicted; one needs not wonder, that he should so often and so earnestly inveigh against these disorders. He calls their stages, Schools of Lewdness, Academies of Incontinence, and Jesuital Whores. "I here, saith he, you see Jewd Women representing Adulteries, and uttering Blasphemies. With what Eyes will you look upon your Wives, your Children, Servants or Friends as your going out of such places? He refuseth in another Sermon the specious pretences they had to plead for Plays: there are his Words. "What harm, say you, is there in going to see a Play? Is that sufficient to keep one from the Communion? But I will ask you, Whether, there can be a more shameless Sin, than to come to the holy Table, being defiled with Adultery? Yes, it is a kind of Adultery to go to a Play; and if you will not believe me, hear the Words of him who is to judge of our life. Jesus Christ tells us, That whosoever looketh upon a Woman to lust after her, committed Adultery. "What can be said of those, who passionately spend whole days in those places, in looking upon Women of ill fame and reputation: With what face will they dare to affirm, that they beheld them not to lust after them? And so much the rather, because they hear lascivious Speeches, they see wanton Actions, they are entertained with amorous Songs, and with Voices capable of stirring up shameful Passions; they see Women dressed, painted, and adorned on purpose to inspire Love. The Attendants are in such confusion and idleness, as promote Riotings; and these are natural effects both of the preparations and consequences of Plays. The Musical Instruments, Conforts and Songs, are equally dangerous; they flatter strangely, they enflame the heart, and prepare it to yield to the snares laid for them by profligate Women, who in the Church it self, where Psalms are sung, the Scripture is read, where the dread of the Almighty appears, and Men are in a posture of reverence? If, I say, in that so venerable a place, Lust will creep in as a Thief, How shall they be able to overcome the motions of Concupiscence, that constantly frequent the Stage, who neither see nor hear any thing but what is profane and dangerous; whose Hearts are full of evil Thoughts, and whose Eyes and Ears are assaulted continually? But if this be impossible, how shall they justify themselves from the guilt of Adultery? And if they are Adulterers, how can they pretend to come into the Church, and to participate of the holy Table before they have done Penance?"

See the 4th. Homily concerning *Hannah*, the 1st. 7th. 17th. 37th. and 38th. upon S. *Matthew*, the 32d. and 38th. upon S. *John*, and the 17th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, against Mountebanks, and Jesters, and Stage-players.

Of Balls and Gaming.

S. Chrysostom exclaimeth as much against Balls and publick Meetings, as he does against Stage-plays. "There are (saith he in the 23d. Homily to the People of *Antioch*) no Enemy so dangerous as those nocturnal Recreations, those pernicious Meetings and Dances. Our former mis-carriages call for Tears, for Shame and Sorrow; and yet Mirth breaks out every-where. I shall say nothing of idle Expences; but I am very much troubled at Gamings and Taverns; how much is there of Impiety and Intemperance? He speaks against Games of Chance in the 15th. Homily to the People of *Antioch*; where he shews, that they are occasions of Blasphemies, Losses, Anger, Quarrels, and all manner of Crimes.

Of the Dignity and Qualifications of the Ministers of Jesus Christ.

WE have already set down S. Chrysostom's Opinion concerning the Dignity and Excellency of the Priesthood, when we mentioned his Books upon that Subject, and the Homilies concerning the History of *Bezabab*. We also joyed to that some places of the same Treatise, concerning the Qualifications of a Bishop, and the Weight of his Office. But to those one may add, what he says to the same purpose, in the 1st. Homily upon the Epistle to *Titus*, and in the 3d. upon the *Acts*; where he openly declares his Opinion, that few Bishops were saved. Upon the same Subject one may consult the 1st. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the 4th. upon that to the *Philippians*, and the 3d. upon the *Acts*. He enjoins Christians in several places to be very respectfull towards the Priests; as in the Homilies upon the Song of *Hannah*, in the 22d. upon S. *Matthew*, in the 86th. upon S. *John*, and in the 2d. upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*. His Observation in this Last is, That we should not hear those Pastours that are fallen into Herefy; but, on the contrary, we ought to avoid them, and separate from them: But not from wicked

ed Priests, whose Character is to be honoured; because, notwithstanding their Wickedness, they truly offer the holy Sacrifice, and validly administer the Sacraments.

47
S. John
Chrysostom

Upon the Usefulness and Excellency of a Monastick Life.

WE have sufficiently declared S. Chrysostom's Opinion of a Monastick Life, in the Extracts of the Treatises which he composed in his Retirement. To these one may add the Homily of Statues, where he speaks of the *Egyptian Monks*, the 1st. 8th. 55th. 69th. 70th. 71st. 72d. upon S. *Matthew*, and the 14th. upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*.

Of the State of Marriage, and of the Duties of Married Persons.

IN the first place S. Chrysostom requireth, that in chusing of a Wife, Men should have greater regard to Vertue than Riches. He lays down this Maxim in the 74th. Homily upon S. *Matthew*; there he pleasantly shews how much rich Wives prove troublesome to their Husbands; He says the same thing in the 43th. and 56th. Homilies upon *Genesis*, in the 49th. upon the *Acts*, in the 12th. upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, and in the 17th. 19th. and 28th. Sermons of the 5th. Volume. He exhorteth Husbands to live well with their Wives, and shew them good Examples. In the 38th. Homily upon *Genesis*, in the Exposition of the 43d. *Psalms*, in the 36th. Homily upon S. *Matthew*, and the 20th. upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; in the 10th. upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, he teacheth at large of the Love which Husbands ought to have for their Wives, and of the respect that Wives ought to shew towards their Husbands. He discourses upon the same Subject in the 26th. Homily upon 1 *Cor.* and the 60th. upon S. *John*.

Of the Education of Children, and the Duties of the Master of a Family.

S. Chrysostom being yet in his Retirement, and sensible of the little care that Fathers took to bring up their Children well, employs part of the Third Book against those that found fault with a Monastick Life, to complain of that miscarriage; and goes so far as to affirm, That a Father who breeds up his Child ill, is more cruel than he that puts him to death; because he makes him liable to eternal Damnation, which is infinitely worse than loss of life. This matter is handled likewise in the Homilies concerning *Hannah*; where he shews, That not only Fathers, but Mothers also are obliged to give their Children good Education. In the 60th. Homily upon S. *Matthew*, he blameth the Carelessness of Parents in the choice of a Tutor. Lastly, In the 21st. and 22d. Homilies upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he admonishes Fathers to be less solicitous about their Children's getting School-learning; and to take more care that they be taught Piety and their Children's Religion. Read the 59th. Homily upon S. *Matthew*; the 9th. upon 1 *Tim.* and the 1st. upon *Rom.* where he discourseth of the Duties of a Master in a Family, in relation to his Wife, Children and Servants. He observes in the 15th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that a Mistress is not to abuse her Maid-servants. See also the 16th. Homily upon the 1st. Epistle to *Timothy*.

Of Afflictions.

S. Chrysostom not only teaches us that we ought to bear the losses, sicknesses, and other afflictions that may happen in this World patiently: But he shews besides, that they are the portion of all good Men: He gives Eight Reasons for it, worth reading, in the Homily upon those Words of S. Paul to *Timothy*, *Use a little Wine*; in the 4th. and 5th. Discourses concerning Statues; in the 28th. Homily upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; in the 33d. upon S. *Matthew*; in the 8th. upon 2 *Tim.* and in the 28th. and 29th. Homilies upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Of Death.

S. Chrysostom's Homilies are full of excellent Instructions concerning Death; wherein he shews, that instead of fearing Death, a Christian ought to desire it. "To what purpose, saith he in the 5th. Homily of Statues, should a Man fear sudden Death? Is it, because it brings us the sooner to our Haven, and hastens our passage to our happy life? What folly is this? We expect eternal felicity, and those good things which no Eye hath seen, no Ear heard, and which never entered into the Heart of Man; and yet we do not only put off the fruition of them, but we fear it, yea we abhor it. He tells us in other places, That this life, being but a journey, a train of Miseries, a banishment from our own Country, &c. we should be very miserable if it never were to end.

See the 21st. and 22d. Homilies upon *Genesis*; the Discourse upon these Words of *S. Paul*, *Be not sorry for the death of your Brethren*; where he carries this Notion further, and saith, That we should be as glad to go out of this World as Criminals are to get out of Prison. See the 1st. Homily upon *Genesis*, the 14th. upon the Epistle to *Timothy*, and the 7th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Lack of all, He hath one Sermon to prove that Death is not to be feared. From these Principles, he concludes in several places, that we ought not to enter into the Dead, but on the contrary rejoice; for that they have quitted this miserable life, to go into one which is both eternal and happy. See the 34th. Homily upon *S. Matthew*, the 62d. upon *S. John*, the 21st. upon the *Acts*, the 6th. upon the Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, and the 4th. upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Christian Maxims which S. Chrysostom lays down and maintains in his Sermons.

WE ought not to be addicted to the Goods of this World. *Hom. 2. upon Matthew.*
Persons who are not virtuous, will receive no advantage from the Virtues of others. *Hom. 5. in Matthew.*

The Virtue of our Relations will do us no good; if we our selves want Piety. *Hom. 10. on Matt.*
Men ought to exercise themselves in the practice of all Virtues. *Hom. 11. on Matthew.*

No Mercy is to be looked for after Death, but only severe Justice; there is no middle place between Hell or Heaven. *Hom. 14. upon Matthew.*

He that reflects upon the joys of Heaven, will find it easie to practise Vertue. *Hom. 16. upon Matthew.*

The Commandments of God are not impossible to those that are willing to keep them. *Hom. 21. on Matthew.* Nay, they are easie with God's grace. *Hom. 56. and 76. on Matthew, and 87. upon S. John.*

Let him that is in the State of Grace, not trust too much to his own strength, lest he fall; neither let him that is fallen, despair. *Hom. 26. and 67. upon Matthew.*

Spiritual advantages are to be preferred before those things that otherwise seem to be most necessary. *Hom. 26. upon Matthew.*

A Man of an ill life, is worse than a dead Man. *Hom. 26. upon Matthew.*

Passionate, intemperate, debauched, and covetous Men are worse than those that are possessed with the Devil. *Hom. 28. upon Matthew.*

The Yoke of Vertue is light and easie, that of Sin is heavy and troublesome. *Hom. 38. upon Matthew, and 88. upon John.*

We ought to examine, and be sorry for our faults, and not be concerned for those of other Men. *Hom. 24. upon Matthew, and 60. upon S. John.*

Vertue is more to be esteemed than Miracles. *Hom. 46. upon Matthew.*

To feed the Poor is better than to give Ornaments of Gold or Silver to the Church. *Hom. 50. upon Matthew.*

He that offends another, wrongs himself more than the other. *Hom. 51. upon Matthew.*

A Man that is addicted to worldly things, is in the most unhappy slavery that can be. *Hom. 58. upon Matthew.*

It is better to adorn our Souls with Vertue, than the Body with rich Clothes. *Hom. 69. upon Matthew.*

A Soul polluted with Crimes, stinks worse than a putrefied Body. *Hom. 57. upon Matthew.*

It is to no purpose to have been Baptized, and to be in the true Church, unless we lead our Lives conformably to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and our Baptismal profession. *Hom. 6. and 10. upon John.*

What.

of the Fifth Century of Christianity.

Whatever appears great in this World is nothing before God. *Hom. 44. in Joan.*
Nothing ought to be better husbanded than Time. *Hom. 58. upon John.*
We should not ask of God temporal, but spiritual Goods. *Hom. 43. and 54. upon John.*
A Christian ought to work not only for himself, but also for others. *Hom. 20. upon the Acts.*
It often happens that those who design to afflict the Righteous, and hinder the purposes of God concerning them, do further them when they do not intend it. *Hom. 49. upon the Acts.*
The loss of worldly Goods ought not to be lamented, but that only of the joys of Heaven. *Hom. 10. upon the Romans.*

We ought to do that which is good in this World, and not depend upon the Prayers of our kindred and friends after death. *Hom. 47. upon 1 Cor.*

The Salvation of others ought to be preferred before our own satisfaction. *Hom. 29. upon 2 Cor.*

Vertues are like Treasures, they must be hid to be kept: If they be exposed publicly, there is danger of losing them. *Hom. 3. upon Matthew.*

To be Master of one's own Passions, is true liberty. *Hom. 17. upon 1 Tim.*

Nothing is to be lamented but Sin. *Hom. 3. upon the Hebrews.*

No Man is offended but by himself. See his Discourse upon this Paradox and his Letter's Preface.

It is easie to get Vertue, and preserve it too. *Paffim.*

It is more easie to live well, than ill. *Paffim.*

Small Sins are to be avoided as well as great ones. *Paffim.*

One only Sin, one evil Action is sufficient to condemn us eternally. *Paffim.*

The accusation of Conscience is the greatest torment. *Paffim.*

It is better to suffer our selves, than to make others suffer. *Epist. to Olympias.*

The ignominy of this World, is glory in the eyes of God. *Paffim.*

This present life is death, and death is life. *Paffim.*

Afflictions, Persecutions, and Sicknesses, are desirable; but delights, pleasures and joy are to be feared. *Paffim.*

God's chastisements are great benefits: The good things which he bestows in this world are great temptations. *Paffim.*

Giving of Alms is the trade that brings the greatest profit. *Paffim.*

Solitarie and a Monastick life, are more to be desired than the greatest Kingdoms. *Paffim.*

True Sovereignty consists in commanding our own Passions. *Paffim.*

It is an effect of God's bounty, that the execution of Precepts, which are necessary to our Salvation, does not depend upon the weakness of our Bodies. *Hom. in illud, Modico vino atere.*

Sorrow is the product of Sin, and Sorrow takes away Sin: That which was the penalty of Sin, is become the Salvation of Man. Sin brought weakness into the World, and Sorrow hath destroyed Sin. *Hom. 1. de jejun.*

Our Worship is not like that of the *Jews*, which was loaded with many Ceremonies, and needed much preparation. He that went into the Temple to pray, was to buy Pigeons, to carry Wood, Fire, a Knife, and a Victim; or rather they themselves are the Altar, the Priest, and the Victim. In what place, or what condition soever they are, they may offer their Souls to God. *Hom. 4. de jejun.*

Man shall be punished for his Sins, either in this world, or in the next: He ought to be punished here, to prevent punishment hereafter. *Serm. 5. de Lazaro.*

Ignorance of the Scripture makes Heresies. *Serm. 3. de Lazaro.*

These are some of those Maxims wherewith *S. Chrysostom* filleth his Discourses; but he enlargeth upon them with such abundance, expoundeth them with so great Eloquence, and pursues them with so great strength, that it is impossible to discover their beauty without reading them in their Original. In reading of these Sermons, all Preachers ought to spend their time, and not in the Sermons of Modern Authors; which, for the most part, are full of nothing but empty Allegories, false Notions, forced Declamations, unprofitable Questions, affectations of Wit, jingles, Antitheses, and other things of this nature, that have no correspondency with those Evangelical Truths, which ought to be preached with masculine and natural Eloquence.

But that *S. Chrysostom's* Works may be more easily read, and that the Editions which should be used, may be known, I shall draw up a Catalogue of the most considerable.

The first Collections of *S. Chrysostom's* Works were made of the Versions of his Book.

The first was Printed at *Bale* by *Pfortzen* anno 1504. There was another made in *Germany* by *Cratander* anno 1522. and one at *Paris* 1524. These were followed by the Edition of *Frobenius* in five Volumes, anno 1533, and 1547. which last is larger and more correct. That of *Venice* in 1574, in five Volumes, by *Hervetus*, is better than the foregoing; but the most perfect of these ancient Latin Editions is that of *Nivelle*, in four Volumes in *Folio*, of 1581. which was made by the advice and care of the most learned Men of that Age; as *Billius*, *Herescuus*, *Nobilius*, *Zimnus*, &c.

The first Greek Edition of all *S. Chrysostom's* Works, is the famous Edition of *Eaton*, procured by the care and vast labour of the learned *Sir Henry Savile*, who having made enquiry in all the

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the Libraries of the World for the Books that went under S. Chryſoſtom's Name cauſed them to be Printed in a very fair Character, and very exactly, with very juſt, very learned and uſeful Notes. He diſtinguiſhed the Books that are S. Chryſoſtom's, from thoſe that are dubious or ſuppoſitious, and hath put them in an excellent Order for a ſtudent. It is divided into eight Volumes.

The firſt contains the 67 Homilies upon *Genefis*, the Commentaries upon the *Pſalms*, and *Iſaiah*, the two Homilies upon the 50th. *Pſalm*, which he places among the doubtful Books, and the Expoſition of the 51ſt. 95th and 100th. *Pſalms*, and ſo on to the 107th. and upon the 119th. which he placeth among the ſuppoſitious Writings.

The Second Volume contains the 90 Homilies upon S. *Matthew*, and the 88 upon S. *John*.

The Third and the Fourth comprehend all the Homilies upon S. *Paul*.

The Fifth hath Sixty two Sermons upon ſeveral particular paſſages of the Holy Scripture, and Thirty four other Sermons upon the Saints or Feſtival days, with Seventy three Sermons upon ſeveral Subjects which he Ranks among the ſuppoſitious Books.

The Sixth Volume is made up of the Treatiſes of S. Chryſoſtom, the Homilies againſt the Jews, that of God's incomprehenſibility, the Sermon of *Anathema*, his Sermon after he was ordained Prieſt, the Twenty two Diſcourſes about Statues, and ſeveral other Sermons upon divers Subjects, and particularly of Penance, Faſting, Alms-deeds, and other Chriſtian Virtues. At the latter end there are ſome Homilies which he puts among the Collections, that were anciently made out of S. Chryſoſtom, and ſome ſuppoſitious ſermons, with the Liturgy, and two Prayers to God.

The Seventh Volume begins with a Diſcourſe upon the Scandal of certain Perſons, cauſed by the Perſecution and Malice of ſome Prieſts. After this is the Treatiſe wherein he proves that none is offended but by himſelf; Seventeen Letters to the Widow *Olympias*, and Two hundred forty three Letters to his Friends, with Five Letters of *Conſtantius* the Prieſt, and a hundred and five Sermons, which ſhall bear S. Chryſoſtom's Name, the Authors whereof are not certainly known. Theſe Sermons are followed by other Diſcourſes of known Authors, viz. Six Homilies of *Severianus* of *Gabala* upon *Genefis*, the Homily of *John* the Faſter about Penance, the Homily upon the Epiphany aſcribed to S. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, the Homily of the Croſs, by *Pantaleon* a Monk of *Conſtantinople*, and Forty eight Homilies upon ſeveral Points of Morality, collected out of S. Chryſoſtom's works by *Theodorus*. That Volume endeth with ſeven Prayers of S. Chryſoſtom, which are in Latin, the three laſt of them are ſuppoſitious.

The Laſt Volume containeth ſome Supplements of Books Printed in the other Volumes, the Seven Orations in praife of S. *Paul*, the Sermons upon *Entropius*, upon the deſign which Men ought to have in Preaching, and upon ſome other Subjects. The Appendix to this Volume, hath ſeveral Books which are ſomething like S. Chryſoſtom's. The Firſt is an Answer in *Theodorus*'s Name, to an Exhortation made by S. Chryſoſtom: Which is certainly ſpurious. The Second and Third are two Diſcourſes of *Libanius* to *Theodorus*, upon the Sedition at *Antioch*. After theſe Diſcourſes follow the Extracts which *Photius* hath taken out of S. Chryſoſtom and *Iſidore Peleſius*'s Letters in Commendation of this Father. The Lives of S. Chryſoſtom take up a good part of this Volume: there are thoſe that were written by *George of Alexandria*, the *Panegyric* by *Leo* the Emperour, the Life of S. Chryſoſtom by an Anonymous Author, that of *Simon Metaphraſtes*.

The various Readings, Conjectures, Reſtitutions, and Notes of *Savil*, *Bois*, and *Dowſon* conclude the Volume, with a very uſeful Table of S. Chryſoſtom's Books, by their beginnings diſpoſed in an Alphabetical Order. Another Table upon the Notes, and an *Errata* upon all the Volumes.

Almoſt at the ſame time that Sir *H. Savil* was at work in *England*, to publiſh an Edition of the Original Text of S. Chryſoſtom's works, *Fronto Ducaeus* laboured in *France*, to Print them in Greek and Latin. He Printed them at *Paris*, Anno 1609. the firſt Volume which contains the Twenty one Sermons of Statues, and Fifty fix others, with Notes at the end. In the ſame Year came out a Second Volume containing the Homilies and Sermons upon *Genefis*, the Five Sermons concerning *Hannah* and *Samuel*, Three Homilies upon *David* and *Saul*, a Sermon againſt *Idleneſs*, a Tranſlation of S. Chryſoſtom's Life written by *Palladius*, a Latin Sermon of Continence, and ſome other Sermons in Latin with Notes. The Third Volume Printed in 1614. contains the Homilies and Sermons upon the *Pſalms*, and the Commentary upon *Iſaiah*, The Fourth Volume Printed the ſame Year, contains the Works and Letters of S. Chryſoſtom, his Firſt Sermon, and two others upon his Exile; it ends with the Notes of *Fronto Ducaeus*. The Fifth Volume is a Collection of Seventy Sermons upon ſeveral paſſages, both of the Old and New Teſtament, and upon ſome other Subjects; it was Printed in 1616. The Sixth contains Seventy three Sermons, which *Fronto Ducaeus* does not attribute to S. Chryſoſtom; the Homilies made up of Collections taken out of S. Chryſoſtom by *Theodorus*, and the Notes of *Fronto Ducaeus*. The works of S. Chryſoſtom upon the New Teſtament were not Printed then, becauſe they had been lately Printed by *Commelinus* in Four Volumes. The Firſt contains the Homilies of S. Chryſoſtom, and the imperfect Work upon S. *Matthew*, the Second, the Homilies upon S. *John*, the Third the Homilies upon the *Acts*; and the Laſt, the Homilies upon S. *Paul*, and the Commentary of *Andreas Caſariensis* upon the Revelations of S. *John*. Theſe Books are in the Greek and Latin Edition of S. Chryſoſtom, Printed at *Paris* in 1633, and divided into Six Volumes, which is not ſo exact as the Edition of *Commelinus*, and the Six firſt Volumes that were Printed in 1636, are not ſo exact as thoſe that were Printed before.

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The Latin Edition of *Duceus* Printed at *Paris* in 1613. Containeth, beſides the Books that are named already, a great many other Homilies which are not in the Greek, and which in all Likelihood were Compoſed by Latin Authors as we obſerv'd before. The Tranſlation was all Revid by *Fronto Ducaeus*; it was Printed at *Antwerp*, and lately Printed at *Lyons* with ſome Additions. It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who took Care of this Edition, did not only leave the ſame confuſion that is in the others, but have even confounded it more, and loaded it with many uſeleſs things.

[Theſe are all the General Editions of S. Chryſoſtom's Works. I ſay nothing here of particular ones, whether Greek or Latin, of ſeveral of his Works, which are the Springs and Brooks that make up the great Rivers, becauſe it would be too tedious in this Place. But the Catalogue of ſuch as are come to my knowledge are in the following *Note?

*Homiliæ in Sacram Scripturam.

- I**N *Genefim* Græc. Lat. Morel. 1594.
Lat. *Oecolampad. interpret. Paris*, 1524.
In *Pſalms*, Nivelle, 1606.
In *Iſaiam*. Lat. à *Tilmanno*, *Paris*, 1555.
Argumentum in Jeremiam, Gr. Aug. 1602.
In *Matth. Gr. Oxonii*, Lat. 1537.
Opus Imperfectum, in *Matth. ex Off. Caveleriana*, 1602.
De publicano & *Phariſæo*, *Paris*, 1595.
Serm. 4. in *Lazarum*, in illud *Apoſtoli*, *Nolite de Dormientibus contriſtari*, &c. Oxon. 1580.
In *Joannem*, *Aves*, interpret. *Rome*, 1470.
In omnes *Pauli Epistolæ*, Græc. ad *Stagnum*: *Venerſi*, An. 1529. in fol. 3. Vol. Lat. apud *Hervag.* 1550.
In Ep. ad *Galatas*, interpret. *Eraſmo*, *Baſiliæ*, 1526.
In Ep. ad *Philip.* *Flaminio interprete*, *Rom.* 1578.

TRACTATUS.

- De Sacerdotio Libri Sex. Græc. Oxon. 1586. Aug. 1599. Lov. 1529, 1568. *Baſil.* 1544. Lat. *Paris*. 1561.
De Virginitate Græc. Lat. *Livingio interp.* *Ant.* 1565. & 1575. ex verſione *Poggiana*, *Rome*, 1562.
De providentia apud *Optimum*, *Baſil.* 1552.
De orando *Dum*, interpret. *Eraſmo*, *Baſil.* *Froben.* 1500, 1551. Col. 1573. *Ant.* 1579. *Paris*, 1538.
Aliquot opuscula. Ex V. *Eraſmi*, *Baſil.* 1529.
Liber de vita *Babylæ* contra *Gemiles*, Gr. *Baſil.* 1527. *Paris*, 1528. Lat. per *Brinium*, *Paris*, 1528.
Sermones ad *Theodorum* Lat. 1524. *Baſiliæ*, 1547.
Comparatio Regis & Monachi, *Baſil.* 1533. Gr. Lat. *Paris*, 1558. *Baſil.* 1526.
Quod nemo laudatur niſi à ſeipſo. Græce in *Oſtavio*, *Paris*, 1541.
Liturgia ſive Miſſa, Lat. *Eraſmo interprete*, *Paris*. 1537. Græc. *Paris*, 1560. *Venerſi*. 1601, 1620. ex verſione *Hervag.* 1548. *Paris*.
Oratio quod Chriſtus ſit Deus, *Ingelſhad.* 1579. apud *Chauldon*, Lat. 1526. *Rome*, 1526.
In *Euch.* Græc. 1571. *Morel.* 1561. Lat. *Wormatæ*, 1541. *Prage*, 1544. *Ant.* 1560. Gr. & Lat. *Venerſi*, 1528. in *Bibl. P.P.*
Epistoſte ad *Innocent.* *Baſil.* 1529.
Ad *Cæſarium Moinii* *Varia Sacra*, *Reſerard. An.* 1687. [*Londoni* 4to. 1688.]

HOMILIÆ VARIÆ.

- Hom. ad Pop. Ant. de Statuſis, *Londoni* Græc. Lat. 1590.

Orat. in illud, Modico vino utere. *Hanov.* 1550. in *Offitio*, Col. 1582.

In illud, Oportet Hæreſes eſſe. *Oecol. interp.*

Mog. 1522.

Hom. 6. contra *Jud.* *Hoſhelio interprete*. *Aug.*

1602.

Orat. Sex de fato & providentia, Gr. *Off.* *Baſil.*

1526. *Paris*, 1554. *Hagenæ*, 1533.

Orat. 6. Gr. *Oxon.* Gr. Lat. 1586. Orat. in *Eutropium*, in *Pf. 100.* & in laudem crucis, *Paris*, 1554.

Tilmanno interprete.

De non contentenda Eccleſia Dei, *Morel.* 1560.

In terra *Motum*, &c. alia Orat. interprete *Duceus*,

Burdigala, 1604.

Hom. de *Anathemate*, Gr. Lat. *Paris*, in *Off.* 1547.

Libri tres de providentia Dei, ad *Stagnum*:

Lat. *Alſtiſi*, 1487. ibid. Orat. de dignitate humane

Origini.

Chryſoſtomi Orat. 10. a *Bauerio*, *Rome*, 1581.

Gr. Lat. *Friburg.* 1585. in *Off.*

Varii tractatus, ibid. De animi humilitate, *Je-*

junio & *Temperantia*, *Mog.* 1604.

De Manufactura, *Paris*, 1570. De benignitate,

Paris, 1594.

De politia Morali, *Paris*, 1545. Orat. 6. *Paris*,

1554.

Orat. aliquot. Lat. Gr. Lat. *Romero* in *Off.* *Baſil.*

Opinin. 1551.

Hom. Gr. *Hoſhelio interprete*, 1587.

Hom. 2. *Tiguri*, 1553. *Alie*, *Lipſie*, *Ann.* 1538.

Alie, *Paris*, 1606. Orat. Gr. *Rome*, 1594.

Florilegium, *Mog.* 1603. Lat. *Hagenæ*, 1528.

SERMONES PANEGYRICI.

Hom. 4. in *Job*, *Perionio interprete*, *Paris*, 1565,

Col. 1568.

Homiliæ de laudibus *Pauli*, *Aniano interp.* *Paris*,

1499. cum op. *Bede* *ſeorſim*, 1509.

De Petro & *aulo* Orat. 2. Gr. Lat. 1582.

Idem cum Orat. in duodecim *Apoſtolos*, *Romæ*, 1580.

Sermones *Panegyrici* in S. S. *Martire*, *Burd.* 1601.

Dua hom. de S. S. *Lugd.* 1624. Gr. Lat. *Pa-*

ris, 1594.

IN FESTA.

In Nat. *Chriſti*, & in præcurſorem, *Ant.* apud

Tornes, 1609.

Sermo in *Pafcha*, *Ant.* 1598. Sermones in *Aſcen-*

ſionem, & alii... ex *Ed. Voſſii*, *Mog.* 1604.

Orat. de occuſſu *Domini*, Col. 1568.]

Antiochus,

Antiochus and Severianus of Gabala.

Antiochus
and Severianus
of Gabala.

IN the days of S. Chrysostom there were two famous Preachers, who preached in his Church, in his Absence; The first, *Antiochus*, was Bishop of *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*; and the Second, *Severianus*, was Bishop of *Gabala* in *Calesyria*. *Antiochus* came first to *Constantinople*, where having preached a long time, and got some Money, he returned to his Church. *Severianus* having heard that *Antiochus* was become rich by preaching at Court, resolved to imitate him, and therefore went thither with several Sermons which he had prepared. He was well received by S. John Chrysostom, into whose favour he endeavoured at first to insinuate himself, afterwards he grew acquainted with several Persons of Quality, and got into the favour both of the Emperor and the Empress; and tho' he wanted *Antiochus*'s parts, yet he got into great Esteem and Reputation. S. Chrysostom being obliged (as hath been observed) to go into *Asia*, to compole the Affairs of the Church of *Ephesus*, found not a Bishop fitter to preach in his Absence than *Severianus* of *Gabala*, whom he thought to be his Friend. But whether this Bishop, taking occasion of S. Chrysostom's Absence, had a design to get into the Esteem and Affection of the People of *Constantinople* to usurp that See, or whether *Serapion*, S. Chrysostom's Archdeacon, had by his Letters begot in S. Chrysostom an Aversion to *Severianus* of *Gabala* as a Person that disturbed the Peace of his Church, aiming at getting into his place; or Lastly, whether there was any secret Jealousie betwixt them; These two Bishops were never Friends ever afterwards. S. Chrysostom being come back, drove away *Severianus*, accusing him of saying, that the Son of God was not made Man, because that Bishop finding that *Serapion* would not stand up before him had uttered these Words, *If Serapion dies a Christian, the Son of God is not made Man*. This *Severianus* told S. Chrysostom, leaving out the first part, *If Serapion dies a Christian*. But *Severianus* being well at Court, the Empress recalled him, and did all she could to reconcile them, which S. Chrysostom refused to do, till the Empress intreated him for the sake of *Theodosius* her Grand-Child, whom she laid at his Feet in the Church of the Apostles. S. Chrysostom (if *Socrates* may be credited) could not then resist the intreaties of the Empress: but this Reconciliation was not sincere, and both these Bishops harboured still an Aversion one to the other. And therefore, in the time of S. Chrysostom's Disgrace, *Severianus* sided with *Theophilus*, and the rest of his Enemies to destroy him. This is the Account which *Socrates* gives of the Diffention of *Severianus* of *Gabala*; Hist. Eccl. B. VI. cap. 11.

The Author of S. Chrysostom's Life accuses this Historian of want of sincerity upon this occasion; But till we meet with another Historian of greater credit, setting forth the matter of Fact after another manner, we cannot reject this Relation, nor feign other Motives of Diffention betwixt these two Bishops, than those related by *Socrates*, who lived near S. Chrysostom's time.

The ancient Translator of some of S. Chrysostom's Homilies, *Anianus*, observes, that *Antiochus* had, *plausibilem dicendi pompam*, a pompous and lofty Style, which got him the applause of the People. There is no doubt, but formerly they had several of his Sermons. *Gennadius* mentions but two of his Books: The former is a long Treatise against Covetousness, and the latter a Discourse upon the Miracle of the blind Man, to whom Jesus Christ restored sight, spoken of in the Ninth Chapter of S. John's Gospel: a work of Union and Humility. *Tribemius* mentions several Sermons, and other unknown works of this Author. *Theodoret* quoteth a passage of his, but does not Name the Book where he found it, the words are these. *That if we do not confound the two Natures in Christ, there will be no difficulty in understanding the Mystery of the Incarnation*. *Gelasius* in his Book of the two Natures, citeth also some places of *Antiochus* upon the Incarnation, taken out of his Sermons upon the Nativity, *Easter*, against Hereticks, and from another Sermon. Lastly, *Polsevinius* tells us, That there were some Homilies of this Author in the *Medicean Library* at *Florence*. I don't know whether they were ever published.

Severianus of *Gabala* was less eloquent, dryer, and more barren, than *Antiochus*. *Socrates* observes, that he pronounced the Greek Language ill, because he still kept some thing of the *Syriack* Accent. *Gennadius* says, That he had read a Commentary of this Author, upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and a Treatise upon the Festival of Christ's Baptism, and the Epiphany.

We have observed already, that among S. Chrysostom's works there are several Sermons, which in all appearance belong to *Severianus* of *Gabala*, and among the rest a Discourse of the Seals, and upon the brazen Serpent, which are quoted by *Theodoret*, under the Name of *Severianus* of *Gabala*, and several others in the same Style, whereof we have given a Catalogue amongst S. Chrysostom's works: To these we may join the Homily upon Christ's Nativity, which is in the Fifth Volume of the *Eaton* Edition of S. Chrysostom's works, Pag. 843. and the Sermon of the Cross in Greek in the same Volume, P. 898, which afterwards was Printed in Greek and Latin by Father *Combes*, cited by S. *Damascent* in the third Discourse of Images, under the Name of *Severianus* of *Gabala*. We have also six Sermons of the same Man upon the Creation of the World, Printed in Greek in the *Eaton* Edition of S. Chrysostom, and in Greek and Latin, in the last Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, by Father *Combes*. *Severianus* observes in the Preface, that all the Books of the Holy Scripture have the Salvation and Benefit of Men for their

Antiochus
and Severianus
of Gabala.

their ultimate End: but that the Book of *Genesis* is the Ground and Fountain of all the Truths, both in the Law and in the Prophets, because it containeth the History of the World's Creation, without which God's works cannot be known. He adds, That he very well knew; that several Fathers had written of that matter, but that it did not discourage him from writing upon the same Subject, since the latter Writers were not discouraged by the Discourses of the former: that he pretended not to destroy what others had done, but to add such things as might serve for the Edification of the Church: At last, he desireth his Auditors, not to inquire whether his Notions be new, but only whether they are right: In Prosecution of the same Subject, he saith, that *Genesis* is an History written by the Lawgiver *Moses*, and dictated by the Holy Ghost who inspired him: That tho' it be a Narration, yet it may be called a Prophecy, because that, as there are three sorts of Prophecies, the first of Writings, That the first respects the present, the second what is to come, and the third what is past. Men Prophecie upon the present, when they discover what is designed to be kept from them: as *Elijah* did, who knew *Gehazi's* wickedness: Men Prophecie upon the future, when what is to come is foretold. And there are also Prophecies of what is past, when by Divine Inspiration things already passed are written; whereof no knowledge was had otherwise. In this Sense *Severianus* saith, that *Moses* was a Prophet in the History of the World's Creation. He observes further, that *Moses* proposed to himself two things in his Writings, to teach, and to give Laws: That he began by Instruction in relating the Creation of the World, to teach Men, that God having created them, had a right to give them Laws and Precepts. For, saith he, had he not shewed at first, that God is the Creator of the World, he could not have justified, that he was the Sovereign Lawgiver of Men: because it is Tyranny to pretend to impose Laws upon those, that do not belong to us, whereas it is very natural to instruct such as depend upon us. He endeth this Preface by shewing the Reason, why *Moses* spake not of the Creation of Angels and Archangels: First because it was not pertinent to his Subject: Secondly, because had he done it, there was danger that Men would have worshipped them.

After this he explains the Text of *Genesis* about the World's Creation, in a plain and literal way: He doth not enlarge upon the spiritual Sense, but rather finds fault with some Explanations, as being too much Allegorical. But he maketh several trifling Reflections, as when he observes in the Fifth Homily, that the first Man was called *Adam*, a word signifying Fire in the Hebrew, because that as this Element easily spreads and communicates it self, so the World was to be peopled by this first Man. Several other Notions of this Nature may be found in that Work, which have neither Beauty, nor Exactness, nor Truth. He Answers the *Arians* and *Anomeans*. He observes in the Fourth Homily, that all Heresies bear the Names of their Authors, whereas the true Church has none other Name, than that of Catholic Church. He enlargeth but little upon the Morals; yet at the Latter end of this Fourth Homily he recommends Fasting, provided it be accompanied with Abstinence from Vices. In a word, One may say that this whole Work, tho' full of Erudition, yet is of no great use, and deserveth not the Esteem of Men of true Judgment.

Father *Combes* hath added to these Homilies some Fragments taken out of *St. Celsus's* upon the Scripture, attributed to this Author, and extracted out of his Commentaries upon *Genesis*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, and upon *Isaiah*. But if these passages did not shew themselves to be written in *Severianus*'s Style, one could not affirm it upon the credit of these *Celsus's*. One might with greater Confidence produce two passages of *Severianus* of *Gabala* upon the Incarnation, quoted by *Gelasius* in the Book of the two Natures, where he observes, That the first is taken out of a Discourse of this Bishop against *Nestorius*.

ASTERIUS AMASENUS.

ASterius (a) Bishop of *Amasea* a City of *Pontus*, flourished at the latter end of the Fourth Century (b), and in the beginning of the Fifth. The Sermons of this Bishop have been quoted with Commendation by the Ancients (c). There are but a small number of them extant. Collected by F. *Combes* at the beginning of his first Volume of the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; The Five first were Printed formerly by *Rubinius*, who published them at *Antwerp*, Ann. 1608. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*:

Asterius
Amaseus.

[a] Asterius. There were several of that Name. The oldest is an Heretic of *Arian* his Party, mentioned in the first Volume. There is another *Asterius* commended by *Theodoret*, in *Philosophe*, c. 3. but different from this, as well as the Catholic Bishop of the same Name, who lived in the time of S. *Athanasius*.

[b] Towards the latter end of the Fourth Century.] We have observed, That in the Sermon upon New-Year's-day, he speaks of *Rufinus* his Death, and of

Entropius his Disgrace, which he tells us happened the Year before, which justifieth that he lived at the same time with S. Chrysostom.

[c] The Sermons of this Bishop have been quoted with Commendation by the Ancients.] He is cited in the Second Council of *Nice*, *Art. 4.* and 6. *Plotinus* made some Extracts out of his works, *Cod. 271.* *Hadrian* in lib. de uni. quotes his Homilies, and *Nicethorus* defends them against the *Iconoclasts*.

The following were lately published by E. Combes, who joined to them the Extracts made by Printing out of the Homilies of *Asterius Amaseus*, and a Discourse upon S. Steven the Protomartyr, formerly published under the Name of *Prædicator*.

The first Sermon is upon the Parable of *Dives and Lazarus*. He begins it with this Reflection. "That our Saviour, not only made use of Precepts to teach us Vertue, and to forbid a Vice, but that he further proposed illustrious Examples to instruct us in that way of Life, which we ought to follow." Afterwards he sets down the Text of S. Luke's Gospel, making moral Reflections upon each Verse.

Upon these words, *Verse 26. There was a rich Man which was clothed with Purple, and fine Linen.* He observes, that the Holy Scripture by these two words, understands all Extravagancies of Riches, that the daily use of Garments is to cover our Bodies, and defend them from the Injuries of the Air. That God hath provided for this, by creating Beasts with hair and wool, whereof Stuffs are made to secure us against both cold weather, and the Beams of the Sun. That besides he hath given the use of Flax for a greater Convenience; that these things ought to be applied to our use, in giving God thanks, not only because he made us, but also because he has provided all necessaries, to cover and defend us from the Injuries of the Season. "But, *saith he*, if you leave the use of Wool and Linen, if you depile what God hath prepared, and to fastidious Pride, you will have silk Garments, thin like Cobwebs; if after this you hire a Man at a dear rate to take out of the Sea a small Fish, that you may dye them in its Blood; Do you not Act the parts of effeminate Men?"

He reproves those afterwards whose Garments were painted with several Figures, of Men, Beasts, and Flowers, and spares not those, who by a ridiculous Devotion, Printed upon their clothes some Godly Histories: As the Marriage of *Cana in Galilee*, the Sick of the Palsy in his Bed, the blind Man cured, the Woman that had an Issue of Blood, the Sinner at the feet of Jesus Christ, *Lazarus* risen again. *Asterius* speaks against this Practice after this manner: *If these Persons will believe me, let them sell these clothes, and buy the true Images of God. Do not paint Jesus Christ, it is enough that he humbled himself, by taking voluntarily a Body for us. . . . Paint not the Paralytic upon your Garments, but seek for the poor to succour them. It is no purpose to look upon the Woman having the Issue of Blood, but it is very necessary to help this poor Widow. It signifies nothing to behold the sinful Woman at the feet of Jesus Christ, but it will signify much to bewail your own sins. What good will the Picture of Lazarus his Resurrection do you? endeavour rather to rise spiritually. To what purpose do you wear upon your Backs, the Image of him that was born blind? *Euse*, this blind Man rather. Why do you draw the Shrines of *Relicks*? rather feed the poor. And therefore do you carry about you the Representation of those Water-pots at the Marriage where our Saviour made Wine; while you suffer the poor to die for thirst? This passage hath been alleged by the Iconoclasts as favouring their Opinions. The Catholics on the contrary have quoted another, taken out of an Homily of the same Author, concerning the Woman afflicted with the Issue of Blood, where he speaks of the Statue of Jesus Christ erected by the same Woman in *Panæa*, a Town of *Palestine*. But neither of these passages, belong to the question betwixt the Catholics, and the Iconoclasts; for this which we have transcribed, is not against Images placed in Churches, but against the Fancy of particular men, who trimmed their Habits with Figures, representing some Histories of the Bible; and that of the Statue of Jesus Christ set up by the Woman that was afflicted with an Issue of Blood, hath no Relation to the publick Service of Images.*

But to return to our Sermon, *Asterius Amaseus* pursuant to his Subject, saith that Christians should beware of Luxury and Pleasures, because none can live in Pleasure without Riches. But, *saith he*, *It is impossible to heap up much Riches without Sin.* He excellently describes all the things that are necessary to those that seek their Pleasure, and having numbered them, he adds, "To have these things, how many poor Men must suffer? how many Orphans must be ruined? how many Widows must have weeping Eyes? and how many Persons must be brought to the utmost Misery? A Soul taken up with these, forgets her self, remembers not what she is, thinks not upon Death, nor a Redemption, nor Eternity. And when the fatal and unavoidable moment comes, that the Soul is ready to separate from the Body, then a remembrance of the Life past will be of little use: He then will think of Repentance, but it will be to no purpose. For then only will Repentance be available, when there is a Resolution of correcting our former Life. And regret and sorrow for sin seem to be of no use, when a Man is not in a condition either to do good, or to practise Vertue. The rest of this Homily is a literal and moral Explication of that parable, full of solid Notions, and natural Reflections.

There is not less Eloquence in the Second Sermon of this Author, upon another Parable of S. Luke's Gospel, concerning that Steward whom his Master called to an Account for his Administration and for his Goods. It beginneth with this Maxim; That most Men's sins proceed from an opinion that the Goods which they possess are their own, and that they are absolute Masters of them; That this false persuasion is that which makes us go to Law, Quarrel, and make War for the wealth of this World, looking upon it as proper and convenient for us, and deserving our Love and Esteem. "Yet, *saith he*, 'tis nothing so; on the contrary we are to look upon all which we have received, as none of ours; we are not Masters of the things which we have at home; we are like Pilgrims, Strangers, Banished and Captives, carried whither we would not."

"at a time when we expect it least, and at once we are stript of all, when the Sovereign Disposer of our fortune pleaseeth. This Notion he enlargeth upon in his Exposition of the Parable of the unjust Steward. There one may find excellent Sentences, upon the Contempt that Men should cast upon Riches, and upon the uncertainty of this present Life. He insists particularly upon proving, that Men are not Owners, but Stewards of their wealth; and from this Principle he concludes, That as many as have received of God such good things ought to distribute them faithfully, and be always ready, yea even desirous, to give God an Account. And at last he observes, That after Death there will be no time for Repentance: that this Life is the proper time to keep God's Commandments in, as the other is of enjoying the Reward of good Works.

The Third Sermon against Covetousness was preached by S. *Asterius* in one of those Assemblies which were made in Churches to celebrate the Festival of some of the Martyrs. This Homily is full of very natural Descriptions of the Hard-heartedness of covetous Men. Covetousness in his Opinion, doth not consist only in the unjust desire of having that which is another's, but in a desire of having more than we ought to have. According to this Notion, it is easy to find in the Scriptures several Examples of covetous Men; and having produced them, he sheweth, That all other Vices waste with time: but that the covetous Man grows the more covetous he is. This Remark is followed by a Description of a covetous Man, where he omits none of those Characters that can make him appear miserable, and render him odious to all the World. He proveth that Covetousness is the Spring and Cause of all the Crimes and Sins committed in the World. And in short, he sheweth that it is to no purpose to be concerned for this World's Goods: but far better to put all our trust and confidence in God's providence and mercy.

The Fourth Sermon is against the profane Festival of the first day in the Year, and against the custom of New-years-gifts. *Asterius Amaseus* declaimeth against that Practice. "He *saith*, custom of New-years-gifts. *Asterius Amaseus* declaimeth against that Practice. "He *saith*, That the Liberalities of that day have no rational ground; That they cannot be called Tokens of Friendship, because true Friendship is not grounded upon Interest; That neither can they be called Alms, since the Poor partake not of them; That they are not of the Nature of Contributes, seeing there is neither loan nor exchange in that Traffic. In a word, That they are not pure Gifts, since there is a necessity of giving them. What Name then, *saith he*, can be given to the Expence of that day? The Church gives a reason for all the Feasts which it celebrates. It keeps the Feast of *Christmas*, because we are drawn out of the obscurity of Darkness unto Men. At *Candlemas* it rejoiceth, because we are drawn out of the obscurity of Darkness wherein we lay. Lastly, we celebrate with Joy, Pomp, and Alacrity the day of the Resurrection, for as much as this day represents unto us the Immortality which we are to enjoy. These are the Reasons which the Church hath to keep Feasts, and there are the like for the celebrating of all the rest: But what reason can be given for the Festival of *New-years-day*, and for the profusion then Practised? O Folly! O Impertinence! At that day every one runs with a design to get another Man's Goods. Those that give, do it with Grief, and they that receive Presents do not keep them, but bestow them upon others. One sends to his Father what he received of his Client: Another makes his Complement to receive Money. The poor give to the rich, and inferior people send Presents to the Great Ones. As Brooks make small Rivers, which at last fall into Great Ones; in like manner the Presents which the common People make to those above them, do all turn to the profit of great Lords, upon whom they bestow them: and thus this Feast is the beginning of Miseries, and the overwhelming of the Poor. Farmers and Labourers are constrained to give to their Landlords; if they fail, they are abused. Miserable People run like Fools through the Streets, asking from Door to Door, deafening every Body with their Noise and Cries. It is a day of Riot for Soldiers. The Consuls and Governours having made themselves rich with the Pay due to Soldiers, the Spoils of Widows, and the publick Treasury, having got Money by selling Justice, by shameful Contracts, by distributing this Money to Fiddlers, Stage-Players, Dancers, and Comedians, lewd Women, and base Fellows, are at this Expence to feed their Vanity. O Folly! O Blindness! God promises an eternal Reward to those who distribute to the Poor, but these rather chuse to spend foolishly, that they may get a vain and transitory Glory. But after all, what is the end of all that Vanity? what Figure of Eternity can any make in this World, the end is always a Grave that buryeth Men in eternal Oblivion.

He describes here the fatal end of *Rufinus*, and *Eutropius*, who just before were deprived both of their Dignities and of their Estates, and concludes with these words of the wise Man: *Vanity of Vanities.* "Dignities, *saith he*, are Dreams and Visions, which vanish after having given some kind of delight for a very short time: They are Flowers, that dry on a sudden, having flourished for a while.

The Fifth Sermon is about *Divorce*. *Asterius* shews there by several Reasons that Men are not to put away their Wives, yet he excepteth Adultery, and saith, "that if a Man puts away his Wife for Adultery, instead of taking her again, he commends him for avoiding a Person who by violating Chastity hath broken the indissoluble bond of Marriage. He observes, that the Law of the Gospel is the same for Men as for Women; but that the Roman Laws have not observed the same Equity; not permitting Wives to leave their Husbands, but only Husbands to put away their Wives. The reason commonly alleged of this difference, is, that Husbands do

do not prejudice their Wives, in committing Adultery, whereas by this Crime, Wives do introduce into Families other Men's Children, and make them Heirs, who have no manner of Right. After this it is not to say, that this Reason is impertinent, because Men abusing either Virgins or Wives, overthrow and dishonour not their Respective Families, and wrong their Parents and their Husbands very considerably.

The Sixth Sermon upon the History of *Safanna*, is full of curious moral Notions. This is one. "A Man overtaken with a Sin is often drawn by that first Crime into all sorts of Iniquity, as on the contrary one Vertue is the cause of another.

The Seventh Sermon is upon the miraculous cure of the Man that was born blind, he exalts the Greatness of the Miracle, and draws an Argument for Christ's Divinity from it.

The Eighth is a *Panegyric* in Commendation of *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*; he shews there how wonderful their miracles were, and in several places establisheth *S. Peter's* Primacy amongst the *Apofles*. "All the *Apofles*, *faith he*, must give place to *S. Peter*, and Confess, that he alone Deserveth the first Rank, if a comparison of the *Graces* God gave to the *Apofles*, is a Token of
a. Priority of Honour.

The following Sermon is a Discourse in Commendation of *Phocas* the Martyr. He affirms in the Preface, that a remembrance of the Actions of Saints, and of the Martyrs Engagements, is one of the most powerful Arguments that can be, to encourage Christians to Piety and Vertue. He addeth that for this Reason they kept their Relicks, that they are exposed to fight in Shrines, that their Feasts are kept, and Churches built to their Honour, to refresh the Memory of their generous Actions. Afterwards he relates the Life of *Phocas* the Martyr, in a very plain and natural manner, without any mixture of such Histories as are rather miraculous than rational. He ends, with the Honours that were paid to that Saint. He says, That the Memory of him was famous in the Countrey, where his Body lay; That at *Rome* he was respected almost as much as *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and that his Head was had in great Veneration. *Africanus* tells us that the Martyr *Phocas*, he (speakes of, was born as *Sinope*, and a Gardiner by Profession, without mentioning that he was a Bishop. This is it perhaps, which hath occasioned the Distinction of two *Phocas's* Martyrs. The one martyr'd under *Trajan*, whose Feast is kept July 14. and the other simply a Martyr; whose remembrance is celebrated on the 5th of *March*. The *Greeks* mention them both upon the 22d. of *September*. Perhaps it is but one and the same Man, whose History hath been variously reported. For both are supposed to have been of *Sinope*, and the same Miracles are ascribed to both. Be it as it will, Seamen chose this Saint for their Patron, as *Africanus* observes at the latter end of this Homily.

The Tenth Sermon. Commendation of Martyrs, was preached in an Assembly, met together for the Honour of the Martyrs. He begins with this Reflection : "Very often we receive much good from our greatest Enemies unawares. Had not Satan persecuted the Church, we should have had no Martyrs. He afterwards observes, That Martyrs are not only Patterns of Vertue, but also Accusers of Vice. And this, faith he, is thus to be understood. -A Martyr hath come, & instantly endured fire and flame, why will you not tame the heat of Lust with Chastity ? A Martyr hath not regarded all the wealth of the World, wherefore do you not despise a small Sum for the love of God ? A Martyr hath put off his own Body for God's sake, why then will ye not part with the meanest garment to cover a poor Man ? We ought either to Honour and imitate the Saints as our Masters, or fear them as our Accusers. Out of Honour to Martyrs, we preserve their Relicks with Veneration, looking upon them as Vessels of Benediction, Organs of blessed Souls, and assured Pledges of their Good-will. The Churches are guarded by the Martyrs, as by so many Soldiers. The afflicted make Addresses to them, and with Confidence implore their Intercession. It cureth Dileales, comforteth in Poverty, and appealeth the anger of Princes. Finally the Churches of Martyrs are an Harbour in a Storm, and a refuge in all Miseries. The Father whose Child is sick, prayeth for God for his Cureby the intercession of a Martyr, saying, *Thou Holy Martyr, that sufferest for Jesus Christ interceed for us. Thou who canst Address to God with greater Boldnes, carry this word for your fellow Servants. Thou who are no longer in the World, yet you know the Pains and Afflictions of this Life. Thou feluest before formerly prayest for the Martyrs, before you were Martyrs, they heard you when you intreated them, now that you can hear us greater by our Request.* But least ignorant Persons should yield to Martyrs the Honour which belongs only to God, he adds, "We do not adore the Martyrs, but we Honour them as God's Servants, We honour not Men, but admire them : We lay up their Relicks in beautified Shrines, and we build magnificent Churches to their Memory, to render them the same Honour in the Church, that is given in the VWorld to those that have done famous Actions. He goeth on to establish this Principle in the rest of this Discourse, where he speaks so strongly of the worship of Saints and Martyrs against such as despise them, that it gives occasion of Suspicion whether this be not of a younger Age, than that of *Alesterius Amalencus*.

The Eleventh Sermon is a *Panegyric*, upon S. *Euphemia* cited in the Seventh general Council, *Act.*., and by *Proins.* It seemeth not to me to be of *Alextus Amalensis* his Stile. The Author relateth the History of that Saint, and observes; that she was represented upon a VVinding-sheet that was near her Grave.

After these Sermons come these Extracts produced by *Phorius*, Vol. 27.1. The first is taken out of a Sermon of Penance upon the sinful Woman, among the Works of *Gregory Nyssen*, to whom he ascribed it in the Second Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; but after serious reflection, I have found that it is more likely to be written by *Asterius Amalensis*.

The Second Extract is taken out of the Sermon upon S. Steven, among Proclus's Sermons. It differs from that which S. Gregory Nyssen made upon that Subject, tho' I confounded them in the Second Volume.

The Third is taken out of the Homily upon the Parable of the Traveller, who going to *Jericho* was taken and wounded by Thieves, *Luk. 10.* He supposeth that this Accident was real, and that *Iesus Christ* makes use of it to inform the Jews of the Greatness of his Charity and Mercy. This wounded man going down to *Jericho*, is the Figure of *Adam*, who by his Sin fell from the happy State wherein he was created, and at the same time caused the Fall of all mankind. The *Levite* and the Priest are *Moses* and *S. John*, who finding this Man, that is all mankind, destitute of Grace, Virtue and Piety, and wounded by his Enemies, did indeed look upon him with Compassion, but could not cure him. That the *Samaritan* is *Iesus Christ*, who carries a Treasure of Grace, hidden till the time of the New Law. This Exposition of the Parable is pretty exact as far as, but the Comparison he makes afterwards, betwixt the Body of *Iesus Christ*, and the Horse that carried this *Samaritan* is hardly tolerable, *Because*, saith he, the Body of *Iesus Christ* is as it were the Vehicle of the Divinity.

The Fourth Extract of *Phoebus* is taken out of an Homily upon the Prayers of the *Pharisee* and of the *Publican*, spoken of *Lukch. 18*. Here is an excellent Definition of Prayer. "Prayer is a conference with God, a forgetting of earthly things, and an Ascension into Heaven. He that prayeth with his hands lifted up to Heaven, doth by this posture of his Body represent the Cross; and if he prayeth with the Heart, and his Prayer is acceptable to God, he hath the Cross in his Heart. For Prayer extinguishes in him the Desires of the Flesh, the love of Riches, and puts off from him the Spirit of thoughtless Pride and Vanity. He addeth, that Vanity glorieth in the best Actions, as Prayer, Fasting, and Alms, &c. and rendereth them impracticable."

The Fifth Extract is out of the Homily upon the History of *Zacchæus*, it containeth nothing considerable.

The Sixth is upon the Parable of the prodigal Son. He faith that the Father spoken of in that Parable represents the Father of Eternity; That the two Sons, are two sorts of Men; That the Prodigal Child is a Figure of those that have lost the Grace of Baptism; That the Portion of Goods which he defers of his Father, is the Grace of Baptism, and the Participation of the Body of Jesus Christ; That this Child doth indeed ask it well, but does not keep it, but goes into a foreign Country, that is he departeth from God's Commandments; That the Devil is that Citizen and Prince who commandeth the Swine, that is debauched Persons; That this Sinner at last acknowledging his Fault, cometh back to God his Father, but with fear and confessing his unworthiness. That the Father full of Compassion and Mercy receiveth him, embraceth, and puts upon him new Robes; That these new Robes cannot be Baptism which cannot be received a second time, but Repentance, which is instead of Baptism, and which blotting out our Sins with tears, makes us clean and acceptable to God; That the Ring afterwards given to this prodigal Child, is the Seal of the Holy Ghost, which is given in Repentance as well as in Baptism.

The Seventh Extract is of a Sermon upon the cure of the Centurion's Servant. *Phoebus* faith, that *Alerius* upon occasion of that filiall, treateth of the Duties of Masters and Servants; That he aduertiſeth Servants to obey their Masters readily and heartily; and exhortheth their Masters to rule them with Meekneſſe and Bounty, looking upon them as Brethren. "For, *faith* he, they are made of the ſame Mould with us, they have the ſame Creator, the ſame Nature, the ſame Paſſions " they have a Body and a Soul as we have, &c. The Homily at the beginning of the Faſt from which *Phoebus* hath taken out the Eighth Extract, is in Latin among the Works of S. *Gregory Niſſen*. I now Confeſs, that it rather belongs to *Alerius*, than to that Father.

The Tenth Extract is of the Homily upon the Man born blind, which we have entire.

The Ninth is upon the Woman having an Issue of Blood. There he speaks of the History of the Statue, which that Woman caused to be set up in Honour of Jesus Christ in the City of *Panama*. This is all that *F. Combes* hath collected of the Works of *Alerius Amasius*; but since that, *Cotelierus* in the second Volume of his *Ecclesiastical Monuments*, hath given us three Homilies upon *Psalm* 56, 6, and 7, which he ascribeth to *Alerius Amasius*, upon the Authority of two *Catene* upon the *Psalm*. He observes that before these Homilies there was one upon *Psalm* 4. Printed in the Seventh Volume of the *Exon* Edition of *S. Chrysostom*, pag. 431. which he likewise attributeth to the same *Alerius*. I confess I mis-trust very much the Quotations of the *Catene*, and I should rather believe, that these Commentaries belong to *Alerius* the Philosopher, who according to the Testimony of the Ancients, writ a Commentary upon the *Psalm*, than to the Bishop of *Amalea*, who is not said to have written upon that Subject. *Cotelius* pretends that the Conformity both of Style and Doctrine demonstrate that these Homilies were written by *Alerius Amasius*. But tho' I pay a great deference to the Judgment of that learned Man, yet I find no such Resemblance; however I would not be believed upon my own word, but leave it to thee to judge, who will take the Pains to compare them.

Chromat.
Bishop of
Aquilcia.

The *Stile* of *Asterius Amasenus* is plain, but with a great deal of natural Beauty. His Characters and Descriptions are excellent: His Sermons would be esteemed in this Age, where those things are extremely valued. He is very severe in his Morals; the Reflections he makes are exact and solid. He explains the Scripture-Parables after an ingenious manner, and draws from them very useful Thoughts. He doth not excite his Auditors by violent Motions as great Orators do; but insinuates into their minds Christian Truths, by his agreeable and natural way of propounding them; and intently begets in them an Abhorrence of Vice, and a love of Vertue, only by a bare Picture lively drawn.

ANASTASIUS.

Anastasi-
us.

ANASTASIUS was chosen Bishop of *Rome*, after the Death of Pope *Siricius*, Anno, 398. He was an illustrious Person, as commendable for neglecting his private Interest, as for his Pastoral Vigilance. Under his Pontificate, *Flavianus* and the *Eastern Bishops* were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and to the other *Western Churches*. The business of the *Origenists* making a great noise in the Church, he thought it his Duty to declare his Sense of that matter: He therefore made a Decree after the Example of *Theophilus*, whereby he condemned both the Writings and the person of *Origen*, and being informed that *Rufinus* the Priest was his chief Defender, he cited him to come to *Rome*, and appear before him: but *Rufinus* deserring to appear, he condemned him as an Heretic in the Year 401. at the Solicitation of a Lady called *Marcella*, who produced Evidences against him herself, and shewed the Errors that he had left in the Translation of the Books of *Origen's* Principles, as *S. Jerom* says *Ep. 16*.

John of *Jerusalem* having heard of this Judgment, writ him a very civil Letter, wherein after abundance of Commendations he spake in *Rufinus* his behalf. *Anastasi*us, having returned him thanks for his Compliments, answered, That he could not but condemn *Rufinus* his conduct, because he had translated the Books of *Origen's* Principles, with a design that the People should read them as Catholic Books; that the Fear he was in lest they should corrupt the Doctrine of the faithful in his Church, obliged him to condemn them: that he was informed that the Emperours had made an Edict to forbid the reading of *Origen's* works: that *Rufinus* having approved in his Translation the Opinions of *Origen*, deserved to be treated after the same manner, as he that first published them. Lastly, he declares, that he will hear no more of him; that he might seek for Absolution where he pleased, for his part he looked upon him as an excommunicated person.

This is the only true Letter of *Anastasi*us, the two others are written by *Isidore*. The first directed to the *German* and *Burgundian Bishops* is dated Fourteen years before *Anastasi*us was Pope. Those of *Burgundy* to whom it is directed, were not then converted. It is made up of several passages of the Letters of *Innocent*, *S. Leo* and *Flavianus*, &c. It is full of Faults, and far from the *Stile* of the true *Anastasi*us. The second addressed to *Neftarius* is dated Fourteen years after *Anastasi*us his Death, and is taken out of *Innocent*, *S. Leo*, *Gregory*, &c.

We have not the first Synodical Letter of *Anastasi*us, wherein he condemned *Origen's* Books, nor the Letter wherein he cited *Rufinus*, nor that directed to *Venerius* of *Milan*, whereof he speaks in his Letter to *John*. It is believed, that he writ a Treatise of the Incarnation directed to *Origen*us, whereof some Fragments are found at the latter end of *Liberatus's* Breviary. But it is certain, that they belong to *Anastasi*us. This Pope died in the beginning of the Year 402 and left *Innocent* his Successor.

CHROMATIUS, Bishop of Aquileia.

Chromat.
Bishop of
Aquilcia.

CHROMATIUS, Bishop of *Aquilcia*, whom *S. Jerom* in his Preface to the *Chronicles* calleth the most Holy and Learned Bishop of his time, writ and preached several Sermons. There is but one Discourse of his extant upon the Beatitudes, upon Christ's Sermon on the Mount, and upon the words of *S. John* to Jesus Christ, I ought to be baptized of thee. Which probably is a Fragment of a Commentary, composed by this Saint upon the whole Gospel of *S. Matt*. He expoundeth the Letter of the Gospel, inquiring particularly upon the Moral Precepts thereof. In the Exposition of what the Gospel saith concerning Divorces, he seems to have believed, That a Man might Marry another Wife, after being divorced for the cause of Adultery, but he condemneth those that abandon their Wives upon any other Account, and Marry again, tho' he confesseth that humane Laws allowed it. He expounds the Lord's Prayer, and recommends the Exercise thereof, the Love of our Neighbour, Alms-deeds, Fasting, and other Vertues spoken of in Christ's Sermon upon the Mount. In the last Fragment he discourseth of the Efficacy of Christ's Baptism.

The *Stile* of this Author is not very lofty, but his words are well chosen, his Notions just, his Expositions literal, and his Reflections useful. He was one of the most famous Bishops of the West, and held Correspondence with the Learnedest men of his time. He is one of the Three to whom *S. Chrysostom*

Chromat.
Bishop of
Aquilcia.

S. Chrysostom directed the Letter, to demand help of the *Western Bishops*: and he subscribed the Letters written for him to the *East*. His Works were printed by themselves at *Basil* in 1528, and at *Levain* in 1548, and afterwards in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: I say nothing of a Letter bearing the Name of *Chromatius* directed to *S. Jerom*, in which he desires to have the Martyrology of *Eusebius*; It being certain, that both this Letter and the pretended Answer of *S. Jerom* are spurious, as *Baronius* evidently proves in the Seventh Chapter of his Preface to the *Roman Martyrology*.

GAUDENTIUS, Bishop of Brescia.

Gauden-
tius, Bishop
of Brescia.

Saint *Philastrius*, Bishop of *Brescia*, who composed the Book of Heresies mentioned in the foregoing Century, dying in 386. in the Year 387, the Bishops of the Province, together with *S. Ambrose*, did, with the Consent of the people, chuse for his Successor *Gaudentius*, who was gone to travel in the *East*; But fearing, lest he should abide in the *East*, dreading the Burden of the Episcopal Charge, they not only sent Deputies to him, with a Letter to desire his Return; but wrote a Letter besides to the *Eastern Bishops* to intreat them, that they would not admit him to the Communion, if he refused to come and govern the Diocese, of which he was chosen Bishop. Whereby *Gaudentius* found himself obliged to accept of that Charge, and being come back, was ordained by *S. Ambrose* and the Bishops of his Province.

All these Circumstances are recorded in the Discourse which he made to them immediately after his Ordination. He was but young when they chose him, as he says in the same place. He was one of the Deputies sent to *Constantinople* in 404, or 405, by the *Western Bishops*, to demand *S. John Chrysostom's* Re-establishment in his See. Possibly he lived a great while after-wards.

To this Bishop is attributed the Life of his Predecessor *S. Philastrius*, which *Sirius* Printed upon the Eighteenth day of *July*. Yet I cannot believe that it is certainly his; but we find in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* Nineteen Instructions, or Sermons, which are unquestionably Genuine, and in which he collected himself, to send them to one *Benevolus*, one of the most considerable Men in *Brescia*; who had formerly been Receiver of the Emperor's Memorials, and Injunctions, and who had quitted that Employment, that he might not be obliged to do any thing against his Conscience in obedience to the Emperess *Justina*, who Countenanced the *Arians*, and persecuted *S. Ambrose*.

This *Benevolus* was constant at Divine Service, and heard the Sermons of *Gaudentius* with Pleasure; but having been hindered by Sickness from hearing those which this Holy Bishop preached *at Easter*, he prayed him to commit them to writing; and to Answer the desire of this Man, the Holy Bishop did write his Sermons almost in the same words that he preached them: He joyned to them four small Treatises upon some places of the Gospel, and a Fifth upon the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*.

As to the other Sermons which the Copyers writ as *Gaudentius* was preaching, he will not own them for his, fearing that there may be some Errors in them; this *Gaudentius* declares in the beginning of his Preface: Afterwards he comforts *Benevolus* in his Sickness, shewing that God permits often, Saints and righteous Men to be afflicted with Poverty and Sicknesses, whereas he lets the wicked enjoy a perfect Health and much Wealth, because both Punishments and Rewards are referred to the Day of Judgment: that in the mean time he inflicteth visible and Chaſtisements upon the impious and refractory, to frighten others by their Punishments: but permits likewise the righteous to be afflicted for Three Reasons, 1. to Correct, 2. to Purifie, and 3. to try them. The severity he useth towards them is a Fatherly severity. He sends them Afflictions, to manifest their Vertue both to Men and Angels, and to all the Sufferings of Afflictions, to manifest himself Happy in the midst of Tribulations, and bleſseth God for all that happeneth to him.

The first of those Sermons preached on *Easter-Eve*, is directed to the Catechumens that were to be baptized: He begins it with a thought that is rather subtle than solid, to give a Reason why *Easter* is celebrated in the Spring, after the ill Weather of Autumn, and the severity of Winter, and before the heat of Summer. It is, faith he, to shew that Jesus Christ the Son of Righteousness, dissipates by his light the Darkness of Jewish Errors, and lifts the hardness of the Heathens Hearts, preventing with his Beams, the hot Fire of the Judgment of the great Day. He adds, That the World having been created in the Spring, it is just that it should be repaired in the same Season. Afterwards he compareth the Christian's Passage with that of the Jews; and the deliverance of the People of *Israel* from *Egypt* thro' the Red Sea, with the Regeneration of Sinners, by the waters of Baptism.

The Second Sermon is directed to the Novices: *Gaudentius* expoundeth in that instruction the Mystery of the Eucharist, which was hid from them till that time. He compares it with the Jews Paschal Lamb, taking notice that That was but the Figure, and not the real thing. "Whereas in the truth of the New Law, it is the same Lamb dead for all; which being offered in all Churches,

Churches, nourishes under the Mystery of Bread and Wine, those that offer it, giveth life to them that have a lively Faith, and sanctifieth by Consecration those that consecrate the same. This is the Flesh of the Lamb, this is his Blood. . . . It is the same Lord Creator of all things, who having made Bread out of the Earth, forms his Body of this Bread, because he is able, and hath promised it. He who formerly changed Water into Wine, now changeth Wine into his Blood. Having expounded thus plainly the Mystery of the Eucharist, he speaks of the Dispositions that Men ought to be in to come to it: He findeth them all represented by the Ceremonies observed by the Jews in eating the Paschal Lamb; but his Similitudes are so far fetcht, that one would hardly have observed them. For who can believe that the Lethern Girdle that the Israelites were girded withall, was a Figure of the Mortification of Sins? Who would imagine, that when they are forbidden to break a bone of the Lamb, the meaning is that the Scripture-precepts ought to be observed? And who can conclude from burning the remainders of the Lamb, that Men should consume by a lively Faith the doubts which they might have about the Eucharist. These Allegories, and such-like in this place, are something forced, and I question whether many people can relish them. At last he exhorteth the new baptized strongly to believe that Mystery, and giveth Two mystical Reasons why Jesus Christ chose Bread and Wine to be the matter of that Sacrament.

He prosecutes, in the Five following Sermons, his Lecture upon that place of *Exodus*, which speaketh of the Circumstances and Ceremonies wherewith the Jews offered the Paschal Lamb; and he applies them to the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and to what is done among Christians; and sometimes he draws from them some Moral instructions.

The Eighth and Ninth are upon the Gospel of the Marriage in *Cana of Galilee*; He commendeth Virginity, reproving those at the same time who condemn Matrimony, and warneth Parents, that though they may inspire into their Children the love of Virginity, yet they cannot enjoy them the Vow of perpetual Continency. He maintains, that the Virgin *Mary* did not lose her Virginity in bringing Jesus Christ into the World. Both these Instructions are full of many Similitudes. He exhorteth the new baptized not to lose the Grace of their Baptism.

The Tenth Instruction is upon *Exodus*; There he brings many Allegories upon the Passover, and upon the Lord's Day. He seems to be perverted, that the World shall end after the accomplishment of Six thousand Years; and that those Dead who appeared after Christ's death, were of the number of those Righteous ones, whom the Soul of Christ, that descended into Hell, delivered in that day. These are the Ten Sermons which *Gaudenius* preached in *Benevolus* his absence during *Easter* Holy-days.

The other Sermons are particular Tracts which he collected to joyn them to the foregoing. The First is upon the Sick of the Palfe, whom Jesus Christ cured on the Sabbath-day. The Second is upon Christ's Words, *John 12. And now is the judgement*: Which he expounded thus: *The World is going to judge its Creator and Master*. The Third is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ, and of that patience wherewith he endured *Judas* his Treason. Upon occasion of this unhappy Apostle's covetousness, he exhorteth to Alms-deeds, which he makes no scruple of comparing with Baptism; saying, That as the Water of Baptism quenches Hell-fire, so abundance of Alms quenches the fire of Lust that remains after Baptism, or at least hinders it from breaking out into a Flame. He occasionally speaks by the bye against those who say they cannot fast, because they will not. He concludes with an Exhortation to love God and our Neighbour. This Sermon is better written and more useful than the others.

The Fourth is about the sending of the Holy Ghost, and contains a curious Observation against such as pretend to fathom Mysteries. *We ought to believe that God is what he hath revealed himself to be; his Actions are not to be examined with a rebellious Spirit, but to be admired with Faith, and Submission: For the Word of God is direct, and all his Actions are for the exercise of our Faith. . . . And so let us have a care of assailing, if we may so speak, the Divine Mysteries with injurious Questions. Neither Scrupulosities; nor Curiosity will help us to discover them, but only make us lose the Faith which leads to Salvation and Eternal life*.

The Fifth Sermon is in commendation of the *Maccabees*. *Gaudenius* endeavoureth to give reasons, Why Swine's-flesh was forbidden to the Jews.

The Sixth Sermon is that which he preached at his Ordination in the presence of *S. Ambrose* and the other Bishops. He speaks at first of the Violence that was used towards him to make him accept the Bishoprick of *Brescia*. He commends his Predecessor *Philastrius*: He entreatheth *S. Ambrose*, the first of the Bishops there, to speak in the Name of all the Bishops, as *S. Peter* the Prince of the Apostles speaketh for them all. He ends, desiring the Bishops to implore God's mercy, that he would assist him with the Virtue of the Holy Ghost to govern his Diocese well.

The Seventh is a Panegyric upon the Forty Martyrs, for whose honour they had built a Church, to deposit their Relicks. *S. Gaudenius*, who called many Bishops to that Feast, having spoken concerning the Relicks of several Martyrs, which he had gathered; viz. those of *S. John Baptist*, *S. Andrew*, *S. Thomas*, *S. Luke*, *S. Gervasius*, *S. Protasius*, *S. Nazarius*, and the *Athens* of the *SS. Sisinus* and *Alexander*, who had lately suffered Martyrdom: He adds, that Travelling through *Cappadocia*, he found at *Cesarea* a Convent of Women, where *S. Basil's* Nieces were, who were so kind as to give him part of the Relicks of the Forty Martyrs, left with them by their Uncle. He describeth afterwards those Saint's Martyrdom, taken out of *S. Basil's* discourse; then

he makes an end, saying; That the then consecrated Church being adorned with the Relicks of so many Saints, was to bear the Name of an Assembly of Saints.

The Eighth Discourse is a Letter to *Germanus*, wherein he explains the Parable of the Unjust Steward, related *Luke 16*. There he treateth chiefly of the Obligation to give Alms.

The Last Discourse is likewise a Letter to a Deacon called *Paul*, to expound that notable place of *S. John's* Gospel, which the *Arian* did alledge against the Divinity of Jesus Christ: *My Father is greater than I*. *Gaudenius* there refutes *Arian* and the *Arian* with great exactness; affirming, that this place is to be understood of Christ's human Nature.

It is not necessary to give a Character of *S. Gaudenius*. He is sufficiently known by what we have said of him. His Style is plain and without affectation, full of forced Allegories, extraordinary Notions, and far-fetcht Allusions. His Sermons are dry, barren, neither instructive nor moving in any considerable degree. In one word, they have not the strength, eloquence, beauty or exactness observed in the Sermons of those Greek Authors formerly mentioned.

JOHN of Jerusalem.

After the Death of *S. Cyril*, which happened in the Year 387, a Monk called *John*, a great Defender of *Origen's* Books, Opinions and Followers, succeeded in that See. *S. Epiphanius* being persuaded, that the *Origenists* were very dangerous Heretics, reproved him before several persons for taking their part. But instead of yielding to *S. Epiphanius's* admonition, *John* declared himself openly against him; and upbraided him as a Patron of the *Antropomorphites*; that is, of those who affirmed that God had a Body. Soon after *S. Epiphanius* ordained *Paulinianus*, *S. Jerome's* Brother, out of his own Diocese, in that of *Cesarea*; and that gave *John* an occasion to complain of him, and to accuse him of violating the Canons. *S. Epiphanius* excused himself upon the account of the Custom of his Country; and observes in his Letter, that it was not this Ordination which most offended *John*, but that he was accused of being an *Origenist*. This Letter of *S. Epiphanius* was written in 392. *S. Jerome* was much engaged in the quarrel, and upholding *S. Epiphanius's* Party, was excommunicated of *John*, who used all his endeavours to expell him out of *Palestine*. On the other side, *Rufinus* took *John's* part; so that this quarrel betwixt two zealous Bishops, being fomented by these two learned Men, grew to a great height in a little time. Count *Archelus* endeavoured to accommodate the matter; and as they accused one another of Heresy, it was agreed, That for their Reconciliation, they should make a Confession of Faith; but *John* appearing not in the Assembly called for that purpose, the Accommodation was broke off.

Theophilus, Bishop of *Alexandria*, informed of this Division, thought it his duty to endeavour to quiet it: Therefore he sent his Deacon *Isidore* for that end; who being already prepossessed in *Origen's* behalf, strengthened *John's* Party, and returned without effecting any thing; and only brought *Theophilus* a Letter from *John*, wherein he justified himself, and accused *S. Epiphanius*. This Letter having been read in the West, obliged both *S. Jerome* and *S. Epiphanius* to write to *Theophilus*, that he should make haste to declare against the *Origenists*. This Bishop deferred for some time to make this Declaration, suspecting that *S. Epiphanius* was guilty of the *Antropomorphites* Error, which he abhorred. But he found himself obliged to declare himself of a Party, by the secession of certain Monks of *Egypt*, infected with the *Antropomorphites* Error; who after they had read a Letter of this Bishop against that Doctrine, came in great fury to *Theophilus* with a design to kill him. *Theophilus* to appeale them, made use of *Jacob's* words to *Esaie*, *I see your faces as the face of God*. This perwading the silly Monks, that his Mind was altered, and that he really believed that God had a face, they were quieted. But they being perwaded that *Origen* was the greatest enemy of the Doctrine which they maintained, laid unto him; *If you be of this mind, then condemn Origen's Books*. This was the Reason (if we may believe the Historians of that time) for which *Theophilus* was forced to declare against that Author and his Party; at the time when *Theophilus* was fallen out with *Isidore*, the Long-brethren and the other Monks of *Nitria*. He accused them of *Origenism*, and forced them to retire to *Constantinople*. All this while *John of Jerusalem* continued in his Opinion, and writ a Letter in favour of *Rufinus*; and of *Origen*, to Pope *Anastasius*. His enmity against *S. Jerome* lasted long, as we learn by a Letter of Pope *Innocent*; and he joined himself to *Heladius*, and caused him to be absolved in the Council of *Dyophys*, as appears by the Letter which *S. Augustin* wrote to him. He died in 416.

Gennadius faith that he writ a Book against his Adversaries; wherein he professed to admire the Wit, but not the Doctrine of *Origen*. That Discourse is lost.

There is attributed to this Author a Treatise dedicated to *Casparus* of the Institution of Monks; but that visibly appears to be the work of a Latin Author, who composed it of purpose to prove, That the Order of the *Carmelites*, which began in the time of the Old Law, was very ancient in the Church, and that many Christians were of this Order in the Primitive Church. It is a heap of Fables, Visions and Dreams concerning *Elijah*, and some other Prophets, whom this Author feigneth to have been Monks of Mount *Carmel*. But what is more surprizing, is, that upon occasion of this supposed Book, there was a *Carmelite* that either had so little sense him-

John of Jerusalem.
[* Petrus Wastellus.]

self, or rather believed that others were to do, is to attribute to the same Author several Books, which are either without the Name of an Author, or falsely ascribed to others; which he hath had the confidence to collect and publish at *Beyssels* in Folio. ann. 1643. under the Name of *John of Jerusalem's* Works; as if this pretended Author must necessarily be the Father of all these unknown Children. But in one word; Though this famous *Carmelite*, who took the pains to collect them, hath bestowed a whole Volume to shew that the Discourses contained in his First Volume, were truly written by *John of Jerusalem*, and hath endeavoured to justify them from all sorts of Errors; yet one may say that he hath done nothing less than what he promiseth in the Title, and that he hath filled that long and tedious Treatise with idle Conjectures, groundless Suppositions, manifest Falshoods; or with Matters no ways pertinent to his Subject. So that this great Building failing at the foundation, is quickly fallen into ruine, and is become an object of Laughter to all persons that pretend to Learning.

THEOPHILUS of Alexandria.

Theophilus of Alexandria.

THEOPHILUS was ordained Bishop in the Year 385, after the Death of *Timotheus*. We have already observed that he was a politic and daring Man. He took away the remains of Idolatry in the City of *Alexandria*, by causing the Temples and Idols that were left to be pulled down, and by discovering to the People the Frauds and the Stragglings which the Idol-priests made use of to uphold their Superstition; having hollow Statues wherein Men were hid, who persuaded the People that the Statues spoke.

This generous Action got *Theophilus* much credit and reputation, and gave him great power in *Alexandria*. The Council of *Cyprus* having referred to him the judgment of *Flavian's* business, he dealt very moderately with him; but he showed much partiality in the Ordination of *S. Chrysostom*, being desirous to have preferred *Isidore* to that See: However, they were friends in appearance for a while, and they united together to procure the Reconciliation of the Eastern with the Western Bishops. We have spoken before of his Carriage in the case of *Origen*, and the *Origenists*, of the policy of his Conduct, and the passion which he shewed in the business of *S. Chrysostom*. There is no likelihood that he ever repeated of the injustice and violence which he exercised against *S. John Chrysostom*: For though *S. John Damascene* saith, that when he was near death, he caused the Image of that Saint to be brought to him; yet one cannot affirm it upon a testimony of that nature, especially because *S. Cyril* his Successor, in the Church of *Alexandria*, persisted after his death to refuse to pay any honour to the Memory of this Saint, and to infer his Name into the Diptychs. It is more likely, that what is related in the Lives of the *Fathers* in the *Desert*, is true; viz. That this Bishop, being at the point of yielding up the Ghost, and reflecting upon the long Penance of *S. Arsenius*, cried out; *O how happy art thou Arsenius, to have always had this hour before thine eyes! Which sheweth, saith an Author of that time, that Monks who have quitted all the hopes of the World and of the Court, to mourn in the Wilderness, die more peaceably than the Archbishops that go out of their Dioceses, to disturb the peace of the Church by caballing at Court against the most innocent and beloved of their brethren.* Yet *S. Leo* calls him *Theophilus of happy Memory*; not that he had an opinion of his Sanctity, but because dying in the Communion of the Church, that Title of Honour could not be denied him.

“He wrote, saith *Gennadius*, a large Treatise against *Origen*, wherein he condemns both his Writings and his Person, showing at the same time that he was not the first that condemned him, but that he had been excommunicated by the Ancients, and particularly by *Heraclius*. “He composed another Book against the *Antroponomastites*, who hold that God hath a humane shape, and members like unto ours: Wherein he refuteth their Opinions, and convinceth them by testimonies of Holy Scripture; proving, that God is of an incorruptible and spiritual Nature; whereas all Creatures are in their Natures corruptible and subject to change. He likewise presented to *Theodosius* the Emperour a small Treatise concerning *Easter*, where he fixes the Day, and time of the Moon when it ought to be celebrated, according to the decision of the Council of *Nice*, adding some Observations touching the Solemnity of that Festival. This Cycle began in the Year 380, and determined *Easter* Day for 100 Years consecutively, as *S. Leo* assures us in the 94th. and 95th. Letters of the new Edition.

Gennadius saith further, that he had read Three Books concerning *Faith*, that bore *Theophilus* his Name; but addeth, that he did not believe them to be his, because they are written in a different Style.

S. Jerom mentions Five Epistles of *Theophilus*, which he had translated into Latin. The First was a Synodical Letter against *Origen* of the Year 399. The Second was a Paschal Epistle for the Year 401, and three other Paschal Epistles for the Years 402, 403, and 404. We have not the Two first, the other Three are among *S. Jerom's* Epistles. The First is divided into four Parts, according to the Observation of that Saint. In the First *Theophilus* exhorts the Faithfull to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* worthily. In the Second and Third he speaks against *Apollinarium*. In the Last he advieth Heretics to repent. In all the Three he shews his aversion to *Origen*, accusing him with great vehemence, of several Errors. It is observed in the Last that the

Chri-

Christians of that time forbore in *Lent* the Use of Wine and Meat. In these Discourses he interperes some Moral Notions, and endeth all his Epistles with giving notice of the Day when *Lent* shall begin, and of *Easter* Day and *Whit-sunday*.

We have besides, amongst *S. Jerom's* Epistles, Three Letters of *Theophilus*: One to *S. Epiphanius*, wherein he exhorts him to assemble a Council against *Origen*, and Two other Letters against the *Origenists*.

There are some Greek Fragments of the Paschal Letters cited by *Theodoret* in the Council of *Ephesus*, and in that of *Chalcedon*, which are among those that we have, or else are taken out of other Letters of the same nature: For the Council of *Ephesus* quoteth a Sixth Paschal Letter; and *Justinian* in his writing against *Origen*, produces a great part of the Synodical Letter against *Origen*, and Two other fragments of a Letter, and of a Treatise directed to the Monks of *Scheta*.

Facundus, l. 6. ch. 5. quoteth a Book of *Theophilus* against *S. Chrysostom*, full of Invektives and Calumnies against that Saint whereof he gives some Instances, which shew how much Partiality and Rage had blinded him.

Lastly, One may see in *Zonaras's* and *Balsamon's* Collections some Laws and Canonical Letters of this same Bishop.

The First is a Pastoral Letter; wherein he saith; that when *Christmas* Eve happens upon a *Sunday*, some light Meat may be eaten, that so we may not seem to follow the practice of Heretics, by eating nothing on the *Sunday*, and yet not to break the Law of Fasting altogether.

The Second is a Letter containing some Rules for the Province of *Lycopolis*, directed to *Ammon*.

The First concerneth those who had communicated with the *Arian* Bishops; he ordereth that they should be deposed, allowing them still leave to dwell in the place, and to be dealt with as was appointed by the Bishops of *Thebais*.

The Second is upon the occasion of a Priest, who was ordained after he had committed a crime with a Woman that was divorced from her Husband. *Theophilus* determines that he ought to be Suspended from his Ministerial Function.

The Third is concerning a Priest who had been excommunicated by his Bishop. *Theophilus* declares, that the Priest that was Excommunicated by his Bishop, ought to be esteemed Excommunicate till he had justified himself by the Law.

The Fourth concerneth a Deacon, who was accused to have Married his Brother's Daughter. *Theophilus* saith, That if he Married her before Baptism, and had not co-habited with her since he was Baptized, he might continue in the Clergy; but if he had co-habited with her after Baptism, he ought to be degraded from the Clergy.

In the Fifth that relateth to an Accusation brought against a Reader, *Theophilus* gives this Order; That if he be convicted of Fornication, he ought to be degraded; but if this Accusation is grounded only upon suspicion, no regard is to be had to it.

In the Sixth he sets down a Rule to be observed in Ordinations; he saith, That the Bishop is to Ordain none, who is not chosen by the whole Clergy in the presence of the People; and that the Bishop is to give his Approbation before he can be Ordained.

The Seventh appointeth, That whatsoever is left of the Offering after Communion, ought to be distributed to the Clerks, and to the Faithfull, and none of it to the Catechumens.

The Eighth is also concerning a Clerk that was accused of Fornication. *Theophilus* affirms, That if he be convicted of the Crime, he ought to be deposed; but if he gives a good account of his Behaviour, and it cannot be proved that he committed the Fact, they ought not to give him any trouble.

The Ninth Canon is about chusing a new Steward in the Church.

The Tenth enjoyns, That the Poor, the Widows and the Pilgrims should not be disturbed, and that none should usurp the Church-goods.

The Second Letter contains a Rule, whereby it is ordered conformably to the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, That the *Novatians*, who had a mind to come into the Church, might receive Ordination.

The Third to *Agatho*, was written upon occasion of a person, who knowing not the Laws of the Church, had contracted an unlawful Marriage; and being censured for it, had left his Wife with her consent. He advieth the Bishop to whom he writeth, to place them among the Catechumens, if he thought fit, and if he judged that they did it sincerely; otherwise he will have him deal more severely with them.

The Last Letter is directed to *Menna*; where he forbids him to admit into the Communion of the Church, a Woman that had wrong'd another, before she had made reparation.

Theophilus hath nothing in his Writings that can turn to his Commendation: They are dark, unintelligible, full of false Reasonings and Reflections, that do not concern his Subject. He was a good Politician, but an ill Author. He knew better how to manage a Court-intrigue, than to resolve a question of Divinity. The only Rule of his Opinions was his Interest or his Ambition. He was ready to embrace any Opinion or Party that could satisfy his Passion, without examining much whether it was just or reasonable.

Theo-

THEODORUS of Mopsuestia.

Theodorus
of Mopsue-
stia.

THEODORUS, a Priest of Antioch, Diodorus and Flavian's Disciple, S. Chrysostom's Com-
panion, and as some have affirmed, Nestorius's Tutor, was chosen Bishop of Mopsuestia,
about the beginning of the Fifth Century of the Church. Many were the Works that
he writ; but the mistaking which they had to be condemned with his Person, in the
Fifth Council, by the Intrigues of Justinian the Emperour, caused them to be lost; except the
Titles and Fragments that were collected either by his Accusers, or by his Defenders.

It is probable that he writ Commentaries upon the whole Bible: Photius, Vol. 25th. of his *Bibliotheca*, saith, That he had read a Commentary of Theodorus upon Genesis, divided into Seven Parts. Facundus and the Fifth General Council mention Commentaries of Theodorus upon the Psalms, the Book of Job, the Canticles, the Twelve lesser Prophets, the Gospels of S. Matthew, S. John and S. Luke; upon the Acts, the Epistle to the Romans; and upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. In these Commentaries he insisted most upon the Historical sense, avoiding all Allegories: He writ a Book likewise to justify that way of expounding the Scripture, intituled, *Of Allegory and of History against Origen*, quoted by Facundus. Photius observeth further, That Theodorus's Commentaries are full of frequent Repetitions; that they are tedious, and unpleasant to read. The first of his Commentaries is that upon the Psalms; he saith himself, that it was the most imperfect and least exact. In his Commentary upon Job, he saith, That though the History of Job be true at the bottom, yet it is written in a fabulous way: He observeth besides, when he Comments upon the Book of Canticles, that it is a difficult thing to write an useful Commentary upon that Book; and that it was forbidden both among the Jews, and among the Christians to read it publicly, since in all probability it was a Nuptial Song, though it is to be understood of the Love of Wisdom.

The other Treatises of this Author were very long, and very numerous: When he was young he composed a large Work of the Incarnation against the *Apollinarists* and *Anomæans*, divided into Fifteen Books, which, according to his own Testimony, contain'd above Fifteen Thousand Verses; wherein he shewed, saith Gennadius, by convincing proofs; and by testimonies of the Scripture, (for he speaketh of Theodorus, in the 12th. Chapter of his Book, concerning Ecclesiastical Writers,) That in Jesus Christ there is the fullness both of the Divinity and of the Humanity; That Man is made of two Substances, the Soul and the Body; That Sense and Understanding are not separate Substances, but Faculties of the Soul. The Fourteenth Book is concerning the Trinity: But in discoursing of uncreated Nature, he treateth also of Creatures. The Last Book contains many Quotations out of the Fathers, to confirm his Doctrine by the Authority of Tradition. Some considerable Fragments of this Treatise of the Incarnation are cited by Facundus, and in the Fifth Council.

He wrote besides Five and Twenty Books against Eusebius, in defence of S. Basil's Books, mentioned by Photius in the 25th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; some whereof are cited by Facundus, and in the Fifth Council: Four Books against Apollinaris; A Book intituled *The mystical Book*; A Treatise to those that had been Baptized; Two Letters to Artemius of Alexandria; An Epistle to Cerdon upon the Interpretation of the Psalms; Five Books of the Creature; Five other Books to show that God permitted Sin, because it is for Man's advantage; which are all cited by Facundus, and in the Fifth Council; And Three Books of the Magick of the Persians, directed to a Suffragan Bishop of Armenia, mentioned by Photius in the 8th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*; where he saith, That Theodorus in the First of those Three Books, explains that abominable Axiom of the Persians, introduced by Zoroaster; whereby Zarosius, the God of Fortune, for the first principle of all things, from whom they suppose Ormazdus to be defended, by whom they mean the Evil Genius or Satan; That when he had given an account of that Doctrine, which was as base as it is impious; he refuseth it in the same Book. In the Two last Books he treateth of the True Religion; and having begun with the World's Creation, he falls insensibly upon the Law of Grace.

The Fifth Council attributes to Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom's Creed that was produced in the Council of Ephesus: But Facundus saith, That it was none of his, and that it was an injury to him to ascribe it to him.

Theodorus of Mopsuestia was charged with several Heresies after his Death; and particularly, that he was Nestorius's Tutor; and that he taught in his Writings those Errors, which since bear the Name of that *Heresiarch*. This personal Accusation occasioned a great Contest, that was agitated with much heat in the beginning of the Sixth Century. Justinian caused this Author to be condemned in the Fifth General Council, in despite of Vigilius, who defended him. He would have obliged all the Bishops to subscribe that Condemnation; but some refused to do it, and undertook to plead for Theodorus. Facundus, Bishop of Hermiana, a City in Africa, proved one of his most zealous Defenders, and composed Twelve Apologetical Books for him; wherein he endeavoureth to justify him fully of all the Accusations that were formed against him. This is not a fit place to examine that Question, which we shall handle at large hereafter, when we come to speak of the Fifth Council, and of Facundus's Books: And fo instead of examining the Doctrine of

Theodorus

Theodorus Mopsuestenus, I shall only give some Remarks upon his Style and way of Writing: His Style, if Photius may be credited, is neither lofty nor clear; he is full of tedious Repetitions; but he brings strong Proofs, and hath the Scriptures very ready at command: This judgment of Photius is confirmed by the Fragments of his Writings that are extant: His Style is perplexed and diffuse, no clearness in it, but the Notions are solid and exact enough: He thought and spoke with ease: He despised allegorical and mystical Interpretations of Scripture; but insisted much upon Moral Heads, and made it his main business to set forth the History, and expound the Prophecies.

Here is a Catalogue of the Latin Fragments of this Author, set down in the Fifth General Council; and by Facundus, which may be consulted to judge both of his Doctrine and of his Style.

WORKS of THEODORUS of Mopsuestia, cited by
Facundus, by the Fifth Council, col. 4. by Photius and
Gennadius.

Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture.

- SEVEN Volumes upon Genesis, 5. Conc. collat. 4. cap. 62. Photius cod. 25.
Upon the Psalms, Facund. l. 9. c. 1. p. 131, 132. l. 6. cap. 3. 5. Conc. c. 19. 23, 24.
Upon Job, 5. Concil. c. 63, 64, 65, 66, 67.
Upon the Canticles, 5. Concil. cap. 68, 69, 70, 71.
Upon the Twelve minor Prophets, Conc. 5. cap. 20, 21, 22.
Upon S. Matthew, Facund. l. 3. c. 4. p. 43. l. 9. c. 2. p. 132. Concil. 5. cap. 26, 40, 51, 52, 55.
Upon S. Luke, Conc. 5. c. 58.
Upon S. John, Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135. Conc. 5. c. 13, 14, 15, 33, 34.
Upon the Acts, Conc. 5. c. 16.
Upon the Epistle to the Romans, l. 6. c. 3. p. 46.
Upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, Conc. 5. c. 32, 46.

Treatises against Hereticks.

- THREE Books of the Magick of the Persians, Photius, cod. 81.
Fifteen Books of the Incarnation. The 13th. is cited by Facund. l. 3. c. 2. p. 38. The 5th. the 6th. the 10th. the 12th. the 15th. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139. They are all cited l. 10. c. 1, &c. The 6th. p. 149. and 159. The 14th. is cited Conc. 5. c. 17-54. The 1st. c. 25. c. 27. The 8th. c. 29. the 7th. c. 30. the 12th. c. 43, 47, 48. The 2d. cap. 49, 50. The 13th. in the 53. Gennad. c. 12.
Twenty-five Books against Eusebius. The 10th. is cited by Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 139. Photius, cod. 4.
Four Books against Apollinaris. The 3d. is cited by Facundus, l. 3. c. 2. p. 37. Conc. 5. c. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12. The 1st. is cited, l. 10. c. 1. p. 149. The 4th. is cited Conc. 5. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.
Five Books of the Creature, Conc. 5. c. 56. and 61.
Five Books concerning God's permitting Sin, Conc. 5. c. 57, 58, 59, 60.
A Treatise to those who were to be baptized, Facund. l. 9. c. 3. p. 135. Conc. 5. c. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42.
A Mystical Book, Fac. l. 3. p. 37. citeth the 13th. Book of this Work.
A Treatise of History and Allegory against Origen. Fac. l. 3. c. 5. p. 46.
Two Letters to Artemius, Fac. l. 3. c. 5. p. 45.
A Letter to Cerdon, Fac. l. 1. c. 1. p. 150.
Symbolum Charisii, Act. 6. Synodi Ephes. Fac. l. 3. c. 2. and 5. p. 39, and 44. Conc. 5. Act. 4.

PALLADIUS.

Palladius.

PALLADIUS, Originally of *Galatia*, *Evaristus* his Disciple, left his Country at Twenty Years of Age, in the Year 388 (a), and went into *Egypt*, to learn of the Monks that place the Exercises of the Monastic life. Being arrived at *Alexandria*, he addressed himself to *Isidore* to be advised by him; who committed him to the Conduct of a Monk, who lived in a Cave near *Alexandria*. But *Palladius* not being able to undergo the Austerities, practised by that Monk, was forced to leave him; but nevertheless he continued three Years in the Monasteries about *Alexandria*: afterwards he undertook to visit those of *Nitria* and *Thebaïs*, and he stay'd a great while in those solitary places: But falling sick of a dangerous Dilemper, he returned to *Alexandria*, and put himself into the hands of the Physicians there, who advised him to go into *Palestine*, where the Air might agree with him better. From *Palestine* he came to *Bithynia*, where he was ordained Bishop of *Heleneopolis* in 401. Being one of *S. Chrysostom's* Friends, when that Saint was condemned, he was obliged to retire to the *West*, and returning to the *East* with the Deputies of the *Western* Bishops, he was put into Prison, and sent back with them. From the Bishoprick of *Heleneopolis*, he was translated to that of *Aspuna* (b); a City of *Galatia* under the Metropolitan of *Ancyra*. He was *Rufinus* his Friend, and defended *Origen*, sided with *Pelagius*, and opposed *S. Jerom*. He writ in the Year 421. an History of the Life, Actions, Miracles, and Discourses, of the holiest Monks that he had seen in *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Thebaïs*, and *Palestine*. It is Dedicated to one *Lausus*, wherefore it has had the Name of *Historia Lausaci*. This Relation, (as most other Works of this Nature) contains many extraordinary things. Among several Examples of found Vertue, and useful Reflections, one may find childish Sentences, Examples dangerous to be followed, enormous Austerities, unreasonable Practices, and rash Undertakings: The Sale of this History is flat, a meer Relation without Ornament or Order; it was Printed in Latin, in the *Lives of the Fathers* by *Rosweidus*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: The Greek was published by *Maurusius*, and Printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1616. It is Printed likewise in Greek and Latin, in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in 1624. *Cotelierus* added some Greek Supplements in the last Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, Pag. 117, 158.

This same *Palladius* is thought to be the Author of *S. Chrysostom's* Life, and it is very likely. For 1. The Style of that work is like that of the *Historia Lausaci*. 2. *Palladius* Author of the *Historia Lausaci* was *S. Chrysostom's* Friend, and predeceased upon his Account. 3. It is certain, that the Author of *S. Chrysostom's* Life was called *Palladius*, and that he lived in the beginning of the Fifth Century. But there is no *Palladius* known besides this. 4. It is manifest, that the Writer of *S. Chrysostom's* Life, was of the same party, and in the same Interest and Sentiments with *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis*. 5. The Author of *S. Chrysostom's* Life is called Bishop of *Heleneopolis*, in a Greek Catalogue of the Authors, that wrote *S. Chrysostom's* Life mentioned by *Sir Henry Spelman*. The Greek Title of that Dialogue in the *Florence Manuscript*, which is Six hundred years old, beareth the Name of *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis*; and it is observed in the Margin, that he was Bishop of *Aspuna*. Lastly, *Diodorus* of *Trimithus* saith, That the Author of *S. Chrysostom's* Life was Bishop in *Bithynia*. Yet some Conjectures seem to prove, that *Palladius* Author of *S. Chrysostom's* Life, and *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis* are two different Persons: For, 1. The Writer of *S. Chrysostom's* Life speaks of the Voyage of *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis* to *Rome*, as preceding his. 2. He speaks as if he writ the Dialogue which relates that Life, whilst *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis* was detained Prisoner in the *East*: Lastly, *Palladius* of *Heleneopolis* was but Thirty nine years old when *S. Chrysostom* died; whereas the Author of the Dialogue makes *Theodorus* speak of him as of an ancient Bishop. These Reasons perswade *Begotius*, that *Palladius* Author of that Dialogue, was not *Palladius* Disciple of *Evaristus*. Yet it is easy to Answer, That *Palladius* signified these things, after the Custom of *Dialogists*, perhaps to hide himself the better, being unwilling to be known to be the Author of that Treatise. However, this History is composed in the form of a Dialogue held at *Rome*, betwixt *Theodorus* Deacon of *Rome*, and Bishop *Palladius*. It contains *S. Chrysostom's* Condemnation, the History of his Life, and a justification of the Accusations that were brought against him. It is written with great Plainness, but with much Exactness and Truth. It was formerly translated by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, but his Version was not sincere. *Begotius* having since found a Manuscript in the Library of *Florence*, which contained the Greek Original of that Dialogue, caused it to be Printed, with a new Version on the side, composed with all the Fidelity and Exactness that can be expected from so able a Man. This Volume is printed in *Quarto* at *Paris* by *Martin*, Ann. 1680.

(a) In the Year 388.] What he saith in his Preface, and at the beginning of the *Historia Lausaci*, determineth the Chronology of this Author's Life. He says at the beginning of the History, that he went into *Egypt* under the Second Consulship of *Theodosius*, which was in the Year 388. And in the Preface, he saith, That he had been a Monk 33

Years, and 20 Years a Bishop, and that he was 53 Years old. He was therefore 20 years old when he left his Country to become Monk. He was Ordained Bishop in 401, and wrote his History in 421. (b) Bishop of *Aspuna*]. *Socrates Hist. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 36. reckons him amongst the translated Bishops, and saith, that he went from *Heleneopolis* to *Aspuna*.

P. INNOC.

P. INNOCENT I.

Pope *Innocent* succeeded to Pope *Anastasius* in the Year 402. and governed the Church of *Rome* till 417. This Pope being consulted from all parts, upon divers Questions, both of Doctrine and of Discipline, was put upon writing of Letters, which contain very useful Rules and most judicious Decisions.

The first Letter, which should have been one of the last, since it was not written before 416. is an Answer to *Decentius* Bishop of *Engubini* a City of *Umbria* in *Italy*, upon several Questions put to him by that Bishop.

The Preface of that Epistle, setteth forth the advantage of the City of *Rome*. He pretends that if all Churches had held the Practices which they received from the Apostles, they had all agreed in the same Discipline, and that all the difference, which so much scandalizeth the People, is caused by the Deviation from the Apostles Tradition. Upon this Principle he concludes, That they ought every where to observe the Discipline which *Rome* received of *S. Peter*, and which it hath always kept. "Especially, *saith* he, because it is evident, that the Churches of *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and other Islands that are between *Italy* and *Africa*, have been "fled by the Bishops whom *S. Peter* or his Successors sent thither.

Tho' this Pope lays down these Maxims as indubitable, yet are they not without Difficulty; and it would have been hard for him to have proved them well: for what Evidence is there to justify, that the Apostles settled all Points of Discipline themselves? and how can we know that they established them all after the same manner? On the contrary it is not certain, that *S. John* celebrated the Feast of *Easter* in the *East*, upon other days than *Sundays*, tho' probably both *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* did the contrary at *Rome*: And had the Apostles settled the same Usages, and Ceremonies in all the Churches which they founded, would it therefore follow, that there is a necessity of observing them? Do not all Men know, that Discipline may and is to alter according to the various Circumstances of time? And what Proof is there, that the Church of *Rome* hath preserved the Discipline settled by *S. Peter*, better than other Churches have kept that which was given them by other Apostles their Founders. Is there any certainty that the Churches of *France*, *Spain*, and *Africa*, were all founded by those whom *S. Peter*, or his Successors sent thither? And Lastly, where is the necessity to oblige them all to change their Rites and Customs, to embrace those of the Church of *Rome*? Many such Queries may be made upon this Principle of Pope *Innocent*, which could not easily be resolved: But an *Italian* Bishop his Suffragan, could not in reason propose such Difficulties; he ought to conform to the Discipline of his Metropolis. He had often been at *Rome*, and present at the publick Service, and so might well be acquainted with the Ceremonies practised there. That was sufficient to instruct, and oblige him to reform the Abuses of his own Church: Yet he advised with Pope *Innocent*; and the Pope thought fit to make him an Answer, not so much to instruct him, as to teach, advise, and reprove with the greater Authority those that receded from the Customs of the Church of *Rome*, and even to impose on them if they would not yield to his Admonitions.

In the first Canon he declares, That the Blessing is not to be given before the Consecration of the Holy Mysteries; That so it may be as a Sign and Token, that the People approve of the Consecration of the Mysteries.

The second enjoyns that those who are to be recommended in the Service of the Eucharist be not named, before Their offering be presented.

The third forbids Priests to confirm Children, because they have not the Sovereignty of the Priesthood: That they may Baptize, and Anoint the baptized with the Oyl that is consecrated by the Bishop, but not lay it upon their Foreheads; because this is allowed to none but Bishops, when they confer the Holy Ghost: He declares that he cannot recite the words, nor fear of discovering the Mysteries, if he would answer the advice that was required of him.

In the Fourth Canon he pretends to give an evident Reason of the *Saturday's* Fast, by saying, that as all *Sundays* are kept with joy in remembrance of the Resurrection, and as they fast every *Friday*, because of the Passion of *Jesus Christ*: So they should fast likewise upon *Saturday*, as being between the day of sorrow and that of rejoicing, and the rather because the Apostles mourned all that day. In a word, that since holy *Saturday* is a Fasting day; all other *Saturdays* should be such in remembrance of that Day. He observeth that in his time the Divine Mysteries were not celebrated either upon *Fridays* or *Saturdays*.

The Fifth Canon is obscure enough. *S. Innocent* saith there, that it was to no purpose for *Decentius* to consult him concerning the leavened Bread, which the Bishop of *Rome* sent every *Sunday* to the Parish Priests in the City of *Rome*; after he had consecrated it, because his Custom could not concern the Country Parishes, for as much as the Sacraments ought not to be carried far, *non longe portanda sunt Sacramenta*: Wherefore, addeth he, we do not send them to Priests in distant Parishes, because they have Power to consecrate.

The Sixth declares, that a Priest may not lay hands upon an Excommunicate, without leave from the Bishop, but that he may if the Bishop gives him Communion to do it.

In

P. Innoc. I. In the Seventh it is enjoined, that those who have done Penance should be reconciled upon *Holy Thursday*, whether they were guilty of great Crimes, or of lesser Offences, except some Distemper requireth another time: And to judge of Repentance, regard must be had to the Pains, mourning and tears of the Penitent, and his Sin must be remitted, if it appears that he hath made a proportionable satisfaction.

The Eighth is about the Anointing of the Sick, spoken of in the Epistle of *S. James*. *Innocent* faith, that the words of the Apostle are without Question to be understood of the Sick that are faithful, that these may be Anointed with the Oyl that is consecrated by the Bishop, and the use of this is not peculiar to Priests only, but all Christians may anoint themselves, and those that belong to them in Case of necessity: that it is not necessary that the Bishop should make this Unction; that it should not be administered to Penitents, because it is a kind of Sacrament, and since other Sacraments are denied, they have no right to this.

He concludeth with an Exhortation to *Decentius*, that he should cause the Discipline of the Church of *Rome* to be observed in his Church, and to instruct the Priests and Clerks under his Care well, that so they might discharge their Ministry worthily.

The Second Letter was written in 404. to *Vilfricius* Bishop of *Rouen*, who likewise asked Questions about points of Discipline. It begins also with the Praises of the Roman Discipline; he exhorts him to send this Letter to his Brethren, that they might learn what Rules they were to follow.

This Preface is followed by Thirteen Canons.

The First agreeable to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, forbids a Bishop to be ordained without the Consent of the Metropolitan of the Province: declaring farther, that one Bishop alone cannot Ordain.

The Second prohibits the admitting of those into the Clergy, that have been Soldiers after they were baptized.

The Third allows a Synod of the provincial Bishops to take Cognizance of all Causes relating to the Persons of Clerks and Bishops, according to the Decree of the *Nicene* Council; but he addeth, *Yet without prejudice to the Rights of the Roman Church*, to which great regard is to be had in all Causes. And if they be *causæ Majores*, devolved to the Holy See, they are not to be brought either nor judged; before Judgment is given by the Bishops of the Province.

The Fourth forbids to admit into Orders, a Person that has married a Widow, or a Woman that is divorced from her Husband.

The Fifth extends this Prohibition, even to those that have married such a Woman before Baptism.

He confirmeth the same Law in the Sixth, with respect to those that have been twice married. The Seventh forbids Bishops to ordain Clerks of the faithful of another Church, except the Bishop of that Church permits it.

The Eighth ordaineth, that the *Novatians* and *Donatists* be received by the sole Imposition of hands; because that tho' they were baptized by Hereticks, yet were they baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ. He addeth, That if any Catholics being entered into their Sect, were baptized, and are willing to return to the Bosom of the Church, they must be put to a long Penance, before they be admitted.

The Ninth is concerning the Celibacy of Priests and Deacons.

The Tenth forbids the Monks that were ordained Clerks, to leave their way of living.

In the Eleventh, the Officers of the Emperor, and such as are in publick Employments, are not to be admitted into Orders.

The Twelfth prohibits the admitting of those Virgins that being solemnly consecrated to God, Married, or were corrupted, to Penance, before the Death of the person with whom they have committed the Crime. For, faith he, *if a Woman, who during the Life of her Husband marrieth another is an Adulteress, and is not admitted to do Penance before the Death of one of them, with how much more reason should the same rigour be observed towards her, who being united to an immortal Husband, went over to an humane Marriage?*

The Thirteenth enjoins a Penance of some time to the Virgins that Marry, after promising Virginity, tho' they had not solemnly been veiled by the Bishop.

Pope *Innocent* finishes his Letter, saying, that if these Canons were observed by the Bishops, there would be no more Ambition among them, Divisions would cease, Schisms, and Heresies would be stilled, and the Devil would have no occasion to assault the Flock of Jesus Christ, &c.

The Third Epistle of the same Nature with the two former, is written in 405. to *Exuperius* Bishop of *Thoulouse*.

In the First Canon of this Letter, he confirms *Striccius* his Law concerning the Celibacy Priests and Deacons; yet he forgiveth those who thro' Ignorance observed it not, upon condition that they shall continue in that Order, and not be admitted to an higher. But he ordains that those should be degraded who violated it knowingly.

The Second Canon relates to Sinners, who stay till the hour of Death to desire Penance: Pope *Innocent* faith, that they were dealt withal after two different manners. That the ancient Discipline was more severe, because Penance was granted them without allowing them the Communion: but in his time, it was administered to dying Men, that they might not imitate the hard-

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nies of *Novatian*. These last words with several others that are in the Text of that Canon, manifest that by the word *Communion*, is not to be understood the Administration of the Eucharist: *P. Innoc. I.* but Absolution.

The Third Canon exempts those from Penance, that condemned any Persons to Death, who put any to the Rack, or were obliged by their Office to condemn the guilty to any Punishment; because the civil Powers, faith this Pope, are established by God for the Punishment of Criminals.

The Fourth Canon gives a Reason why more Women do Penance for Adultery than Men. Pope *Innocent* faith, That the Christian Religion punisheth this Sin equally both in Men and Women; but Wives not being able to accuse their Husbands of this Crime, the Bishop cannot pass Judgment upon secret Sins, whereas Husbands do more freely accuse their Wives, and discover them to the Priests.

The Fifth excuses those who by their Office are obliged to demand the Death of a Criminal; or to condemn him.

The Sixth ordaineth, that those should be put out of the Church, both Men and Women, that Marry again after a Divorce; but this penalty is not to extend to their Kindred and Allies; except they contributed to that forbidden Marriage.

The last Canon contains a Catalogue of the Sacred Books, comprehending all the Books both of the Old and of the New Testament, which we now own for Canonical: Herejects the Acts published under the Names of *S. Matthias*, *S. James* the Less, *S. Peter* and *S. John*, *S. Andrew*, *S. Thomas*, and such like.

The Fourth Letter, without Date, is directed to *Felix*, Bishop of *Nuceria*. Having commended that Bishop for asking his advice about some Doubts; he tells him in the First Canon, That those are not to be admitted into Orders, who voluntarily have dismembered themselves. In the Second, That it is forbidden to Ordain such as have been married twice, or have married Widows. In the Third, That those must not be Ordained that have been Soldiers; that have pleaded at the Bar, or have born Offices at Court. In the Fourth, That those of the Laity are to be chosen, who are Baptized, of approved Morals, who have spent their Time with Clerks; or in Monasteries, and who have kept no Concubines. Lastly, in the Sixth, he commands the Observation of the *Interstitia*; [i. e. the Times between every Ordination, upon any promotion from lesser to higher Orders,] that they Ordain no Man a Reader, an Acolyth, a Deacon or a Priest of a fudden; that so having been long in the inferior Degrees, his Behaviour and Conduct may be tried.

In the Fifth Letter, directed to Two Bishops of *Abuzzo*, he bids them depose the Priests that were accused of having had Children since their Ordination, if they be convicted of that crime: He observes in the beginning, that a Bishop ought not to be ignorant of the Canons.

The Sixth is to some Bishops of *Apulia*: He enjoins One Bishop to be deposed, though he had done publick Penance: He reproacheth them with allowing many things to be done in their Province contrary to the Canons, which might easily have been corrected, if Bishops themselves were not Authors of such Disorders.

The Seventh is directed to the Bishops of *Macedonia* about Two Bishops, *Eubalinus* and *Taurianus*, who had caused the Judgment that was given against them to be re-viewed again, and falsely boasted of having a Letter from *P. Innocent*, written in their behalf.

In the Eighth he exhorteth *Florentius*, Bishop of *Tivoli*, to restore to his Brother Bishop a Parish which he had taken from him.

The Ninth declareth, That a Man who married another Woman, while his Wife was in captivity, ought to return to the former; because a Second Marriage cannot be lawful, except the former Wife be dead, or separated by Divorce.

The Tenth is a Letter of Complement to *Aurelius* and *S. Augustin*.

The Eleventh to *Aurelius* is touching the determining of *Easter-Day* the following Year.

The Twelfth directed to the same, is upon the choice which they should make of Bishops; he will have them to be chosen from the Clergy, and not from the Laity.

The Thirteenth is to *Juliana*, a Lady, whose Devotion he commendeth.

The Fourteenth to *Bonifacius*, and those that follow, were written Anno 413, after *Alexander*, Bishop of *Antioch*, had inserted again the Name of *S. Chrysostom* into the Diptychs. *Innocent* writeth to *Bonifacius*, that he had admitted that Bishop to his Communion, upon condition that he should not disturb those that were Ordained by *Eoagrius*, and that he should put *S. Chrysostom's* Name among those Bishops whose Memory was celebrated.

The Fifteenth is directed to *Alexander*, Bishop of *Antioch*; wherein he congratulates their Reconciliation.

In the Sixteenth to *Maximianus*, he faith, that he had not yet communicated with *Aticus* of *Constantinople*, because he had not performed the Conditions, without which there could be no peace.

The Seventeenth subscribed by Twenty *Italian* Bishops, is directed to the same *Eoagrius*, whom he commendeth for re-uniting the remainders of *Paulinus* and *Eoagrius's* Party.

The Eighteenth to the same, consists of Three Canons; in the first, he extollet the Dignity of the Church of *Antioch*, that he may magnifie that of *Rome* the more; saying, That according to the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, which gives the Sense of all the Bishops in the World,

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the

P. Innoc. I.

the Church of *Antioch* had Jurisdiction over a whole Diocese; That this Authority was not granted to it, because of the greatness of the City of *Antioch*, but because it had been the first Seat of *S. Peter*; And that it deferved that the most solemn Assembly of the Apostles should be made there: So that it had not given place to the Church of *Rome*, but only for this reason, That the latter had the End and Consummation of that which the former had but an occasional enjoyment of: And by reason of this Dignity, he tells the Bishop of *Antioch*, That as he Ordained the *Metropolitans* by an Authority peculiar to him, he ought not to suffer that other Bishops should be Ordained without his leave and consent, by writing to the Bishops that are afar off, and causing them that are near to come to him for Ordination.

In the second Canon he saith, That two Bishops are not to be made *Metropolitans*, when Towns are newly erected into *Metropoles* at the same time, upon the dividing of a Province into Two by the Emperor. He speaketh afterwards against the Custom of the Bishops of the Isle of *Cyprus*, who ordained Bishops without consulting with the Bishop of *Antioch*.

In the Last he affirms, That the *Arians* returning to the Church, are to be admitted with imposition of hands; but their Clergy are not permitted to continue in the Ministry of the Church.

The Nineteenth, directed to *Acacius* of *Berasa*, is upon the Reconciliation with *Alexander* of *Antioch*.

In the Twentieth, he writes to *Lucianus*, Bishop of *Signi*, to stop some Meetings of the *Photinians* in his Diocese.

The Twenty-first, directed to *Martinianus*, a Bishop in *Macedonia*, is written from *Ravenna*. He writeth to that Bishop, that he should not refuse his Communion to some Clerks, who were Ordained by *Bonsus*, but had abjured his Error. He saith, that he had already written a Letter to *Rufus*, and other Bishops of *Macedonia*; wherein he gave his judgment, That they were to be received to the Communion, and left in possession of their Churches.

This Letter is probably the Two and Twentieth, which consequently ought to be set before the foregoing; it beareth date from the Year 414, and is directed to *Rufus* and other Bishops of *Macedonia*. He tells them in the beginning, that he was much surprized by a Letter directed to the See of *Rome*, as the chiefest of all Churches, because they consulted him about things that had no difficulty; and concerning which, he had plainly declared his Opinion. One of those things is the Ordination of such as had married Widows. *P. Innocent* saith, That there is no dispute that they should not be Ordained; and affirms, that it was the practice of all, both *Eastern* and *Western* Churches; Nay, he would have those to be degraded, who are found to be in Orders. The Second is concerning those, who having lost a former Wife, being yet unbaptized, had married a Second after Baptism. Some were of opinion, that this kind of Bigamy did not hinder them from being admitted into Sacred Orders. *P. Innocent* alledgeth several Reasons to prove that such a practice is not to be followed.

The Third Rule is touching the Ordinations by Hereticks. *P. Innocent* scruples not to alledge the same passages, and the same expressions, used by *S. Cyprian*, to prove the invalidity of their Baptism, to show the nullity of their Ordination: For he saith, That as many as are thus Ordained, having their Heads wounded with the Imposition of Heretical Hands, had need of Penance for their remedy; and that such as need Penance, ought not to be Ordained: That Hereticks having not true Orders, cannot confer Orders: That they cannot make those on whom they lay their Hands, partakers of any thing but of the Condemnation that themselves are subject to. After this Observation, he refutes the false Principle of such as believed, that a lawful Bishop's Ordination remitted all Sins. He saith, that the custom of his Church was, to grant Lay-communion, after a single Imposition of Hands, to those who, having been baptized by Hereticks, desired to enter into the Church; but that those were obliged to do Penance, who returned to the bosom of the Church, after they had quitted it, to enter into a Sect of Hereticks. He blameth those who not only do not put them under Penance, but also suffer them to continue in their Ministry.

Afterwards he frames some Objections against this Rule. The First is the Law made by *Arysius*, concerning those whom *Bonsus* Ordained; whereby he permitted, that they should be received into the Church with their Orders. *P. Innocent* answers, That this example is of no consequence, because they made use of this Condescension in favour of those that were Ordained by *Bonsus*, to prevent several Bishops from persisting to follow his Party. That this particular Exigency of the Church obliged them to transgress the Rules; but when the Necessity ceaseth, they ought to return to the Law.

The Second Objection is grounded upon the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which permits the receiving of the *Novatians*. *P. Innocent* saith, That this Canon relates to *Novatians* only, and is not to be extended to other Hereticks. He adds, That in this Canon the business is about Baptism; and that the Council ordains that the *Paulianists* should be re-baptized, because they baptized not in the Name of the Holy Trinity; whereas the *Novatians* baptized as the *Catholicks* did, in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And Lastly, He declareth that this Rule concerneth those that were baptized by Hereticks; but as to those who were baptized in the Church, and embraced an Heretical Sect, if they recover from their Apostasy, they ought undoubtedly to be put to publick Penance; and having done Penance, they can never

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P. Innoc. I.

come into the Clergy. Whence he concludes, That those who left the Church after *Bonsus* was condemned, to join with him, and received Orders from Hereticks, are not to keep their Dignity, nor to be Ordained, when they return again to the Church. Wherefore he exhorteth the *Macedonian* Bishops to reform that abuse; telling them, That they ought not to allow that in time of Peace, which Necessity commanded to be done in time of Trouble; That it often happens that a fault remains unpunished, because a whole People is guilty of it. Upon such occasions, what is past must be left to God's Judgment, and care must be taken to prevent the like disorders for the time to come. All this is the consequence of the same Third Canon, though it be divided into Four.

The Last Canon is concerning a Bishop, one *Photinus*, who had been condemned by the See of *Rome* with too much rigour. *P. Innocent* approves of the Admonition of the *Macedonian* Bishops; but saith, That the See of *Rome* was mis-informed and deceived by the Calumnies of his Enemies. He owns him for a Bishop, and commands the others for informing him better, and desireth them to shew kindness to a Deacon called *Eustathius*.

The Twenty-third Letter is directed to the *Spanish* Bishops that were assembled in Council at *Toledo*. It is about particular affairs of the Churches in that Kingdom. The First Canon takes notice of a kind of Schism among the Bishops of *Baetica*, and of other *Spanish* Provinces, who had given the Communion to those of *Gallicia*. *P. Innocent* proves that *Lucifer's* Severity was not to be imitated, in refusing to admit converted Hereticks; but, on the contrary, that all possible means should be used to cause them to return into the bosom of the Church.

The Second Canon is against two Bishops who ventur'd to Ordain out of their Dioceses. The Third Canon is concerning one Bishop *Joba*, who by his Deputies had approved the Condemnation of *Symphosius* and *Ditinnius*. *P. Innocent's* Opinion is, That his Case ought to be examined, as well as that of the others, to know whether he had acted with Sincerity.

In the Fourth he speaks of irregular Ordinations practised in *Spain*, contrary to the Canons: He says, That they are so many, that it were impossible to apply a Remedy; and so he thinks it convenient to leave what is past to God's Judgment: But for the future to establish a Rule, That whosoever shall Ordain contrary to the Canons, shall be deprived of the Sacerdotal Dignity, together with those that received Orders.

The Fifth is concerning a business of *Patrius*, Bishop of *Merida*, which, he saith, ought to be examined, and those punished that complain of his Ordination, if they had unjustly accused him.

The Sixth containeth Rules to be observed in the choice of fit persons to be Ordained. To understand well the Three following Letters of Pope *Innocent*; it is to be noted, That the Bishops of *Africa* and *Numidia* having condemned both *Pelagius* and *Celestius* in the Councils of *Carthage* and *Numidia*, assembled in the Year 416, wrote to Pope *Innocent*, to give him an Account of the Sentence which they pronounced against both those Hereticks, and their Doctrine, that so they might add to their judgment the Authority of the See of *Rome*; and so much the rather, because *Celestius* had thought fit to appeal, and it was reported that *P. Innocent* countenanced them. And for this reason *Aurelius* and Four more of the principal Bishops wrote another familiar Letter to him concerning some disadvantageous Reports that had been raised against him about that business.

In the Three following Letters, *P. Innocent* answereth the other Three that were brought to *Rome* by Bishop *Julian*; these are dated the 27th. of January, 417.

The First is directed to *Aurelius* and the Bishops in the Council of *Carthage*. He commends them at first for their Courage in condemning Error, and for their respect to the See of *Rome*, in consulting with it about what they had decided. From which he takes occasion to exalt the Authority of the See of *Rome*; affirming, That it is of Divine Right to have its Opinion in Ecclesiastical Matters, before any thing be determined in the Provinces concerning them. It is probable that the *African* Bishops did not own that Right, since they had definitively judged the Case of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, before they acquainted him with it; and they did not write to him as to a Judge, that might disannul what they had done, but only to get his Approbation of their Decisions, as a thing which he could not refuse to do without being suspected of Heresy. And indeed this Pope who was supposed to favour *Celestius*, having known his Errors could not forbear declaring against them; and commending the *African* Bishops, who had condemned their Authors. He subscribes to their Judgment, and proves by several Reasons the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. The First is taken from Prayer, which supposeth that we owe to God's Help, and not to our Free-will, the good that we do. He says, That Man being fallen by the Abuse of his Free-will, must be raised again by the Grace of Jesus Christ. That our Saviour not only delivered him from Sins past, but that knowing his weakness, he also prepared him Helps and Remedies to preserve him for the future; and that we must of necessity be overcome, if we be not succoured by him, who alone can make us Conquerors. *Necessitas est, ut quo auxiliante vincamus, eo iterum non adjuvante, vincamur*. By which Principles he condemneth all those who affirm that there is no need of God's Grace to do good, and judgeth them unworthy of the Church's Communion: He saith, that refusing to others God's Succour, they are bereaved of it themselves, and ought to be cut off from the Church as rotten Members. He saith further, That if they acknowledge their Error, and admit of God's Grace, being sincerely converted, it

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is the Bishop's Duty to help them; and not to deny them the Grace which the Church grants to those that are fallen; by admitting them to the Communion of the Church.

He speaks much to the same purpose in that Letter which follows, directed to *Silvanus Valentinus*, and other Bishops, who had been present at the Council of *Milevis*. He seems to restrain that Maxim which he established, of referring all Church-affairs to the See of *Rome* only to Matters of Faith: *Præsertim quæstiones fidei vario ventilatur*. He refuses particularly the *Pelagian* Error concerning Children dying before Baptism, whom they pretended to have a share of Eternal Life.

The Third Letter of *Innocent* upon that Subject is his Answer to the Five Bishops, who write to him, upon the Opinion of his Siding with *Pelagius*. He tells them, that by his Two former Letters he sufficiently discovered his Opinion concerning the Doctrine of that Heretic; That as to his Person, he had received certain Acts, by which it appeared, that he had been heard and absolved since the Council; but that he did not believe them, because it was plain from the Acts themselves, that he had not clearly avowed his Errors: He concludes with assuring them, That he had read *Pelagius* his Book which they sent him; and that he had found it to be full of Blasphemies; that he met with nothing in it that pleased him, or rather that he met with nothing there that did not displease him.

With this Letter there was a short Letter directed to *Aurelius*, but there is nothing remarkable in it.

These Letters should be put last, being written but a little before the Death of *P. Innocent*, which was upon the 12th. of *March* of the same Year, and long after those that follow about the business of *S. Chrysostom*, written in 404.

The Twenty-eighth is a Letter of Consolation to *S. Chrysostom*, soon after his Banishment.

The Twenty-ninth is directed both to his Clergy and People upon the same Subject. The Thirty-first to *Theophilus*, which is in Greek in *Palladius*, is the first of the Three. In the same Author there is another directed likewise to *Theophilus*.

The Thirtieth Letter to the Emperor *Arcadius*, as well as the pretended Answers of that Emperor to *Innocent*, and to his Brother *Honorius*, are spurious, grounded upon the Fable of *Arcadius* and *Eudoxia*'s Excommunication. He that forged them, supposeth, That this Empress outlived *S. Chrysostom*; but it is certain from *Eusebius*, who is quoted by *Photius*, Vol. 77. of his *Bibliotheca*, that she died soon after *S. Chrysostom*'s Banishment, and three Years before his Death.

The 32d, 33d, and 34th. Letters of *P. Innocent*, are written about the Persecutions exercised by *Jahn of Jerusalem* against *S. Jerom*.

This Pope was skillful in the Ecclesiastical Laws: He often speaketh in commendation of the *Nicene* Canons: He was very zealous for the Grandeur of the *Roman* Church, and insisted much upon her Rights and Privileges. He writes indifferently well, and he giveth such an Air to his Notions and Reasonings as recommends them, though they have not always that solidity and exactness that might be expected. The Chronological Order of his Letters, which ought to have been observed in the Printing of them, is as follows:

In the Year 404.

A Letter to *Victorius*, Bishop of Rouen, February 15. which is the II.
A Letter to *Theophilus* XXXI.
A Letter to *S. John Chrysostom* XXVIII.
A Letter to the People of Constantinople XXIX.

In the Year 405.

A Letter to *Exuperius*, Bishop of Tholouse, February 20. III.

In the Year 413.

A Letter to *Boniface* XIV.
A Letter to *Alexander* XV.
A Letter to *Maximian* XVI.
A Letter to *Alexander* XVII.
A Letter to *Acacius* of Beraa XIX.
A Letter to *Alexander* XVIII.

In the Year 414.

A Letter to the Bishops of Macedonia, December 13. XXII.
A Letter to *Marcian* XXI.

In the Year 416.

A Letter to *Decentius*, Bishop of Eugubium, March 17. I.
A Letter to *Aurelius*, June 1. XII.
A Letter to *John* of Jerusalem XXXII.
A Letter to *S. Jerom* XXXIII.
A Letter to *Aurelius* XXXIV.
A Letter to a Council at Toledo XXIII.

In the Year 417. Jan. 27.

A Letter to the Council of Carthage XXIV.
A Letter to the Council of Milevis XXV.
A Letter to Five Bishops XXVI.
A Letter to *Aurelius* XXVII.

LETTERS without Date, the Time whereof is not known.

A Letter to the Bishop of Nuceria IV.
A Letter to *Maximus* and *Severus*, Bishops of *Abruzzo* V.
A Letter to *Innocent*, *Agapetus*, *Macedonius* and *Marianus*, Bishops of *Apulia* VI.

A Letter

A Letter to *Rufius*, *Gerontius*, &c. Bishops of Macedonia VII.
A Letter to *Florentinus*, Bishop of *Tivoli* VIII.
A Letter to *Probus* IX.

A Letter to *Aurelius* and to *S. Austin* X.
A Letter to *Juliana* XIII.
A Letter to *Laurentius* XX.
A Supplicatory Letter to *Arcadius* XXX.

Saint JEROM.

Saint *JEROM* was Born in the Town of *Strigonom* (a), Situated upon the Borders of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*. He came into the World about the 345 Year of *Jesus Christ* (b). His Father *Eusebius* (c) took very great Care of his Education: And having made him learn the first Principles of Languages in his own Country (d), he sent him to *Rome*, where he had for his Tutor the famous *Donatus* (e), under whom he made a wonderful Progress in Philological

(a) The Town of *Strigonom*.] This Town is called *Strigonom* by *Proton*; some confound it with *Strigonom* in *Istria*, others will have it to be different.

(b) About the 345 of *Jesus Christ*.] The Chronology of *S. Jerom*'s Life is much disputed; Some say, that he was born under the Empire of *Constantine*, according to some, in the 25th. Year of that Emperor's Reign; and according to others in the 31st. that is, in the 331, or in 337. *Profer* observes in his *Chronicon*, that he died when *Theodosius* was the Ninth time Consul, and *Constantius* the Third, which is in the Year 420; and that he lived 91 Years. If this be so, the Year of his Nativity should be 329. *Paulus Diaconus*, *Siebert*, *Bede*, and the Writers of the Martyrologies, give him 98 Years; which would set the time of his Birth yet seven Years higher, if we depend upon *Profer*'s Epochs for the time of his Death. *Baronius*, on the contrary, computes that he lived but 78 Years; so that if *S. Jerom* dy'd in 420, he was born, according to that Author, in 342. Lastly, Others affirm, That he was born in 348, or 350; and that he dy'd in 427. All that can be done in this diversity of Opinions, is to find out those which agree best with what *S. Jerom* hath written of himself, and with the Circumstances of his Life. He saith in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk*, Chap. 3. That he was a Child, a Student in Grammar, when *Julian* the Emperor was killed. Being, saith he, yet a Boy, P U E R, and in Grammatical Exercises, at the time that all the Cities of the World were polluted with the Blood of Victims; in the greatest Year of Persecution, on a sudden came the news of *Julian*'s Death. This expression, *Dum adhuc essem puer*, might intimate that *S. Jerom* was then but 10 or 12 Years old, if *S. Jerom* did not often use the same word to signify an older Age; for in the Apology to *Pammachius*, he hath the same word when he speaks of his Age when he was at *Rome*. *Dum essem puer Rome*, & *liberalibus studiis erudirer*, &c. Now it is certain that he was then above 12 Years of Age. In a Letter to *Nepotian*, speaking of the Time of his retiring, he saith that he was then *adolescens*, *non pene puer*. And yet he was then 30 Years old at the least. In the 15th. Chapter of his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, making mention of the Earthquake that happened under the Consulship of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, anno 365, he saith that he was a Boy, and yet he must be then above 24 Years old. Lastly, In his Preface to the Commentary upon *Obadias*, he saith, That he had formerly made a Commentary upon

that Prophet, being yet a Child: *Quid igitur condemnamus, in quibus pueri iustus*? *Baronius* affirms, that *S. Jerom* saith in the same place, that he was 30 Years old when he writ his first Commentary upon *Obadias*, and that 30 other Years were gone since: If it is certainly so, there could be no difficulty to fix the Epochs of *S. Jerom*'s Nativity; but he doth not say positively that he was 30 Years old, when he made that first Commentary. It is certain that *S. Jerom* was ordained Priest by *Paulinus*, before the Peace was concluded with *Masellius*, and consequently before the Year 378; but he could not be then less than 30 Years of Age. When he came to *Rome*, 3 Years before the Death of Pope *Damasus*, in 382, he must have been 40 Years old at least. In 392 he composed his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, and he must needs have been then above 50. He began to grow in Years, when he had some differences with *S. Augustin*; and he treateth that Saint, who was born in 355, as a person much younger than himself. All these things give us Reason to believe, that *S. Jerom* was born in the Year 340, or 342; That he completed his Studies at *Rome* in the 25th. Year of his Age, or thereabouts, towards the Year 365; That he went into the Solitudes of *Syria* at 30, in 370, or 371; That he was ordained Priest at 35, in 375; That he came to *Rome* in 382, and went from thence in 385; That he retired to *Bethlehem* in 386, or 387; That he composed his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers in 392, where he mentioneth the Books that he had wrote before; That he writ Letters and Treatises after the Taking of *Rome*, in the Year 412; That he died about 420, Aged 78, or 80 Years.

(c) His Father *Eusebius*.] He was of a good Family, and sufficiently rich. *S. Jerom* says, that he had a great Family. The Name of his Mother is not known. His Aunt by the Mother's side was called *Cassarina*. *S. Jerom* wrote to her the 36 Letter. He had a Sister that vowed Virginity, and a Brother much younger than himself, called *Paulinianus*.

(d) The first Principles of Languages, &c. He gives this Account of his first Studies, in his Apology against *Rufinus*. *Memini me puerum circumsisse per cellulas Scrolorum, dum feriatum duxisset iustus, & ad Orbilius Iovinianum de evie sinu iratum esse captivum*.

(e) The famous *Donatus*.] He that writ Commentaries upon *Virgil* and *Terence*, as *S. Jerom* assures us, in the first Book against *Rufinus*, where he calleth *Donatus* his Tutor, as well as in his *Chronicon*.

Learning (f). But that he might make himself yet more perfect, having been baptized at Rome (g), he resolved to go into Gaul, where were at that time many able Men, who made Learning flourish. Having performed that Journey with Bonifacius his ancient Companion (h), and collected all the curious things he could meet with in Gaul, he returned to Rome, where he raised a very fine Library, designing to spend the rest of his Life in Studies and Retirement: But finding that neither Rome, nor his Native Country were fit Habitations for such as intended to lead that sort of Life, he resolved to withdraw into a far Country, and so leaving his Country, his kindred and Estate, carrying only his Library, with a Summ of Money to bear the Charges of his Journey, he departed from Italy with Heliodorus (i), Engravius, Innocent, and Hylas, to go to the East. Engravius left him at Antioch, but Heliodorus, Innocent, and Hylas accompanied him to the place of his Retirement. He went first to Jerusalem, and there staid some time, afterwards he went thro' the Provinces of the lesser Asia; and, Lastly, having tarried some time at Antioch, he went into the dismal Solitudes of Syria, that were uninhabited, unless it were with a few Monks. He spent there Four years in Study, and Exercises of Piety: He learned the Rudiments of the Hebrew Tongue, and began to write Commentaries upon the Scripture. Heliodorus soon left him, Innocent and Hylas died in that Desert, and himself was taken very Sick, and being forced at last to quit it, he returned to Antioch. That Church was then divided by the Factions of Meletius, Paulinus and Vitalis, who all assumed the Title of Bishop of that City. S. Jerom made no difficulty what side to take. His Baptism made him a Son of the Church of Rome, and so he was obliged to own him, whom that Church acknowledged for lawful Bishop of Antioch. Having therefore written upon that Subject to Damasus, who was then Bishop of Rome, and having received an Answer in favour of Paulinus, he embraced his party, and was ordained Priest by him, but upon condition that he should not quit that kind of Life which he had embraced, nor be obliged to perform any of the Functions of his Ministry (k): This Ordination was about the Year 375. before the Peace was concluded betwixt Meletius and Paulinus: in 378. S. Jerom might be about 35 Years old at that time. As he would not enter into Orders, but upon condition not to be compelled to Exercise the Functions of his Ministry, so he did not think himself obliged to have his Name registered, nor to reside in the Church of Antioch; he left it therefore to go to Bethlehem, which he chose for his constant Habitation. Yet he did not stay there long; but went to Constantinople, where he conversed with S. Gregory Nazianzen, whom he calls his Master, and of whom he professes to have learned to expound the Holy Scripture. Having tarried some time with this Saint, he had a Call to Rome about the Affairs of the Church, with Paulinus and S. Epiphanius (l), whose interest he had espoused against those of the East; this Journey was in all probability undertaken after the Death of Meletius in the Year 382. S. Jerom taking notice of S. Jerom's merit, kept him with him, that he might have a Man that was able to answer all Questions propounded from all parts. S. Jerom did not only discharge the parts of that difficult Employment most worthily, but composed several Books besides. He was likewise charged with the conduct of the most considerable Ladies of the Town (m), by which means he got many Friends

(f) A wonderful Progress in Philological Learning. He learned the Latin and the Greek Tongues perfectly, and got an exact knowledge of profane Authors: He exercised himself in publick pleadings and frequented the Bar, as he confesseth in the Second Chapter of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians.

(g) Having been baptized at Rome. He says so positively in two Letters to Damasus, which are the 57th and 58th, where he observes, That he took the Robe of Christianity in the City of Rome.

(h) With Bonifacius his ancient Companion. S. Jerom saith in his Letter to Rufinus, that they had been bred together, had studied together, and that they went together to Rome, and travelled together into Gaul; but he followed not S. Jerom in his Journey into Syria, but retired into a Desert Island of Dalmatia.

(i) He departed from Italy with Heliodorus. He would not continue in his Native Country for several Reasons, but particularly, because of the disorderly Behaviour of Lupicinus the Bishop; nor at Rome, by reason of the tumult of that great City, that disturbed his rest.

(k) He was ordained Priest by Paulinus, but upon condition that he should not quit that kind of Life, which he had embraced, nor be obliged to perform any of the Functions, &c. He says in his Apology to Pamphilus, that he told Paulinus, si se Presbyterum tribuis, ut Monachum nobis non asseras, tu

videtur de judicio tuo. S. Epiphanius writing to John of Antioch, says that S. Jerom and Vincencius, two Priests would perform no Functions of their Ministry, refusing so much as to offer the Sacrifice. Cum sancti Presbyteri Hieronymus & Vincencius propter verecundiam & humilitatem, nolent debita nomini suo exercere Sacrificia, & laborare in hac parte Ministerii, qua Christianorum precipua salus est.

(l) He was called to Rome with Paulinus and S. Epiphanius. He says so himself in his 16th, and 57th Epistles. He came thither in 372, and went away three years after, as he observes in the Letter to Asella; he speaks in the 11th Letter, and in his Apology to Pamphilus of the Letters, and Answers which he writ in Damasus's Name.

(m) He was charged likewise with the conduct of the most considerable Ladies of the Town. These Ladies are become famous by S. Jerom's writings; their Names are Marcella, who being left a young Widow, and having been but seven Months with an Husband, refused to Marry a Man of the first quality called Cerealis, to continue in Widowhood. Her Mother Albina, who came also to hear S. Jerom. Melania is not less famous by the Pen of S. Jerom, than by those of Rufinus. Asella, Marcellina, and Felicitas, are also the names of those whom he commended; but his greatest Affection appeared to be for Paula, and her Daughters, Blesilla, Eustochium, Paulina, Rufina, and Toxontia.

Toxontia. This is what he saith himself in his Letter to Asella, of the Eleven, which he had gotten among the Women. I have, saith he, dwelt three years at Rome, I was often encompassed with great numbers of Virgins and Women, I often expounded the Holy Scripture to them, This reading made them constant, and their Assiduity begot a kind of Familiarity, upon which an ill Opinion was conceived

of me, and yet he was not able to prevent wholly evil speaking. The Clergy of that City, whose manner he reproveth, found fault with his Carriage, accused him of too much Familiarity with Paula, and they informed a Footman to tax him with disorder; but the Fellow being imprudently and put to the Rack, disowned all that he had said before.

and much credit. But as he severely reproveth the Misdeemeanours of the Clergy, and the Vices of the people, so he got many Enemies, who endeavoured to render his Behaviour suspected. After Damasus his Death, S. Jerom who this whole three Years that he was at Rome, longed for his Solitude, took Shipping in August, 385: to go back to Bethlehem, with a great many Persons that accompanied him. He passed thro' Cyprus, where he saw S. Epiphanius; from thence he went to Antioch, where Paulinus received him courteously; and from Antioch he went to Jerusalem, and then into Egypt, where he staid some time with Didymus. Afterwards he visited the Monasteries of Nitria, and finding the Monks there adhering to Origen's Opinions, he returned to Bethlehem, whither the Ladies Paula, Eustochium, and Melania came soon after. He continued some time in that place in a little Cell. But the number of those that embraced that kind of Life being increased, Paula built there a Church and four Monasteries, one for Men, and three for Women. S. Jerom then enjoying perfectly that Quietness which he so much desired, continued his Labours, and there composed the greatest part of his Works upon the Scripture. His rest was somewhat disturbed by the Quarels which he had with Rufinus, and with John of Jerusalem, upon the Account of Origenism; yet he went on with writing, and defended himself with a great deal of Vigour. He died very old in the Year of Christ, 420.

This Saint wrote great numbers of Books, full of profound Learning, and written with great Purity and Eloquence. In our Accounts, and Abridgements, we shall follow Marius Victorius's Order, that he uses in the Edition which he published of S. Jerom's works.

The First Volume contains the Letters which S. Jerom writ, either to exhort his Friends to Virtue, or to instruct them, or to commend them in *Panegyrics*, or funeral Orations.

The First, directed to Heliodorus, was written by S. Jerom from his Solitude, some time after this Friend left him to return into his own Country. He exhorts him to come back again, by representing the great Advantages of a retired Life, with great force and Fineness, and by answering all the Reasons that might keep him from embracing it with abundance of Art. This Treatise is a Master-piece of Eloquence in its kind; nothing can be more florid, more agreeable, or more moving. "This Letter, saith he, wherof you will find some lines blotted with my tears, will put you in mind of the tears I shed, and of the Groans I uttered at your going from me. You then endeavoured by your Careless, to sweeten the contempt that you cast upon my Intreaties. I was not able to stop you at that time, and now I seek after you now you are absent. No, I will use no more Intreaties, I will employ no more Careless: Love that feels its self offended ought to turn into Anger: You who regarded not my Supplications, will perhaps bearken to my Reproaches. Nice Soldier, what are you doing in your Father's house? . . . Remember that day wherein by Baptism you lifted your self a Soldier of Christ, then you took an Oath of Fidelity to him, that you would spare neither Father nor Mother for his Service. . . . Tho' your little Nephew should hang about your Neck, tho' your Mother should tear her hair, and rend her clothes to show you the Bosom that carried you, to oblige you to stay; and tho' your Father should lie down upon the Threshold of the Door to stop you, step over your Father, and follow the Standard of the Cross with dry Eyes: It is great mercy to be cruel on such occasions. I know you will tell me, we have not an Heart of stone, nor Bowels of iron. The love of God, and the fear of Hell break all Chains. The Scripture, you will say, Commands us to obey our Parents: Yes, but whosoever loveth them more than Christ, loseth his own Soul. But this, you will say, is to be understood, when they persecute us to make us deny Christ. You are mistaken, Brother, if you suppose that a Christian can be without Persecution: He is then most violently Assaulted, when he thinks himself most secure. Satan our Enemy is always like a Lyon seeking to devour us: . . . On the one side Pleasures court us, on the other the Covetousness torments us. . . . You are not allowed to enjoy your own Estate, you must renounce all for Jesus Christ. If you will be Heir to the Goods of this World, you cannot be Co-heir with Jesus Christ. Do you know the meaning of the word Monk? Why do you remain in the World, you that ought to be alone? . . . But what! you will answer me then, are all those that live in Cities no Christians? You are not in the same condition with others. Hear the words directed unto you by our Saviour; If you will be perfect, sell all that you have, give it to the poor, and come and follow me. Have you vowed perfection: A perfect Servant should have nothing but Jesus Christ. So that if you be desirous of this World's Goods; you are no longer in that State of perfection which you have embraced. Perhaps you will allege the Example of those Churchmen who live in Cities; I find fault with their Resolutions: God forbid, that I should speak evil of those that succeed the Apostles, who consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ with their sacred mouths, who make us Christians, and who holding the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven in their hands, judge, if I may so say, before the day of Judgment,

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"Judgment, and are the Guardians of the Virginity of the Spouses of Christ. It is not with Monks as with Secular Church-men: These feed the Sheep of Christ, and we receive from them the spiritual Food: they live of the Altar, and we should be guilty if we did not bring our Offerings to the Altar. I am not permitted to sit down before a Priest; and if I sin he may deliver me to Satan; if you are solicited to take Orders, I shall rejoice with you for your Exaltation, but shall fear a fall... for as he who worthily discharges his Ministry, acquires a degree of perfection; so he on the contrary that comes to the Altar unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ. All Bishops are not Bishops. If the Example of S. Peter comforts you, let that of Judas terrify you. If you admire Stephen's Sanctity, let the Fall of Nicholas fright you. It is not the Ecclesiastical Dignity that makes good Christians.... It is not easy for all men to have S. Paul's Graces, nor S. Peter's Holiness, who now are reigning with Christ. If a Monk falls, a Priest may pray for him, but who shall pray for the fall of a Priest? S. Jerom having thus far prosecuted his reasonings, endeth with these Acclamations. "Imitating, faith he, these Pilots, who happily steered their Ship between Rocks and Banks of Sand! O Wildernesses, be cryout, always covered with the Flowers of Jesus Christ! O Solitude, where the Stones that are made use of to build the City of the great King, spoken of in the Revelations, are to be found! O happy Retirement, where Men may have familiar Conversation with God! What do you do, Brother, in the World? how long will you dwell under the shadow of Houses? till what time will you be in the Prison of smocking Cities? What are you afraid of in these solitary places? Is it Poverty? but Jesus Christ calleth the poor Happy. Do's labour astonish you? Can he that strives in the publick Exercises be Crowned before he has fought? Do you think of your Diet? a lively Faith fears not hunger. Do you dread lying upon the naked ground, with your Bodies worn out with Fasting? Remember that Jesus Christ rests there along with you. Are you Scared with the extent of this hideous Solitude? Paradise is open to you. These are some of the Arguments which S. Jerom uses to persuade Heliodorus to return to his Retirement.

The Second Letter to Nepotian Heliodorus his Nephew was composed by S. Jerom long after the first, as he says himself at the beginning. "Being, faith he, yet young, when I struggled with the first motions of youth, by the Austerities of Solitude; I write to Heliodorus your Uncle a Letter of Exhortation, full of Complaints and Tears, to show how sorry I was for the absence of my Friend. I plaid then suitably to my Age, and used all the Flowers of Rhetorick with which my self at that time was full. But now I am Old, and my Forehead is full of wrinkles, and my Chin covered with a white Beard, I can no longer do what I could do then. And yet, he Discourses here after a manner youthful enough, producing several Examples taken out of Ecclesiastical and profane History, to shew that old Men have not the same heat nor vigour that young Men have. He addeth, "Expect not therefore from me youthful Declamations, florid Sentences, sweet Words, poignant or acute Expressions at the end of my Periods, to draw the applause of those that hear us; I beg of God only the lights of his Wisdom.... Hearken then, as S. Cyprian faith, to a Discourse that hath more Strength than Sweetness; Hearken to him that is your Colleague, and your Father by his age.... I know that your holy Uncle Heliodorus, who is now a Minister of Jesus Christ, has taught and do's teach you Holiness, and that his Life is an example of Virtue to you: But take from me besides these small Directions, and joyning this Treatise to that which I write before to your Uncle, learn of this how to be a perfect Church-man, as the former may instruct you, how to be a good Monk. These are the main Precepts which S. Jerom giveth to a Church-man in this excellent Letter. "A Clerk, faith he, that serveth the Church of Jesus Christ ought to begin with the knowledge of what his Name signifies; and then Labour to be what is signified by it. The Greek word *Klerikos* signifieth a Lot or a Portion: therefore the Name Clerk is given to Church-men, either because they are consecrated to the Lord, or because the Lord is their Portion, but whoever belongeth to the Lord, or hath the Lord to his Portion, ought to live as one that possesseth the Lord, and in whom the Lord dwelleth: he is to possess nothing but the Lord.... And so indeed, in serving at the Altar, I ought to live of the Altar: but ought to be content with what is necessary for Food and Raiment; and strip of all things, I ought only to follow the Cross.... I conjure you therefore, and I admonish you, let not Interest make you enter into Christ's Service, neither heap up greater Riches in the Ecclesiastical State than you did when you were in the World, lest they lay unto you: *Their will do them no good*: We see some men wealthier since they have been Monks, than they were before: some Clerks have Riches while they serve poor Jesus Christ, which they had not while they served the Rich Devil: so that the Church groans to see them rich in her Bosom, that were Beggars whilst they were in the World. You must let the Poor and Pilgrims at your Table, and Jesus Christ will be one of the Guests. Avoid those Clerks as a plague who make Merchandise of the Church's Goods, who become rich and proud, tho' they were poor and contemptible enough before.... Let Women never come near your Houses, or at least but seldom; have no Familiarity with the Virgins consecrated to God, either be acquainted with none, or love them all equally: Dwell not in the same House with them. Trust not your past Chastity: you are neither holier than David, nor stronger than Sampson, nor wiser than Solomon. Visit not Women alone, speak not with them face to face: but avoid whatsoever may beget evil Suspicion.... This is a thing shameful for

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"us. The Priests of false Deities, Comedians, Actors, and the basest of men may be Legates, only Clergy men and Monks cannot, the Law forbids them; and a Law that was not made by Emperors who were Enemies to Religion, but by Christian Princes. Yet I complain not of this Law, but I am sorry that we deserved it.... The Law was enacted out of a prudent foresight, and yet it is not strong enough to suppress Covetousness. We elude the Law by Trustees.... The Glory of a Bishop is to give ease to the Misery of the Poor, and it is his greatest disgrace to apply himself to increase wealth. S. Jerom describes here the Lowliness of some Clergy-men, and the baseness of others to ingratiate themselves with rich Men, that they might make them their Heirs. He adds afterwards, That a Bishop ought to do what he preaches; that his mouth, his hands, and his mind are exactly to agree together. He recommends to Priests Submission to their Bishops, and that they should honour them as their Fathers. But at the same time he warneth Bishops, to remember that they are Priests and not Masters: *Sacerdotes se esse noverint, non dominos*; And that they are to use Church-men as Church-men, if they themselves may be honoured as Bishops. He blames the Custom of some Churches where Priests were not permitted to speak before their Bishop. He would have a Preacher to excite the tears of his Auditors, rather than their applause. He says, That his preaching ought to be neither Declamatory nor Satyrical, but that he ought to expound the Mysteries of our Religion, and the Morality of the Gospel, with Clearness and Gravity. Afterwards he goes to the manner how Church-men ought to be habited. No Clergy-man in his Opinion should affect either black or white Garments, but avoid Neatness and Slovenliness: the one is a Mark of Effeminateness, and the other is often the effect of a foolish Vanity. As to Alms-deeds, S. Jerom complains that in his time some Bishops and Ecclesiastics distributed small Alms to the poor, to enrich themselves, by appropriating to themselves considerable Sums under that pretence of those Alms. He tells the Bishops that they ought to take special care whom they intrusted with the Dispensation of Alms. He reproves those who were very careful to see Churches well built, sumptuously adorned with Marble and Gold, and the Altars covered with precious Stones, but took no care to make a good choice of Ministers of Jesus Christ. He forbids Church-men, and particularly Bishops to make any Feasts for Lay-men, but recommends to them Sobriety. Yet he desires them not to proceed to Excess in their Feasts, but that such as they shall observe should be pure, chaste, moderate, simple, and without Superstition. He laughs at those, who refusing to eat Oyl upon Fast-days, inquired after Dainties and Meats not easy to be had; and at those, who forbearing to drink Water or to eat Bread, drank the Juice of pleasant Herbs. He declaims against those Ecclesiastics, that affected to make a shew of their Mortifications and good Works, to get Glory to themselves. Lastly, he recommends to Clergy-men Charity, Prudence, Discretion, and Modesty. He takes notice at the latter End, that he writes this Letter in his Retirement at Bethlehem, Ten years after the Book of *Virginity*, which he wrote at Rome. This shews that this Letter is of the Year 393.

Nepotian to whom this Letter was written, dying not long after, S. Jerom writ the Third Letter to his Uncle Heliodorus, to comfort him for the Death of his Nephew, of whom he makes a Panegyrick. This Letter which is not less florid or less eloquent, is full of Historical passages, collected with much Affectation: He produces the examples of several Heathens who despised Death: and shows that it ought less to be feared by a Christian. That Heliodorus ought to be comforted, since Nepotian was in possession of eternal Happiness. Then he sets forth his Virtues, together with the misfortunes and Miseries of this Life, whence he concludes, that we are to esteem those Happy, who are out of this World. There he makes an elegant Comparison, betwixt the power of Kings and Bishops. A King, says he, Commands men that are obliged to obey whether they will or no; whereas the Bishop hath Dominion over those only that are willing to obey. The Prince brings men under by Terror: The Bishop is bound to serve those that are under his Conduct. The former protect the Bodies which must die; but the latter takes care of Souls to give them eternal Life. All the faithful have their Eyes upon their Bishop, his Family and conduct is observed by every Body, he is to be an example to the whole Church: and there is none but thinks he can do what he does.

Besides, there is in that Letter, an excellent Portraiture of the uncertainty of this Life. We die daily, faith he, We alter continually, and yet we are so foolish, that we live as if we were to abide eternally. The time I spend in dictating, writing, reading over again, and correcting, is so much time towards the shortning of my Life. The fops, and Letters of my Amanuensis, are so many moments to lessen the length of my Life; the only thing that turns to account, is the love which we have for Jesus Christ. Charity never comes to an end, but lives for ever in the Heart, and by it our Brother Nepotian is still present with us after his Death; it is that which unites us, tho' we be separated by a vast space of Land or Sea.

The Fourth Letter is directed to one Rusticus a Western Monk, to whom S. Jerom gives Rules for that kind of Life, which he was to follow. It begins with this Sentence, None is more happy than a Christian, seeing he hath a Promise of the Kingdom of Heaven: None is to Fight more, since he is in danger of his Life; none is stronger, since he overcometh the Devil: And then he exhorts Rusticus to persevere with Zeal in that profession which he had embraced. He enjoys him to be respectful to his Mother, but not to be too much tied to her, nor to hold any Conversation with other Women. He adviseth him to renounce all these things, and to withdraw from the

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World. He warneth him not lightly to take upon him Holy Orders, or to affect to be a Master before he had been a Disciple; and to chuse rather, to live in a Monastery, than to be an Hermit in a Solitude; and he reprehends the Inconveniences of that kind of Life. "Commonly, *saith*, he, an Hermit becometh proud; he thinks himself to be some Body, and forgetteth what he is; he eats what he pleases, sleeps as much as he will, fears no Body, and you shall find him *officer* in the Town, than in his Cell. *Not, saith he*, That I find fault with a solitary Life, which I have to often commended: but I would have these Soldiers come out of Monasteries, where they have learned their Exercises, least the severe beginnings of Solitude should amaze them. S. Jerom recommends to him afterwards the Vertues and Exercises of a right Monk, and particularly, working with his hands, Reading and Meditation upon the Holy Scriptures, Prayer, Obedience to Superiors, Chastity, Fasting, &c. He blames the Monks that live like Seculars, and observes, that they used to chuse Monks to make them Church-men. He tells *Rufinus*, That he ought not to begin to write early, but practise long before he undertook to teach. At the end of this Letter he praises two Bishops of Gaul, *Proculus* Bishop of Mayence, and *Eusepius* Bishop of Tholose, what he faith of the latter is very remarkable. *This Holy Bishop*, faith he, *imitates the Widow of Sarepta; he feeds others, and starves himself; his face is pale with fasting; nothing but other Mens hunger troubles him; He has given all his Estate to the poor, and yet there is none richer than he; He carries the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ in an Obedient Basket, and his precious Blood in a Glass Vessel; one may say, That he deserves Coverings out of the Temple of the Lord. Follow, faith he, to Rufinus, at the latter End of the Letter, the steps of this good Bishop, and of other Persons who imitate his Vertues, whose Saints whom the Pastoral Dignity has made poorer and more humble. And if you desire to embrace a condition more perfect, get out of your Country, as Abraham did, leave your Kindred, and get you to an unknown place. If you have any Goods, sell them, and distribute the price of them to the Poor. If you have none, you are discharged of a great Burden. Strip your self of all things; to follow Jesus Christ only, Nudum Christum nudus sequere. It is hard, I confess, it is Great, and it is Difficult, but the recompence is Infinite. He mentions in this Letter, that which he had written to *Nepesian*, and so this was written after the Year 393, perhaps in 394.*

In the Fifth to *Florentinus*, who came to *Jerusalem*, he commends the Charity of that Holy man: He sent him a Letter to be delivered to *Rufinus*, who was to go from *Egypt* to *Jerusalem* with *Melania*, where he speaks as much to the advantage of that Presbyter, as he spoke afterwards since to his Disparagement. I would not, faith he to *Florentinus*, have you judge of me by his Vertues, you shall see in him the visible mark of Holiness; I am but dirt and ashes, and I think my self Happy if my weak Eyes can but behold his Vertues; he is pure and white as Snow, but I am all over covered with Sin. S. Jerom writ this Letter from the Solitudes of Syria about the Year 372.

Florentinus having answered S. Jerom, this Saint wrote again a Sixth Letter, to tell him, that having read his, he was tempted to go to *Jerusalem*, but he durst not quit his Solitude. He prays him to desire of *Rufinus* the Commentary upon the *Canticles* that was composed by *Rheimsius* Bishop of Autun, that he might take a Copy of it; and to tell him, that an Old man *one Paulus*, desired the Copy of *Tertullian* which he had lent him: He intreats him likewise that he would cause some Books to be transcribed for him, which he had not, of which he sent him a Memorandum: and send him S. Hilary's Commentary upon the *Psalms*, and his Book of Synods, which himself had Copied with his own hand at *Triers*: and in requital he pricks to communicate to him the Books which he had in his own Library.

The Seventh is directed to *Leta* Wife of *Toxotius* Paula's Son. This Lady had a young Daughter called *Paula*, whom her Grand-mother designed for a Religious Life. S. Jerom writes this Letter to the Mother of this little Girl, to teach her how she should breed her up, and exhorts her to send her as soon as she could to his Monastery at *Bethlehem*. Her Grand-father was a Priest of *Jupiter*, but the rest of the Family were Christians. This made S. Jerom say pleasantly, that it was a surprising thing that this Old man should make much of a Girl that sung the Praises of Jesus Christ, and be compassed about with a Family of Christians, which gave him hopes that he would be converted: For, faith he pleasantly, I fancy that Jupiter himself might have believed in Jesus Christ, had he had such a Family as yours; what he says afterwards is more serious. *Thou he laughs at my Letter, and calls me Fool and Senseless, yet I despair not of his Conversion, his Son-in-Law did the same, before he embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ. No man is born a Christian, but becomes one afterwards. . . . It is never too late to be converted.*

It will not be thought amiss, that I should set down here some of those Precepts which S. Jerom gives for the Education of a young Woman, to shew that it is no new thing to see retired Persons, and those that are furthest from the commerce of civil Life, teach the People of the World how to breed their Children. It is strange that such as have Children to bring up, should be obliged to do it well, and to have recourse to those that have made a vow never to have Children, or a Family themselves. "Thus, faith S. Jerom, is that Virgin to be Educated, whose Soul is designed to be the Temple of God. Let her not hearken to, let her not learn nor discourse of any thing, but what is proper to inspire the love of God. Let her never hear filthy Talk, nor learn profane Songs, but let her Voice be sometimes accustomed to the singing of *Psalms*: Let her No boys come near her, her Maids and Governesses should be wise, and kept from the Company of disorderly People, least they teach her more evil than they have learned themselves.

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themselves. Let them teach her to read with *Box* or *Ivory* Letters, whereof she may remember the Names. . . . She ought to be made to love Study and Labour; either by promising her Reward, or by provoking her by Example. If she be of a soft Temper; reprove her not too severely; she ought to be encouraged with Commendation to raise in her mind a Desire to excel others, and some trouble to see her self out-done. Above all, have care that she be not disgusted with Study, least she come to hate it when she becomes older. Let her read the Sentences of the Holy Scripture, and chuse for her an able Master, a Man of a good Life, who may take pains to teach her to read. Despite not these beginnings as inconsiderable, for the rest depend upon them. The beginnings of Reading and Pronunciation are not taught alike by a skillful, and by a wary Man: Do not let her use her self to speak her words by halves, nor to take Pleasure in handling of Gold or Purple: The one will hurt her Speech, and the other her Manners. Let her not learn that in her Infancy, which she must forget afterwards. . . . Evil is easily imitated, and we often take up their Vices, whose Vertues we cannot reach: Her Nurse should be sober, not a Tatler, nor given to Wine. . . . Let her clothes be modest, convenient for the State for which you design her: Let not her Ears be bored, nor her Face us'd to Painting: she should not have her Hair dyed fair, nor her Garments adorned with Gold, Pearls or Jewels, unless you design her for Hell fire. . . . When she grows older, let her follow her Parents to the Church, but never go out to return to the Pumps of the World. Let her keep to her Chamber, and never appear at Feasts, or public Meetings: but she ought not to use too much Abstinence till she comes to the Age of strength, least she prejudices her Health. Let her take that which helps necessity, but not what feeds Luxury: Let her not be at Musick Meetings, nor hear musical Instruments, but learn and repeat daily Sentences out of the Holy Scripture; she should never go abroad without her Mother, nor grow very Familiar with any one of her Servants; provide her a wife, prudent and virtuous Governess, that may show her the way to life in the Night to sing *Psalms*, to rehearse the morning Hymns, and at *Tierce*, *Sext*, *Nones*, and *Vespers*. Let her pray, and work Night and Day; let her learn to handle the Distaff, to turn the Wheel and spin Wooll; let her not meddle with Embroidering either of Gold or Silver; let her be modestly clothed, and soberly fed; she should not fast excessively, but observe Lent regularly, and take no pleasure in Baths.

To these moral Precepts, S. Jerom adds an Instruction for the Studies of young Girls, and advises them to read all the Canonical Books, both of the Old and New Testaments; not excepting the *Canticles*. He advises them not to read the *Apocrypha*, but the Books of *S. Athanasius*, and of *S. Hilary*. He concludes by exhorting *Leta* to send her Daughter to the Monastery at *Bethlehem*. This Letter is written from the Solitude of *Bethlehem*, about the Year 400.

The Eighth Letter was written in the Year 411, after the taking of *Rome* by the *Goths*, it is directed to a Virgin of the First quality, one *Demetrias*, who was retired into *Africa*, and there had embraced a Religious Life. S. Jerom having commended her Grand-mother *Proba*, directs her how to maintain her Virginity, by recommending to her several Exercises of Piety, as reading of the Holy Scripture, renouncing the Pumps of the World, exercising Penance, moderate Fasting, Obedience, Humility, Modesty, Alms-deeds, Prayers at all hours of the day, and working with her hands. He advises her to stick to the Faith of Pope *Innocent*, and to beware of the Errors of the *Origenists*, and tells her, that she should chuse rather to dwell in a Nunnery with other Virgins, than to live alone. But he would have her avoid the Company of the Ladies of the World. He finishes his Letter with Commendations of Virginity. It is to be noted, that in those days Virgins consecrated to God might go out of their Cloysters, but S. Jerom advises them to do it seldom. He calleth Penance, a Second Plank after Shipwrack. He observeth that Fasting is not properly a Virtue, but the ground of all Vertues; that Chastity is a degree to arrive at Perfection, but if it be single, it is not enough to merit the Crown of Heaven. He advises Virgins not to be lifted up, because of the perfection of their State, but to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, who resisteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the humble. But, faith he, what is of Grace is no recompence for Works, but a Free-gift, therefore the Apostle writeth, that the good which Man doth is not to be attributed, either to his Will or Labour, but to the mercy of God; and yet to will, or not to will, is in our Power; but what depends upon us, doth not do so without God's help. *Velle & non velle nostrum est, ipsamque quod nostrum est, sine Dei misericordia nostrum non est.* At last he exhorts Virgins, rather to bestow their Estates upon the poor, than to beautify Churches.

The Ninth Letter is directed to a Lady of Quality, one *Sabina*, who had lost her Husband *Nebrius*, Son to the Empreſs Sister. Tho' S. Jerom knew her not, yet he writ to her at the request of one of her Friends called *Avitus*. He begins his Letter with Commendations of *Nepotus*, whose Vertues were the more to be admired, because he had spent his Life at Court, and in great Employments; and then advises his Widow, to render to her Children, what she owed her Husband, by giving them a good Education, exhorting her earnestly to continue a Widow, and giving Rules for her Behaviour. He exceedingly blames Second Marriages, and looks upon them rather as tolerated to prevent a greater Evil, than permitted as a good. He observes in that Letter, that Riches do not hinder a Man from being saved, provided he makes good use of them; as Poverty doth not make a Man holy or just, if he doth not avoid Sin. He calls Pe-nance the Remedy of the miserable: He says that men should have a care of Sinning, out of hopes

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hopes of rising again by Repentance; that such Wounds should be prevented, as cannot be cured without Pain; that it is a far greater advantage to enter the Haven of Salvation with a found Vessel full fraught with Merchandise, than to be forced to swim upon a Plank, in danger of being broken against the Rocks, and the Waves of an agitated Sea. *Sabina* or *Silvina*, to whom this Letter was written, was the Daughter of that *Gildo* Governor of *Africa*, who going about to usurp the Empire, after *Theodosius* his Death, perished *Anno* 398. She was a Widow, and dwelt at *Constantinople* when *S. Chrysostom* was expelled from thence, as we learn from *Palladius*, who tells us, *That S. Chrysostom before he went away, entered into the Baptistry, and called to him Olympias, the Deaconess, Procla, Pentadia, and Silvina, Nebridius's Widow*: So that *S. Jerom's* Letter might be written about the Year 400. not long after the Death of her Husband.

The Tenth is written to another young Widow named *Furia*, of the Race of the *Camilli*. He dissuades her from Marrying a second time, tho' she had had no Children by her first Husband; he tells her, that in this particular, she should not regard neither the Remonstrances, or threatenings of her Father, but he recommends to her, that she should be sober, modest, constant in reading and praying, that she should give Alms, avoid the World, despite its Pomps &c. Lastly, he represents the inconveniencies of a Second Marriage very lively, and says at the latter end of the Letter, that he writ it two Years after his Books against *Jovinian*, that were composed, sometime before the Year 392. and so this Letter is of 394.

The following Letter to *Ageruchia*, is upon the same Subject: He does speak there with less Zeal against Second Marriages, than in the foregoing; and yet he professes not to condemn them. He says that he had seen at *Rome* a Woman buried by her Twenty second Husband, and a Husband who had buried Twenty Wives. At the end of this Letter he Discourses against such as are too much in love with this Life, and the good things of this World. *Men, says he, build as if they were to live for ever, and they live as if they were sure of Life next day. There is none so aged, but promises to himself, That he shall live one year more, and so forgets what he is: and when he is come to the age that he desired, yet does he not think himself near Death, and flatters himself with the Life of many years to come.* He concludes this with a Description of the pitiful condition, the *Roman Empire*, was reduced to by the Incursions of the *Barbarians*, especially in *Gaul* and *Spain*, which made him afraid of *Rome* it self. This shews, that this Letter was written some time before the taking of *Rome*, which happened in 410.

In the Twelfth Letter *S. Jerom* prescribes to *Gaudemus* some Rules for the Education of his Daughter *Pacatula*, whom he designed for a Religious Life: It contains such Precepts as are in the Letter to *Leia*; there he bewails the misfortune of the taking of *Rome*, in 410.

The Thirteenth is directed to *Paulinus* afterwards Bishop of *Nola*, who intending to be a Monk, addressed himself to *S. Jerom*, as a Person perfectly well skilled in the Exercises of a Monastical Life, to ask his advice how he should behave himself. This Father having with great Humanity answered *Paulinus* his Complements, for his living so long solitary in the Wilderness of *Bethlehem*, Counsels him to retire out of Cities, if he resolved to embrace a Monastick State.

In this Separation from the World, he chiefly places the difference between a Monastical, and an Ecclesiastical State. *If, says he, you will enter upon the Ministry of the Church, and perform the Functions of the Priesthood, if you are pleased with the Episcopal Dignity; then keep in Towns, and work out the Salvation of your own Soul by saving others: but if you would be a Monk, that is, live Solitarily, what do you do in Towns, which are no Habitations for Monks, but for those that love the World? ... Priests and Bishops ought to imitate the Apostles and Apostolical Men, not to succeed them in their Virtue, as they do in their Dignity; as for us, we have for our Commanders, The Pauls, the Antonies, the Julians, the Macarii, the Hilarians; and to come to the Scripture it self, Elias is the first of our Order, Elifha is one of us, the Sons of the Prophets that dwell in the Fields and Desert places, and upon the Banks of Jordan, they are our Masters. The Sons of Rechab, who drunk neither Wine nor Sider, are also of this Number.* *S. Jerom* having exalted the Monastical State by these Examples, prescribes several Rules to *Paulinus* for the Exercises which he was to follow in his Retirement. He thanks him afterwards for the Books that he sent him, in Commendation of *Theodosius*, and having commended it, he exhorts *Paulinus* to apply himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture, telling him that if he had but that Foundation, nothing would be more learned, more sweet, or more acceptable, and better written than his Works. From thence he takes occasion, to describe the Style and Character of the Latin Ecclesiastical Authors. *Tertullian*, faith he, is full of Sentences, but his Elocution is hard. *S. Cyprian's* Style is smooth, and like the running waters of a Fountain, which passes away quietly, and without Agitation; but having wholly apply'd himself to the teaching of Virtue, and being busied by Persecutions, he writ nothing upon the Holy Scripture: The glorious Martyr *Victorinus* can hardly tell his meaning. *Lactantius* is like a River of a Ciceroan Eloquence; would to God he could as easily have confirmed our Doctrine, as he overthrows that of other Mens. *Arnobius* his Style is uneven, without method or order. *S. Hilary* hath an high and swelling Style, like the Gallick Tragedies, but intermixing the way of writing with Grecian Flowers, he often writes long Periods and very intricate, which can neither be read nor understood by Men of ordinary Capacities. And having thus set forth the Character of those ancient Authors, he giveth that of *Paulinus* in these Terms: *You have, faith he, a great deal of Wit, a wonderful abundance of Expressions, a natural pureness, and rare prudence. If you add to this Eloquence, the Study and understanding of the*

Scriptures;

S. Jerom.

Scripture, I shall quickly see you the first of our Authors. And to this he exhorts him. This Letter was written before *Paulinus* was ordained, and after his Conversion about the Year 380.

The Fourteenth Letter to *Colania*, is not like *S. Jerom's* Style. It is thought to be written by *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*. It contains very useful Instructions, and Precepts for a Lady, to lead a Christian Life in the midst of Honours, Riches, and the Perplexities of managing her Family.

The Fifteenth Letter to *Marcella*, is in Commendation of one *Acella* a Virgin.

The Sixteenth directed to a Virgin, named *Principia*, is the Panegyrick of *Marcella*, a *Roman* Lady, Daughter of *Albina*, who being left a Widow seven Months after Marriage, resolved to continue so, though she was courted by the Consul *Cerealis*, and was the first of the *Roman* Ladies that embrac'd a Religious Life. *S. Jerom*, after a description of her Virtues, commends her for procuring the Condemnation of *Origen's* Books, and for the Courage which she shewed when *Rome* was taken; he observes that she died quickly after, and that he writ this Panegyrick two Years after her Death; which shews, that this Letter was written in 412 or 413.

The Seventeenth Letter is from *Bethlehem*, in the Name of *Paula* and *Eustochium*, to *Marcella*, whom they invite to come to them, and to visit the holy Places. It may have been written about the Year 400.

The Eighteenth is written in *S. Jerom's* Name to the same Lady, and upon the same Subject. The Nineteenth is a handsome Letter of Thanks to *Eustochium*, for a Present of some Fruits that he sent him upon *S. Peter's* Day.

The following Letter to *Marcella* is likewise to thank him for some Presents, which that Lady had sent him from *Rome*.

The Twenty-first is written to an Old Man of *Spain* of 100 Years of Age. *S. Jerom* congratulates with him, that God had given him a fine Old Age, freed from the ordinary infirmities, common to persons of those Years; he commends his Virtues, and desires of him the Commentaries of *Fortunatianus*, the History of *Aurelius Victor*, and *Novatian's* Letters, and tells him that he would send him the Life of the Blessed *Paul* the first *Hermit*. This Letter may have been written in *S. Jerom's* first Retreat.

The Two and Twentieth is a Treatise of *Virginity* to *Eustochium*. Having spoken of the Excellency of it, of the Difficulty of preserving and the Danger of losing it, he lays down Precepts which a Virgin is to observe to keep her self pure. He forbids her to drink Wine; he bids her avoid dainty Fare, Effeminateness, Pleasures and superfluous Ornaments; he recommends Solitude to her, and the Reading of the Holy Scripture, Prayer, Renouncing of the Things of this World, Fasting, Humility, and other Christian Virtues. He speaks against some Clergy-men who kept devoted Sisters in their Houses; *And who (faith he) under pretence of Spiritual consolation, entertained a carnal commerce.* He blames those also that courted Ladies; and to please them, condescended to do several things unworthy of their Character. To dissuade *Eustochium* from reading prophane Books, he tells her, That being once too earnest in reading *Cicero*, *Plautus*, and other prophane Authors, he fell into a violent Fever, and by it into a kind of Agony, and then was caught up in the Spirit to the Tribunal of *Jesus Christ*; where having been soundly whipt for reading prophane Authors too much, he was forbidden to read them any more: He assures *Eustochium*, that this Story is not a Dream, and calls the Tribunal where he appeared, and the Judgment that was given against him to attest the Truth of what he says: Yet when *Rufinus* upbraided him afterwards, that for all that he had not given over reading prophane Books, he laughs at his Simplicity, and jets upon him for taking a Dream for a Truth. Declaiming against Covetousness, he says, that a Monk of *Nirria* having got together One hundred Pence which were found in his Cell after he was dead, they buried him with his Money, and with this Imprecation; *Let this Money perish with thee.* He observes upon that occasion, that there were Five thousand Monks in the Solitudes of *Nirria*, dwelling in separated Cells; and that there were three sorts of Monks in *Egypt*, namely the *Cenobites*, who lived in common; the *Anchorets*, who dwelt alone in the Wilderness; and those that were called *Remobites*; who lived Two and Two together, and maintained themselves after their own way with the work of their own hands. He blames this last sort, and describes the manner of living of the *Anchorets* and *Cenobites* at large. After this digression, he concludes with commending the Purity of *Eustochium*. In all likelihood this Treatise was composed at *Rome* about the latter end of *Damascus's* Pontificate, about the Year 385.

The Two and Twentieth is written to *Marcella* upon the Recovery and Conversion of *Blessed Paula's* Daughter, and Sister of *Eustochium*. This young Widow, after the Torment of a violent Fever for Thirty days together, had embrac'd a Solitary life. *S. Jerom* commends her for that generous Resolution, and confounds those that blamed her. One may find in that Letter a handsome description of the Habit of those ancient Nuns. *S. Jerom* speaks there against the Enervy of Women. This Letter was written at *Rome* about the Year 383.

The next was written much about the same time; it is directed to *Paula*, concerning the Death of an Holy Nun, one *Lea*. *S. Jerom* shews, that they ought to rejoice for her Death, because she enjoy'd Happiness. He commends her Virtues, and comparing her Death, with that of one designed to be Consul, which happened at the same time; he shews the vast difference betwixt a poor Righteous Man's death, and that of a great, rich, and impious Lord.

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The Four and Twentieth is a Letter of Consolation to *Paula*, upon the Death of her Daughter *Blasilla*, who departed this Life four Months after her Conversion. S. Jerom shows, that we should not mourn for Christians who die in a State of Grace, but rather rejoice for their Happiness. He reproves *Paula* severely, because she had given way to excessive Grief. This Letter may pass for an exact Pattern of Elegant and Christian Consolation. It was composed at *Rome* about the Year 384.

The Five and Twentieth is likewise a Consolatory Letter to *Pammachius*, upon the Death of his Wife *Paulina*, who was also one of *Paula's* Daughters. He faith but little of *Paulina's* Death, but enlargeth much in Commendation of *Pammachius*, who left the World after his Wife's Death, and had bestowed great part of his Estate upon the Poor, and built an Hospital for Strangers in the Port of *Rome*. S. Jerom says at the latter end of this Letter, that so great a number of Monks flocked to his Monastery at *Bethlehem*, that he was obliged to send his Brother *Paulinianus* to sell the rest of the Estate which he had in his own Country, to enable him to support his Undertaking. This informs us that this Letter was written at *Bethlehem* in 398.

The Twenty-sixth is a Funeral-Sermon for the famous *Paula*, whose Life he describes, and makes her Panegyric. It is directed to her Daughter *Eustochium*. He sets down at the latter end some Epitaphs which he put upon the Grave and upon the Cave where that holy Lady was buried in *Bethlehem*, and he says that she died Feb. 22d. and was buried the 24th. under the Seventh Consulship of *Honorius* and *Ariftenius*: That is, after our way of reckoning, the 404th. Year since the Nativity of our Saviour: And this proves that Funeral Oration to be of that same Year.

The Seven and twentieth Letter to a *Spaniard*, one *Lucinius* is very remarkable. S. Jerom exhorts that Man who had embraced a Monastical Life with his Wife's Consent, to prosecute the design which he had to come to *Jerusalem*. He tells him, that he had given Copies of his works to those whom he sent to him; That he had not translated *Josephus* his Books, nor the Writings of *S. Papias*, and *S. Polycarp*; That he translated only some Treatises of *Origen* and *Dionysius*; That he had corrected the Version of the Septuagint, reformed the Greek of the New Testament, and that he sent to him part of the Canonical Books, which he revised and made conformable to the truth of the Hebrew. He afterwards answers two Questions, which *Lucinius* had put to him about Saturday's Fast, and a frequent Communion. That Answer is too considerable not to be translated here. As to what you ask me concerning the Saturday's Fast, whether it ought to be kept; and about the Eucharist, whether it should be received every day, as is Customary in the Churches both of Italy and Spain, we have upon that Subject a Treatise of Hippolytus, a very Eloquent man, and several Authors have occasionally treated of that Matter; for my part, this is the advice I think ought to be given in that Point; That Ecclesiastical Traditions, not contrary to the Faith, ought to be observed after the same manner, that we received them from our Ancestors: And I am persuaded, that the Customs of our Church is not to be abolished, because of a contrary one in use in another Church. Would to God that we could fast every day: Do we not read in the Acts of the Apostles, that both S. Paul, and they that were with him fasted in the days of Pentecost, and even upon Sundays: For all that they ought not to be accused for Manichees, because they did it out of a Spiritual good, before which a Carnal one is not to be preferred. As to the Eucharist, it is good to receive it daily, provided there be no prickings of Conscience, and no danger of receiving our own Condemnation. Not that I would have Men fast on Sundays, or in the Fifty days after Easter, but I must still return to my Principle, That every Country ought to follow its own Custom, and look upon the Ordinances of their Ancestors as Apostolical Laws. This Letter was written about the Year 406.

Lucinius to whom this Letter is directed being dead. S. Jerom comforts his Widow *Theodora*, in the following Letter, in which he cites the Books of *S. Irenaeus* with Commendation.

S. Jerom's Eight and twentieth Letter is a Funeral Oration, in Commendation of a Roman Lady called *Fabola*. This Lady had a former very lewd Husband, and having procured a Separation, she was married to another; but having acknowledged her fault, she did public Penitance, and was admitted to the Communion. She built at *Rome* an Hospital for sick Persons whom she had assisted with wonderful Zeal, and surprising Charity. S. Jerom commendeth chiefly those generous Actions, and speaks of the Journey which she had undertaken to *Bethlehem*, where she remained some time with him. This Letter was written in 400, two years after the Funeral Discourse for *Paulina*, and Four years after that for *Despian*, as S. Jerom says in the beginning.

The Nine and twentieth is a Note to *Theophilus*, wherein he excuseth himself, that he had not yet translated into Latin that Bishop's Book concerning *Easter*, because of the troubles of the Church that had disquieted him; and *Paula's* Death which had overwhelmed him with Grief; So that this Letter was written in the Year 404.

In the Thirtieth, S. Jerom comforteth a *Spaniard*, one *Abigai*, for the loss of his sight, he commendeth his Piety, and desires him to exhort *Theodora*, *Lucinius* his Widow, to continue her Journey to *Jerusalem*, this shows that this Letter was written after *Lucinius* his Death, about the Year 408, or 409.

The Thirty first is likewise a Letter of comfort to another Blind man, one *Calpurnius*, who was S. Jerom's Countryman. He thanks him for beginning his Journey to come to see him, but desires him, to undertake the Journey next year. The Year of this

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this Letter is not known. It is probable that it was written very near the same time with the foregoing.

In the Two and thirtieth, having administered comfort to *Julianus* one of his Friends, for the loss of two Daughters, of his Wife and Estate, and for the Discontents occasioned by his Son-in-Law, he adviceth him to give himself to God, and embrace a monastical Life: This Letter is written from the Solitudes of *Bethlehem* about the Year 408.

In the Thirty third, he exhorteth *Exuperantius* to forsake the Wars, and the World, and to withdraw himself with his Brother *Quintilian* to *Bethlehem*.

The Thirty fourth is to his Aunt *Calpurnia*, with whom he had some difference, he intreats her by this Letter to be reconciled to him, this Letter was in all probability written during S. Jerom's first retreat, and since he tells her, that he had written to her the year before upon the same Subject, this must be of the Year 373, or 374.

The Five and thirtieth was written at the same time. He prays *Julian* the Deacon to send him News of his own Country, and gives him thanks for sending word, that his Sister continued in the resolution not to Marry.

The Thirty sixth to *Theodosius* and the other Monks, was written by S. Jerom, after his quitting the Desert of *Syria* in 374. where those Monks dwelt. He desires them to pray, that God would call him back into the Desert.

The Thirty seventh to the Virgins dwelling upon Mount *Hermon*, is written from the Desert of *Syria*, about the Year 373. He complains that they had not answered the Letters that he had written to them.

The Eight and thirtieth is certainly not S. Jerom's, and there is nothing in it worth Observation.

In the Thirty ninth he invites *Rufinus* Presbyter of *Aquileia*, who was then in *Egypt*, to come to him in his Solitude of *Syria*, where he was alone with *Eugarius* only, after his going away of *Heliadorus*, and the Death of *Innocent* and *Hylas*. This Letter is of 373, or 374.

The Fortieth, Forty first, Forty second, and Forty third, are very near of the same time, they are written to his old Friends at *Aquileia*. The First to *Niceas* Deacon of that Town, the Second to *Chromatius*, *Eusebius*, and *Jovinis*: The Third to *Chrysgonus* a Monk of *Aquileia*: and the last to another Monk called *Anthony*. These are of no great Consequence.

The Forty fourth to *Rufinus* is more useful. He exhorts that Man to do Penance, urging several places of Scripture touching Repentance. He invites him to visit the Holy places. This Letter is not of the same Style with the rest of this Father's Letters.

The Forty fifth Letter is a biting Satyr against Virgins and Women, who dwelt with Clergy Men that were not of their Kindred.

The Six and fortieth is a Declaration against *Sabinianus* a Deacon, whose Life had been disorderly both in his own Country and at *Bethlehem*. These Three last are written from the Solitude of *Bethlehem*. The year is uncertain.

The Seven and fortieth is an Historical Narrative of a Woman of *Vercelle*, who having been falsely accused of Adultery, and condemned to die, tho' she constantly denied the Fact, was tortured seven times, but could not be put to Death. The Style of this Letter is florid and childish, tho' S. Jerom writ it when he was well in years.

The Life of S. Paul the first Hermit, is one of S. Jerom's first Works. This man at Fifteen years of Age withdrew himself into the Deserts of *Thebais*, when *Valerian* and *Decius* persecuted the Church, fearing his want of strength to resist the Temptation. He spent there the rest of his Life, which lasted 113 years. S. Jerom gives an account of the manner of his being visited by S. Anthony, and describes several Circumstances of that History that are very hard to be believed.

The Life of S. Hilarius is full of Miracles of that Holy Anchorite S. Anthony's Disciple. S. Jerom places it in his Catalogue, amongst those Books which he wrote after his Return from *Rome* to *Bethlehem*. Likewise he makes mention there of the History of a Monk in the Desert of *Chalcis* called *Malchus*, who having quitted the Monastery to return into his Country, was taken and carried away Captive by the *Saracens*.

This Volume endeth with his Book of the Famous men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, written in Latin by S. Jerom, and translated into Greek, as it is supposed, by *Sophronius* (n). He did it at the request of *Flavins Dexter*, *Præfæctus Prætorio*, in imitation of *Suetonius*, and other profane Authors, who write the Lives of Philosophers, and other Famous men. He confesses that *Eusebius* his Books did him much Service: He intreats the Authors of his own time, whom he doth not mention, not to take it ill; he declares that he did not intend to conceal their Works, but that they had never come to his hands; but however, if their Writings make them Famous, his silence will not long prejudice them. Lastly, he observes that this Treatise confounds *Celsus*, *Porphyrus*, *Julian*, and the other sworn Enemies of the Church, who reproached it as having no Philo-

(n) By *Sophronius*.] *Erasmus* published this Version under *Sophronius*'s Name upon the credit of a Manuscript. None doubted at first, but that it was his. Mr. *Vossius* the Father owned it, but M. *Jaac Vossius* his Son, contradicted that Opinion in his Notes upon S. *Ignatius*'s Epistles: where he boldly affirms, that this Version is not *Sophronius*'s: that it is very bad, that he that made it did not understand Greek; that it is visible that it was written by an Impostor: *Eusebius* in his Book *De optimis grecis interpretibus*, relates *Vossius*, and doth not doubt but that Translation was made by *Sophronius*.

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phers, no Orators, or learned Men; by proving to them that it was established, upheld and adorned by very great Men. This Book comprehends the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors, and Writers, from Jesus Christ to S. Jerom's time. It concludes with a Catalogue of the Works which this Father had composed to the Fourth year of the Emperor Theodosius, which is the Year 392, of Jesus Christ.

The Second Tomb, which is in the same Volume contains the Letters, or rather the Discourses of Dispute and Controversie.

The First is his Treatise against *Helvidius*, of the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. That man had written a Book wherein he pretended to shew by Testimonies of the New Testament, and the Opinions of some ancient Fathers, that after the Birth of Christ the Virgin Mary had Children, by Joseph her Husband. The first passage of Scripture which *Helvidius* cites for his Opinion is that of S. Matthew, ch. 1. *The Virgin being espoused was found with Child, before Joseph and she came together: Helvidius* concluded from this place, that therefore they came together afterwards. S. Jerom answers him, That this Consequence doth not follow, because that a thing is often said to have been done before another, which other is never to be done: and that when it is said such a one died before Penance, it doth not follow, that he, of whom this is spoken, does Penance in the other World; so likewise from what S. Matthew saith, That he was found with Child before Joseph knew her, it doth not follow, that he knew her after she was with Child. The Second passage quoted by *Helvidius* is another of the same Evangelist, Joseph knew not his wife till she had brought forth her Son; *Helvidius* concludes from this passage as from the former, therefore he knew her after she was delivered. He maintained that the word until always signified in Scripture a fixed time, after which the thing would come to pass. S. Jerom shews him, that tho' this is often true, yet there are several passages where it signifies an unlimited time, as it is said of God, *I am, till you are grown old, or until that*, which can never describe the Term, or the end of God's existence, seeing he is for ever. And when Jesus Christ saith in the Gospel, *I am with you to the end of the World*; it were ridiculous to conclude, Wherefore he will be no more after the World's end.

Helvidius's Third Objection is grounded on the Title of *First Born* given to Jesus Christ, Luk. ch. 2. S. Jerom affirms, that it doth not suppose that he had younger Brethren, for in the Language of the Scripture, every Child of the first lying in of a Woman is called First-born, these words being synonymous, *Adapertus utero* and *Primogenitum*, as appears, Numb. 18. Exod. 13. Levit. 12. Luk. 2.

The last Objection is taken from what is said in Scripture that Jesus Christ had Brethren; now among his Brethren, said *Helvidius*, are reckoned S. James, and *Joses* Son of Mary: as it is said, Matt. 27. Mark 15. Luk. 24. That Mary the Mother of James and *Joses* was present at the Passion, and at the Burial of Jesus Christ, but this Mary, said he, is the Mother of the Lord; for it is not likely, that she should forsake him upon that occasion. S. Jerom answers, that it is very certain by S. John's Testimony, that Mary the Mother of God was near the Cross of Jesus Christ at his Passion, since he recommends her to that Evangelist; but that Mary the Mother of James, and *Joses* is different from the Mother of the Lord, seeing that of the two Apostles called James, one was Son of Zebedee, and the other of Alphaeus. But it cannot be said that the Lord's Mother was married to either of these two Persons. He maintains then, that Mary the Mother of James and *Joses* was the Wife of Alphaeus, and Sister to the Mother of our Lord, and is also called Mary Cleopie. The Conjecture not being very certain, S. Jerom gives this general Answer, That the word Brother is equivocal, and is taken Four ways, a Brother by Nature, by Nation, by Relation, and by Affection; but sticks to the Brother-hood by Blood, shewing by several places of Scripture, that Cousins, and near Kindred are called Brethren.

Having thus with much Wit and Learning, refuted the false Consequences that *Helvidius* drew from those passages of the New Testament: S. Jerom opposes to *Tertullian*, and *Victorinus* whom *Helvidius* had quoted, the Authority of S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp, S. Irenaeus, S. Justin, and other ancient Apostolical Authors, who had written against the Heretics *Ebion*, *Theodorus* of *Byzantium*, and *Valentinus*, whom S. Jerom pretends to have been of *Helvidius's* Opinion. But the Error of those Heretics was far more intenable, and we do not read that the Fathers quoted by S. Jerom, did precisely refute *Helvidius's* Error. However S. Jerom rejects *Tertullian's* Authority, by saying, That he was not of the Church; and as for *Victorinus Patavinensis*, he saith, That his Testimony hath no greater difficulty than that of the Scripture, since he speaks of Christ's Brethren, but does not say that they were the Sons of Mary. In the latter part of this Discourse, he speaks like an Orator of the inconveniences of Marriage, and the Advantages of Virginity. This Treatise was composed at Rome, about the Year 383.

In his Treatise against *Jovinian*, he further defends the Excellency of Virginity. This *Jovinian* had asserted in a small Discourse published at Rome, That Widows and married Women were not to be less regarded than Virgins, if they have the same Vertues; This was the first Error of this man. The Second was, That a Christian baptized could not fall from Righteousness. The Third, That Abstinence from certain Meats was unprofitable: The last, That the glorified Saints are all equally Happy. S. Jerom refutes the first of these Errors in the first Book. He explains at first S. Paul's Notions concerning Marriage and Virginity; afterwards he takes notice of the Examples of the Old and New Testament, which *Jovinian* had brought to prove, that the

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greatest Saints and most excellent men of all Ages had been Married. S. Jerom shews that he has multiplied those Examples too much: He affirms that the Apostles left their Wives, after their Call to the Apostleship, and that S. John being called before he was Married, always lived in Celibacy: He answers those places of Scripture alleged by *Jovinian*, and discourses of the Celibacy of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. He condemns second Marriages with much severity, and produces several Examples of Heathen Women that either kept their Virginity, or continued in Widow-hood.

In the second Book he refutes *Jovinian's* other errors. He shews against the second, that the holiest of Men may fall from Baptismal Grace. Against the third, that tho' God is the Creator of all things fit for Man's use, yet it is good to fast, and use abstinence, and that it is very dangerous to indulge one's Senses, and satisfy greediness. Lastly, that as there are various degrees of Vice, and Virtue here in this life, so there are likewise in the other several degrees of felicity and pain. These Books were not completed by S. Jerom when he writ his book of *famous men* tho' he mentions these two books there: and so they are of the year 392.

These Books being published at Rome, several persons found fault with the hard terms which S. Jerom made use of in speaking of Marriage. *Pammachius* having sent word of it to S. Jerom hinting withal at the principal Passages excepted against. This Father expounds them in the apology directed to him, declaring that it was never his intention to condemn Matrimony.

He found himself obliged a second time to defend himself from the same accusation against a Monk; and this he does in the Letter intitled the fifty fifth to *Dominian*.

The fifty second Letter to *Pammachius* was joined to the apology directed to him. He thanks him for securing the Copies of his Books against *Jovinian*; but he tells him that it was impossible to suppress them: that he had not the good fortune to be able always to correct his own Works, as some had; because he had no sooner composed them, but they were made publick even against his Will. He insults over those that found fault, challenging them to write against him. He advieth him to read the Commentaries of *Dionysius*, *Rhetorius*, *Eusebius*, *Apollinaris*, and *Didymus*, who expounded that passage of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and spoke in the behalf of Virginity more powerfully than himself. He sends him Word, that he had Translated out of the Hebrew, the Books of the Prophets, of *Job*, and that he had written Commentaries upon the twelve Minor Prophets, and upon the Book of Kings. He observes that if his Translation of *Job* be compared with the Greek, and the old Latin Version, there will be found such a difference as is betwixt truth and falsehood.

The fifty third Letter is directed to *Riparius* a Presbyter in Spain, who desired to know his opinion of a Book of *Vigilantius* a Presbyter of *Barcelona*; who condemned the Veneration of Relicks, and the Worship of Saints. S. Jerom exclaims against that error, and prayeth *Riparius* to send him his Book that he might refute it at large, and this he does with great earnestness in the Treatise that followeth this Letter, written two years after, as he himself affirms. He taxeth *Vigilantius*, with reviving *Jovinian's* errors, and wonders that any Bishops should be of his mind. If, saith he, the name of Bishops may be given to such as will Ordain no Deacons, except they are Married: what will the Churches of the East, those of Egypt, and even of the See of Rome, which do not admit into the Clergy any but such as are unmarried, or who, being married professe to live as if they were not?

Having made this occasional remark concerning the celibacy of Clerks, he particularly undertakes *Vigilantius's* error about Relicks and the Invocation of Saints. This Man maintained that the Bones of the dead were not to be honoured, and that the Saints could not hear our Prayers. S. Jerom puts himself into a great heat to prove the contrary, and falls upon *Vigilantius* with a great deal of reproachful Language. In that Treatise he likewise defends the Festivals of Saints, the Solemnities practised upon their Eves, Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, the Monastic State, and the use of lighted Torches only in the Night; for he owns, that in his time they lighted none in the Day. We, saith he, do not light Torches in the day time, as you accuse us, but only in the Night, that their Light may afford joy and comfort in the Obscurity of the Night. This Treatise was written long after the Book of *famous Men*, about the year 406.

The fifty fourth Letter to *Marcella*, is against the errors of the Disciples of *Montanus*. He not only lays them open, but accuteth them, 1. Of owning but one person in God. 2. Of condemning second Marriages, as adulterous. 3. Of holding the obligation to keep three Lents. 4. That they did not acknowledge Bishops to be the Apostle's Successors, and the first of the Hierarchical Order, but that there were two degrees of Persons above them. 5. That they were very rigid in imposing of Penances, and never granted Absolution. 6. That they believed the prophecies of *Montanus*, *Prisca*, and *Maximilla*. Lastly he says that they were accused of celebrating Criminal Mysteries with the Blood of a Martyred Child; but declares that he had rather believe that this was not true. This Letter is written about the year 400.

In the fifty fifth Letter to *Riparius*, he says that *Rufinus*, whom he calls his *Catiline*, had been expelled out of *Palestine*.

In the fifty sixth he commends *Apronius* for opposing the errors of the *Origenistes*, and invites him to come to *Jerusalem*, Both these Letters are written under the Pontificate of *Anastasi*, about the year 400.

S. Jerom.

The two following Letters are written to Pope Damafus, out of the Deserts of Syria. S. Jerom asks his advice, what he should do about the disputes then in the East. I am, faith he, tyed to your Holiness's Communion, that is to S. Peter's Chair; I know that the Church is founded upon that Rock, Whosoever catch the Lamb out of that House, is a prophane Man. Whosoever is not found in that House shall Perish by the Flood. But forasmuch as being retired into the Desert of Syria, I cannot receive the Sacrament at your hands, I follow your Colleagues the Bishops of Egypt: I do not know Vitalis; I do not communicate with Meletius; Paulinus is a stranger to me. He that gathereth not with us, scattereth. He gives an account afterwards of the occasion of those Divisions. After the decision of the Council of Nice, after the Decree of the Council of Alexandria, enacted with the consent of both the Eastern and Western Bishops, they yet ask of me that am a Roman a new Confession of Faith, to acknowledge three Hypostases. It is an Arian Bishop, and the Montanists who require that of me. . . . We ask what signifies this Word Hypostasis, they say, that it signifies a subsisting person; we answer that: if it be so, we are of that opinion; They are not satisfied with our professing that Sense, but they require further that we own these Terms. There must be some Person hid under these words. We say openly, if any one owns not three subsisting Persons, let him be Anathema; but because we do not use the Terms which they require we are accused of being Hereticks. . . . Order me if you please what I should do, I will not be afraid to say, that there are three Hypostases, if you command me so to do. Yet he is afterwards of opinion, that this way of speaking is not to be approved of, because the Term Hypostasis is for the most part equivalent to that of Substance.

The fifty eighth Letter to Damafus is much upon the same Subject, and he asks his advice with whom he ought to communicate, Meletius, Paulinus, or Vitalis. These Letters are

The following Treatise is a Dialogue betwixt an Orthodox Christian and a Disciple of Lucifer Calaritanus. This Man defends the Conduct and Opinions of those of his Sect, maintaining, that those are not to be owned as Bishops that Communicated with the Arian Bishops, and that such as were Baptized by Hereticks ought to be Baptized again. The Orthodox Christian affirms the contrary. S. Jerom introduces the Orthodox Christian relating the History of the Council of Ariminum, and the dissensions that troubled the Church, and shewing that it was a reasonable thing to Pardon those Bishops that had been surprized. There is in that Treatise a curious passage about Tradition, which he proves by the custom of imposing of Hands, and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, after the administration of Baptism. He adds, That many other things are observed in the Church upon the account of Tradition without being authorized by a written Law; as, faith he, the dipping of the Head three times in Water at Baptism, the giving Milk, and Honey to the Baptized: not bowing the Knee upon Sundays, nor all the time betwixt Easter and Whitsontide. The Luciferian advances this Proposition; and the Orthodox Christian agrees to it, confessing that the Bishop alone lays his Hands upon the Baptized, to cause the Holy Ghost to come down upon them: that he only confers the Sacrament of Confirmation. But he says that this Custom was introduced rather for the honour of the Priesthood, than through any necessity; That however the Holy Ghost defends upon them that are Baptized tho' they receive not the imposition of hands from the Bishop. This Treatise was written at Rome about the year 384.

The 59th. Letter to Avitus, contains any numeration of those errors which S. Jerom had found in the Books of Origen's Principles, Translated by Rufinus; which Pamphilus had sent him ten years since: which shows that it was written about the year 407.

The 60th. is a Translation of S. Epiphanius's Letter to J. of Jerusalem, concerning the Ordination of Paulinians, whom S. Epiphanius had ordained Deacon and Priest, in a Monastery of S. Jerom's, which John of Jerusalem pretended to be under his jurisdiction. This Letter is very cunningly written. He complains of the anger which John of Jerusalem had shewed for that ordination, representing to him that such behaviour was contrary to the Spirit of the Church; and that instead of being angry that he had ordained a Priest in a Monastery of strange Monks that were not of his Diocese, he ought to show much satisfaction, because there ought to be no Dissention among Priests, when no other thing is aimed at but the good of the Church. "That though all Bishops have every one their Church committed to their Charge, and whereof they ought to take Care, and that no Man is to Inroach upon another's Jurisdiction, yet Christian Charity which hath no Bounds is to be preferred in all things; and that the Action is not to be considered in its self, but respect ought to be had to the Circumstances of Time, Place, Persons, and Occasions. He urges afterwards such things as might excuse his Ordination by saying, that there being but two Priests in their Monastery, Jerom and Vincentius, who would not perform any Function, of their Ministry, he thought it his Duty to give them a Priest; and having met with Paulinians, who so declined the Priesthood, that John could not seize upon him to put him into Orders, he caused him to be taken by Force and Ordain'd a Deacon: and that afterwards he Ordained him Priest, against his Will, when he waited at the Altar, and that however the Ordination was performed in a Monastery and not in a Parish of his Diocese. He adds that the Bishops of Cyprus, were much more simple, and careless in the Sense of John of Jerusalem; for they were so far from finding Fault, that their Fellow-Bishops Ordained out of their Diocesses, those Persons that declined the Priesthood; That on the contrary they Exhorted them to do it. He speaketh next against Origen's Errors, and desireth John of Jerusalem to Condemn them. He redhuceth them to Eight principal Heads, which are these. 1. That the Son of God does not see his Father; and that the

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Holy Ghost doth not see the Son. 2. That Men's Souls were sent from Heaven to the Earth for their Sins, and shut up in Bodies as in so many Prisons. 3. That the Devils shall repent one day of their Faults, and shall reign with the Saints in Heaven. 4. That Adam and Eve had no Flesh before they committed sin: and that the Slins wherewith they are laid to have been covered, signifye their Bodies. 5. That man shall not rise again with Flesh and Bones. 6. That the earthly Paradise is to be understood Allegorically. 7. That the Waters, which the Scripture speaks of above the Firmament, are the Angels, and that those which are said to have been under the Earth are the Devils. 8. That by sin Man lost the Image of God. The latter part of this Letter is concerning a Veil wherewith was painted the Image of a Man, which S. Epiphanius had found in a Country Church near Jerusalem, and had caused it to be torn in Pieces, because he condemned that Practice as contrary to the Custom of those times. We have shewed in another place, that this Letter was truly written by S. Epiphanius in 392, and translated by S. Jerom in 393.

John of Jerusalem seeing himself thus accused by S. Epiphanius, made an Apology, which he sent to Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, and caused it to be published every where, and chiefly in the West. Pamphilus having seen it at Rome, wrote to S. Jerom, to let him know that Men were divided about that matter, and desired him to write to him about it. S. Jerom did not defer to put Pen to Paper, and directed to him in 393. the Sixty first Letter, wherein he observes, that S. Epiphanius having by his Letter, laid Eight Articles of Origen's Errors to John of Jerusalem's Charge, he had justified himself but from three, without so much as mentioning the other Five. Those three Articles are about the knowledge of the Son of God, the Pre-existency of Souls, and the quality of Bodies after the Resurrection. As to the first head John of Jerusalem had cleared himself, by declaring that he was no Arian; but S. Jerom pretends that he had not justified Origen. He had explained his Opinion very obscurely upon the Second and the third. S. Jerom relates Origen's Opinion upon those three Articles, and refutes them with much Earnestness. Then he enlarges upon the Quarrel betwixt S. Epiphanius and John of Jerusalem: He complains, that the latter had addressed himself to Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, and that he had laid in the beginning of his Apology, that he was charged with the care of all the Churches. "You, faith he, directing his Discourse to John of Jerusalem, who make your boast of following the Rules of the Church, and observe the Canons of the Council of Nice, and go about to appropriate to your self the Clergy that depend upon other Bishops, tell me I pray, is Palestine under the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of Alexandria? If I mistake not, it was decided in the Council of Nice, that Caesarea was the Metropolis of Palestine, and Antioch of all the East. You ought therefore either to send to the Bishop of Caesarea with whom you knew, we Communicated; or if a Judge was to be sought for further off, you might have sent your Letters to Antioch. But I guess what it was that kept you from sending to Caesarea, or Antioch, I perceive what you were afraid of, and were willing to avoid: You chose rather to apply your self to a pre-engaged Person, than to yield your Metropolitan that defence which you owe him. After that he accuseth Isidore, whom Theophilus had sent to the place to inform himself of the state of things, of being corrupted by John of Jerusalem, of following his Passion, and declaring absolutely for him; of being concerned in Composing the Apology, and then undertaking to carry it himself. "So that," faith he, He that dictated the Letter was he that carried it. At last S. Jerom says, That the Original of that Quarrel was not Paulinians's Ordination, but the accusing of Origen's Errors. And this he sets forth speaking against John of Jerusalem with all possible Vehemency: By this Letter it appears, that both S. Jerom, and the other Monks of Palestine had great Differences with him.

But lest Theophilus perswaded by John of Jerusalem's Letter, should come to espouse his Interest, S. Jerom directs the Sixty second Letter to him, in defence of his own Cause. This Bishop had sent him a Letter by Isidore, whereby he exhorted him to Peace. S. Jerom declares in his Answer, That he was desirous of nothing more; but that such as could alone procure it, were contented only to make a show of being for it. I had the Peace which he would have, was a true Peace, the Peace of Jesus Christ, a Peace without Enmity, a Peace without War. That there could be no Peace, when one would usurp Dominion and Empire, when he Excommunicated true Catholics, when Men were forced to communicate with an Heretic, and to receive the Body of Jesus Christ at his hands, and when violence was used. These things he Charges upon John of Jerusalem, and complains of the injurious Treatment wherewith he uses him in his Letter. And as for that which John of Jerusalem upbraided him withal, that he had formerly translated Origen's Books, which this Author so much condemns; Now he answers, That he was not the only Man that did it: that before him S. Hilary the Confessor had done it: but that imitating him he had expunged what was dangerous in those Writings, and translated what was good and useful; and however he had always commended Origen for his Ability in expounding the Scriptures, yet he had always condemned him for his Errors. That he owned there was a difference betwixt the Apostles Writing, and those of other Ecclesiastical Writers, since the former wrote nothing but what was true, whereas the latter were sometimes deceived. Afterwards he justifieth the Ordination of his Brother Paulinians, saying, That S. Epiphanius did not ordain him in the Diocese of John of Jerusalem, since the Monastery where that Ordination was performed, belonged to the Diocese of Eleutheropolis, and not to that of Jerusalem: That he had done very ill

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S. Jerom.

in asserting that S. Epiphanius had ordained a Child, since Paulinianus was then Thirty years old: That John himself was not older when he was ordained Bishop.

S. Jerome having thus pleaded for himself, doth in his turn likewise accuse John of Jerusalem. He says, That this Bishop was the Author of all this trouble, and a Remover of the Division: that pretending to be for Peace, he prosecuted a cruel War: That he requested, and obtained his Banishment. Here he cries out in this manner: *The Church of Christ, faith he, was established by Sufferings, and Shedding of Blood. Persecutions have increased it, and by Martyrdom it came to be Crowned. If our Enemies were not of this Disposition, if they had rather persecute than be persecuted; In this Country there are Jews and Hereticks of all sorts, and particularly infamous Manichees, who hinder them from falling upon these; Their spleen is against us, we are the only Persons whom they intend to drive away. . . . One Monk I speak of with grief, One Monk who boasts of being the Bishop of an Apostolick See, threatens another Monk, desires he should be banished, and accordingly 'tis done; but God be praised, adds he, Monks are not fired with Persecutions, they wait for the Blow without Trouble, and without offering to defend themselves. For every Monk being out of his own Country is as if out of the World. What need is there of the Prince's Authority, or of written Orders? Let them give you the least Summons, and we will depart immediately, knowing what we are, and being persuaded that the Earth is the Lord's, and that Jesus Christ is not shut up in any place. He tells us of going to Rome to communicate with that Church, from which we seem to be separated; but that we need not do, we are as much in Communion with the Church of Rome in Palestine as if we were at Rome, we communicate with its Priests which are in the Town of Bethlehem. At last S. Jerom professes that he is ready to be reconciled to John of Jerusalem, provided he would put on a charitable Spirit, and prove the same towards him as he had been before. We know, faith he, what we owe to the Bishops of Jesus Christ; but let them be contented with Honour and Respect, and know that they are Fathers and not Masters; and particularly with relation to those who desisting Ambition, prefer rest and quietness before all other things.*

After S. Jerom's 63d. Letter follows Rufinus's Preface to his Translation of Origen's Principles. He faith in that Preface, That several persons desirous of learning the Holy Scriptures having that Origen might be made to speak Latin: That his Colleague and Brother, S. Jerom, having translated two Homilies of this Author upon the Book of Canticles, had so much exalted him in his Preface, that Men were very desirous to see his Works: That he had given this advantageous testimony of him, That he exceeded all others in his Commentaries, but had surmounted himself in his Homilies upon the Book of Canticles: That this same S. Jerom had promised to translate the other Works of this Author, but he thought it afterwards more glorious to write himself and to be on Author rather than an interpreter. We therefore prosecute and compleat a thing which he has both approved and begun, but we cannot render Origen's Words with the same Eloquence. And he adds, That this very thing had kept him from undertaking that Translation; but at last he yielded to Macarius's earnest Intreaties; however that in this Version he had followed the Rule of those who had translated that Author before him; and that he had imitated S. Jerom, by cutting off those things which seemed disagreeable to the Doctrine of the Church; and so much the rather, because in Origen's Works there were Notions quite contrary: That the Reason of that seeming Contradiction might be found in the Apology that Pamphilus had written for Origen, and which himself had translated; and that he pretended to shew, by undeniable Proofs, that Origen's Works had been corrupted in several places by Hereticks or Men of ill designs; and that for this very Reason he had either omitted or altered in the Translation of that Treatise, those Articles wherein he seemed to speak otherwise than he did in his other Books. This Preface was written in 397. when Rufinus published his Version of the Books of Origen's Principles at Rome.

It was no sooner published, but Oceanus and Pammachius sent it to S. Jerom, observing that they had found still some Errors there, notwithstanding that great part was expunged: intreating him, that to secure them in the Truth, he would make a Faithful Translation of that Work. The Note which they writ to him about that Business is the sixty fourth Letter.

S. Jerom thinking himself indirectly affronted by Rufinus's Preface, intimating that he had formerly commended Origen, which might insinuate that he then approved his Errors, and approved them still, fell instantly to writing, to let the World know in what Sense he had commended Origen: He owns that he did it in two places of his Works, namely, in the Prologue of his Translation of the Homilies upon the Canticles, dedicated to Damasus, and in the Preface to his Treatise of Hebrew Names. But he affirms, that in both these places, he had not spoken either of his Doctrine or of his Opinions. I have commended him, faith he, as an able Interpreter, and not as a man whose Dogm's ought to be followed; I have admired his Parts without approving his Doctrine, I have valued his Philosophy, and not his Preaching. He adds, That if any man would know what his Opinion has always been concerning Origen's Books, let him but read his Commentaries upon Ecclesiastes, and his three Volumes upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, whereby it will appear that he hath constantly contradicted Origen's Opinions. Huetius is not perfectly satisfied with this Excuse of S. Jerom: He says that it doth not appear by the Commentaries which he citeth, that he hath contradicted Origen's Notions, tho' he hath filled them with that Author's Dogm's without quoting him. If he believed them false, says he, ought he not to have censured them? Why did he not think it an Honour to Copy them, as he affirms in the Preface to the second Book of his Commentary

Commentary upon the Prophet Micah? Why hath he asserted in his Preface to the Book of Hebrew Names, That none but an ignorant man could deny that Origen was one of the Masters of the S. Jerom Church, after the Apostles. These Reasons made Huetius say, That Rufinus was in the right in accusing S. Jerom of being an Origenist; and upbraiding him in his first Inveective, that the Name of a Master of the Church cannot be given to an Heretic; that S. Jerom's Excuse is pitiful; that Rufinus thoroughly proves that he commended Origen's Doctrine; and that at last this Father is obliged to confess that his Opinions were altered as to Origen: That Sulpicius Severus had a great deal of Reason to find fault, that S. Jerom having at first followed a Origen, did of a sudden condemn all his Works: That S. Augustin did justly accuse him of Inconstancy and Lightness; and that Pope Pelagius the II. is not to be blamed for putting him amongst Origen's Disciples. That, in a word, tho' this Holy Doctor acted the part of a good Catholic in abjuring Origen's Errors after he had owned them; yet it were to be wished he had been more constant and moderate, and that he had not so much indulged the Actions of his inflamed Choler, so as to be carried away unto contrary Notions, according to the different Circumstances of Time, and outrageous railing against the greatest Men of his Age. For this must be acknowledged, that Rufinus reproved him often with Reason, and that he often blamed Rufinus without Ground. This is the Judgment which the Learned Huetius, now nominated to the Bishoprick of Sens, doth with much Reason and Justice make of the Parts and Conduct of S. Jerom. I willingly subscribe to it, and do not doubt but that as many as have ever read this Father, will be of the same Mind.

be approved or disapproved upon S. Jerom's Word. In his management of his Quarrel he is deserted by the Papists, because they condemn the Errors of Origen as well as he, and therefore they cannot with any Decency excuse his Carriage towards Rufinus; but in his Controversies with Joannian and Vigilantius, concerning Virginity, and Invocation of Saints, he is applauded by them; only the wiser men amongst them are a little out of Countenance at his Heat: It is a Misfortune that Joannian's and Vigilantius's Books are lost; and there is Reason to believe from those other Disputes wherein S. Jerom was engaged, that if we knew what they said for themselves, instead of thinking them Hereticks, we should esteem them illustrious Defenders of the Christian Religion against that Superstition which an immoderate Zeal for a Monastical Life, did at that time introduce into the Church. Joannian indeed is accused of maintaining, That a Christian who is baptized cannot fall away from Grace, which is a very great Error; but it had no relation to his other Opinions, and since Obstancy is necessary to make man a Heretic, it would be rashness to call Joannian a Heretic of whom we know nothing, but what we have from his Enemies.]

And now to return to our Subject: S. Jerom going on to justify himself of those things which they reproached him withal, namely, of commending Origen, sets forth some Examples of great Men that might be commended for their Learning, who did hold very remarkable Errors. S. Cyprian, faith he, took Tertullian for his Tutor, as appears by his Writings, and yet did not approve the Dreams of Montanus and Maximilla as he did. Apollinaris hath written very convincing Books against Porphyrius; and Eusebius writ a most useful History of the Church. The former erred concerning the Mytery of the Incarnation, and the latter defends the Opinions of Arius. He owns that he was Apollinaris's Disciple, Didymus's Scholar, yes, that he hath had a Jew for his Master; that he collected carefully all Origen's Works, and read them exactly; but affirms, that he never followed his Errors. Lastly, to make short, he faith, that if he may be believed, he never was an Origenist; and that tho' he had been, yet now he ceaseth to be so. Upon this Principle he exhorts others to imitate him, and to condemn his Errors; after that, he gives Origen high Commendations, rejecting his Opinions. He refutes what Rufinus had asserted, that the Errors which were found in Origen's Works had been added; and laughs at the Liberty which he had taken to expunge what he thought fit. Last of all, he affirms, that the first Book of the Apology for Origen, which bore the Name of Pamphilus, was not that Martyr's, but Didymus's, or at least some other Author's. This Letter is written near 150 years after Origen's Death, that is, in the year 399.

The Sixty sixth Letter to Rufinus, wherein he complains of his Preface, is written at the same time. He speaks to him as to a person with whom he would not quite fall out; he telleth him, that he knew not with what Spirit he writ that Preface, but that all the World saw how it was to be understood; that he might have been even with him, by commending him after the like malicious Manner, but that he chose rather to justify himself of the Crime laid to his Charge than offend his Friend; that he intreated him to cite him no more after the same manner; that he undertook to write to him about it as to his Friend, rather than to engage with him publicly. To let him know that he would do nothing that might check that sincere Reconciliation which he had made with him, he exhorts him on his part to do the same, least, faith he, that biting one another we do not mutually consume one another.

Rufinus, who was not of a Temper to lie still without replying, immediately put pen to Paper to write against S. Jerom. Paulinianus, who was then in the West, having found a Way to get the Extracts of Rufinus's Book before it was quite published, sent them to his Brother, who besides was informed by Pammachius and Marcellinus, of the principal Heads contained in Rufinus's Answer, and so he composed immediately his first Apology divided into two Books.

In the first he answers Rufinus's Calumnies. The first was, that he had translated into Latin the Books of Origen's Principles without altering.

S. Jerom. S. Jerom answers that he did it, to show the falsity of Rufinus his Translation, and to shew *Origen's* Errors, and so his Translation could hurt no body, since it appeared that it was made only to condemn the Errors of that Book.

To justify *Origen's* Doctrine about the Trinity, Rufinus had quoted the First Book of *Pamphilus's* Apology. S. Jerom affirms, that it was not composed by that Martyr.

Rufinus laid before him the Præfates which he had given to *Origen*. He answers as he did before, that he had commended his Learning but not his Doctrine, as he had commended *Eusebius* and *Apollinaris* without approving their Errors.

Rufinus charged him with publishing Errors, and Contradictions in his Commentaries. He says that he did it without approving of them; that he has collected in his Commentaries the Notions and Words of others, observing that some understood those passages in one Sense, and others in another, that so the prudent Reader may chuse what is truth, and reject what is false; and that in this Case none can Tax him with Errors, and Contradictions, who barely relates the Notions, and different Expositions of others. This he proves by the Example of the ablest Commentators of profane Authors.

Rufinus had found fault, that he had variously translated the Twelfth Verse of the second Psalm, where the vulgar Translation saith, *Embrace the Discipline*, by rendering it according to the Hebrew, sometimes *worship the Son*, sometimes *worship ye only*. S. Jerom tells him, That he had kept to the Sense rather than to the Letter, translating the Hebrew word *Nafhech*, which signifies, *Kiss* or *Embrace*, by this term *Worship ye*; That as to the other word *Bar*, which hath several Significations, (for it signifies the *Son*, or a *handful of pickt Ears of Corn*.) he had followed the former Signification in his Commentary, and that in his Version, to prevent the Jews accusing *Christians* of falsifying the Holy Scripture, he adher'd to the latter Signification, which both *Aquila* and *Symmachus* followed.

Rufinus found fault likewise with several passages in S. Jerom's Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in which he had abridged the Commentaries of *Origen*. S. Jerom defends himself, by saying that he produced *Origen's* Opinions without approving of them, since he observes at the same time, that those Expositions were not his own.

Lastly Rufinus upbraided S. Jerom, that he was naturally given to Calumniating, and speaking evil of every Body: That he reproved other Mens works out of Envy: Yea, he laid Perjury to his Charge; because having protested before the Judgment Seat of Christ (as he says in his Book of the *Instruction of Virgins*.) that he would read no more the Books of profane Authors, yet it did appear, that he had not left off reading of them. S. Jerom justifieth himself from the former Accusations; but as to the last he thinks it an Honour to follow the Study of learned Books, and declares, that whatsoever he hath said in the Treatise concerning the *Instruction of Virgins*, was only the Description of a Dream.

Towards the latter end of this Letter, he asserts that what he had said in the Eighty third Epistle to *Oecumenus*, That Baptism remits all Sins, that it blots out even the very spot of *Begamy*: So that a Man might be ordained after a second Marriage, if the former was before Baptism. This Definition is contrary to that of Pope *Innocent I*.

S. Jerom having thus pleaded for himself against Rufinus's accusations, answers the Apology which he had made to satisfy Pope *Anastasius* who had Condemned him, and to justify himself of those things that they Reproached him withall. He made Profession of the Faith of the Church, and of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity at first. S. Jerom answers that this is not the Question, for now all Mankind was persuaded of that Principle concerning the Incarnation. S. Jerom asks him what he thought of the Soul of Christ, whether it was Created before or at the Moment of his Conception. He chargeth him that he did not speak plain enough about the Resurrection of the Body, and further he pretends that Rufinus did not sufficiently explain himself upon the Eternity of the Devil's punishment. Concerning the Origination of the Soul he had said that there were three different Opinions; Some held that one Soul begat another, as *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*. Others that God Created them after the Forming of the Body, and so they came in by Infusion; and lastly some imagined that they were made when God Created the World of nothing; that this was *Origen's* Opinion, and that of some other Greeks: For his part, he was at no certainty about it, but left it to God, and to those to whom it should please God to Reveal: But that he believed what the Church openly professed, that God was the Creator of Souls, and Bodies. S. Jerom torments himself much about the last Point, and tho' he doth not say that any of these three Opinions are decided, yet he envenometh much against Rufinus, because he would not Condemn *Origen's* Opinion. He endeavours afterwards to Refute the Reasons which he alleged to justify himself for Translating the Books of *Origen's* Principles: He finds fault that he should strike out some of the Errors and leave the rest. He answers those Conjectures which he brought to show that *Origen's* Books were Corrupted; and since he had asserted the same thing of the passages in the Works of the ancients, as in S. *Clement*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, and which did not seem to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity: He denies that that can be reasonably said, observing that if such Conjectures may take place, the greatest Hereticks should thereby be easily excused, as *Marcian*, *Manicheus*, *Arius*, *Eunomius*. But as Rufinus might have pressed upon S. Jerom by asking him, Why then were there any Errors in their Works, and whether he would call them Hereticks upon that Account? S. Jerom prevents

S. Jerom. prevents that Objection by saying, That perhaps they were in an Error, or the expressions they made use of had another Sense, or their Works might be Corrupted by Transcribers; or lastly, that Writing before the Arian Heresy appeared, they did not take the necessary Precautions against it. When S. Jerom made these remarks, he did not consider, that Rufinus might use them to defend *Origen*, as he did to excuse the Ancients: and perhaps this way of justifying him had been more Solid than that which he made use of by saying that those Errors had been added. This S. Jerom opposes with all his Might, and endeavours to show, that all the Examples of falsification of the Fathers Works alleged by Rufinus, have no Relation to those that are supposed to be in *Origen's* Books. In the rest of the Letter he justifies himself from that Calumny, that he blamed the Version of the *Septuagint*. He declares, that he was so far from Condemning it, that he had Corrected it himself, and spoke much in its Commendation. But he asserts that this Translation was not Composed by the LXX in distinct Cells, and he defends those that have recourse to the Hebrew Text.

Rufinus was much surprized to see an Answer to a Book that was not yet published, and he Writ immediately to S. Jerom about it, and sent him withall an intire Copy of his first Answer. This Father who was not wont to leave any thing unanswered that was against him, wrote immediately the third Book of his Apology, which contains nothing but Personal Quarrels, or Repetitions of what had been said before: which commonly proves the end of all disputes that continue long betwixt learned Men.

Pelagius having made his Errors publick. S. Jerom, who suffered no New Opinion in the church to pass unpunished, fell upon him Vigorously in his Letter to *Cresciphon*.

The first Maxim of *Pelagius*, which he opposes, is that of *Apaty*, that is, Freedom from Passions, which this Heretic thought Men could attain unto; and that having once got thus far, they might be without Sin.

The second is concerning the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, whereof *Pelagius* denied the Necessity, affirming that Mens Salvation depended upon the Power of their free Will: S. Jerom, as well as S. *Augustin* opposes this Error, by shewing the necessity of Prayer, and of good Works. If faith he, the Grace of *Jesus Christ* dependeth upon our Will, if we need only a free Will, and none other help is required, to what purpose should Prayer be made to God? Wherefore do we endeavour to move his Clemency, and call upon him for Succour, to obtain daily that which is in our own Power? We must therefore remove fasting also and Continence: For why should I Labour to get that by my Industry, which always depends on my self? He adds that this Consequence follows to Naturally upon this Heretic's Principles, that one of his own Party could not forbear reasoning after this manner in a Commentary, saying; That if there is need of Foreign help to do good, then Liberty is destroyed. "S. Jerom saith against this Error, That we have nothing but what is the Gift of God: That indeed it is Man's part to run and to will, but he hath need of God's assistance, to do it: That it is not enough, that God should once give us his Grace, he must give it Constantly: If we would obtain we must ask for it, and having obtained it, there is need of asking again: And yet this Grace does not destroy free-will, neither does it follow upon these Principles, that it is impossible to keep God's Commandments.

The Third Maxim of *Pelagius* refuted by S. Jerom in this Letter, is a Consequence of the former. He held, that Man could be perfect, and freed from Sin, without God's help. S. Jerom proves the contrary by several places of Scripture, which shew that Man cannot be delivered, but by the Grace of *Jesus Christ*. This Letter is of the Year 411.

He handleth the same Questions in the Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, where he introduces a *Pelagian*, under the Name of *Critobolus*, discovering and establishing his Errors; and a Catholic under the Name of *Aticus* confuting them particularly, by Testimonies of Holy Scripture. This Dialogue is divided into two Books, and was written some time after the Letter to *Cresciphon* about the Year 415.

The Sixty seventh Letter is a Translation of a Letter from *Theophilus* to S. *Epiphanius*, whereby he desires that Bishop of *Cyprus* to assemble a Synod in that Island, to Condemn *Origen*, as he had done in *Egypt*. This Letter is of the Year 399.

The Sixty eighth is a Letter of S. Jerom's to *Theophilus*, who had sent him Word, that he should be exact in the observation of the Canons. S. Jerom thanks him for his admonition, and exhorts him to use his Authority against the *Origenists*, since Patience and Meekness could not reclaim them from their Error. This Letter is of the Year 398.

The Sixty ninth is from *Theophilus* to S. Jerom, giving him notice how he had driven away the Monks of *Nitria* who were accused of *Origenism*. S. Jerom returns him Thanks for that Noble Action by the Seventieth Letter. And he commends him again in the Seventy first Letter for what he had done against *Origen*. And in the last Place *Theophilus* acquaints him by the Seventy second that he had cleaned the Monasteries of *Nitria* of *Origenism*.

The Seventy third is from S. *Epiphanius* to S. Jerom, giving him notice of the Judgment given by *Theophilus* against *Origen*: and he sends him the Letter written by that Bishop, and prays him to Publish what he had written in Latin upon that Matter.

The Seventy fourth is a Note to *Marcella*.

The Seventy fifth is against *Vigilantius*, who had accused him of *Origenism*, he uses the same Arguments for his defence, that he had done in his other Letters, and treats *Vigilantius* very ill. This Letter was written, about the Year 397.

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The Seventy sixth is of the same time. He repeats there what he had written in several places, that *Origen* deserves to be commended for his Learning, but that his Principles are not to be followed.

The Seventy seventh to *Mark* the Presbyter was written by *S. Jerom* from the Defart of *Syria*, about the time when the *Eastern Bishops* tormented him, to oblige him to own Three *Hypostases*, about the Year 373.

The Seventy eighth to *Pammachius* and *Marcella*, is about *Origen's* Condemnation. He gives them an Account of what *Theophilus* had decreed. He sends them a Copy of his Letter, and the Acts of his Judgment, and desires them to have it confirmed at *Rome*, by *Pope Anastasius*. This Letter is of 399.

The Seventy ninth is the last Letter of *S. Jerom's*, to *S. Augustin*. *S. Jerom* sent it by *Innocent* the Priest, who in the Year 419, was sent from *Africa* into *Egypt* to look after the Copies of the Council of *Nice*. It is not directed to *S. Augustin* alone, but to him and *Alipius*. He congratulates their overthrowing of *Heretic*, and tells them, That he had not had time yet to Answer what *Amianus*, *Pelagius's* Disciple had written against him, but he would do it very soon if God gave him Life: He speaketh of *Eusebius's* Death, who was alive when *Palladius* wrote his *Historia Lausiac*, in 419, which shews that this Letter was written in the Year 420.

The Eightieth Letter wherein he commends *S. Augustin* for the Resolution and Courage, where-with he had opposed *Pelagius's* Heresie, was written some years before. He exhorts him to go on, praising him in this manner, *You are commended in Rome; The Catholics look upon you as the restorer of the ancient Faith, and what is yet a more honourable thing for you is, That the Heretics hate you.*

The Eighty first is a Note written about the time of his falling out with *John of Jerusalem*, after the Condemnation of the *Origenists*, about the Year 404.

In the Eighty second Letter, *S. Jerom* Answers the Question about the Origination of Souls, proposed to him by *Marcellinus* Governour of *Africa*. He does not decide the Question, but faith, That he had delivered his Opinion in his Books against *Rufinus*, and advises him to consult *S. Augustin*, who would clear that Point to him: He adds, That he could not yet compleat the Commentary upon *Ezekiel*, because of the *Barbarians's* Incursions. This Letter is of the Year 410.

The Eighty third to *Oecumenus* concerneth a Point of Discipline, whether a Person twice married, but once before Baptism, is to be looked upon as a *Bigamist*, and so to be kept from sacred Orders: *S. Jerom* maintains the Negative with abundance of Wit.

In the Eighty fourth to *Magnus*, *S. Jerom* proveth by the Examples of *S. Paul*, and of the most famous Christian Authors, that a Christian Author, may, as he did, make use of prophane Examples, and prophane Authors. This Letter was composed about the Year 400. In this Letter there is a Catalogue of almost all the Christian Authors to *S. Jerom*.

The Eighty fifth is an Inveective against one who would have Deacons preferred before Priests. *S. Jerom* exalts the Priestly Dignity which seems too high, when he compares them with Bishops, "I am informed, faith he, that one was so impudent as to prefer Deacons before Priests: before Priests, I say, who may be compared with Bishops; For when *S. Paul* plainly teaches that Priests are Bishops, who can endure that those who serve Tables and Widows, should by Pride exalt themselves above those, who by their Prayers consecrate the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ? Then he produces passages out of the Apostolical Epistles, where they give to meer Priests the Name of Bishops, and adds, "That it was to prevent Schism, that in Process of time, one was chosen to be preferred before others, least every one presuming to ascribe to himself the Pre-eminence, the Church of Jesus Christ should be perpetually divided. For, faith he, in the See of Alexandria, from *S. Mark* the Evangelist to the time of *Heracles* and *Dionysius*, the Priests chose one of them, whom they placed in a Seat higher than the rest, and called him Bishop, much after the same manner, as an Army chooses an Emperor, or as Deacons chose one of themselves to make him Archdeacon: And indeed, what doth a Bishop do, that is not done by a Priest, if you except Ordination? We are not to believe, that the Church is otherwise at *Rome*, than in other Cities, of the world. Gauls, Britains, Africans, Persians, Indians, and all other Nations worship the same God, and have the same rule of Faith. If Authority be required, the World is bigger than a City. Let a Bishop be the Bishop of what Town you please, he is neither more or less a Bishop; whether of *Rome*, or *Eugubium*, whether of *Constantinople* or of *Rhégium*, *Alexandria* or *Tunis*, it is still the same Dignity, and the same Function. Power and Riches do not make a Bishop greater, Poverty and want of Credit do not render his Station more vile. All Bishops are Successors of the Apostles. But, you will say, how cometh it to pass, that at *Rome* a Priest is not ordained, except a Deacon gives him his Testimonial? Why is the Custom of one only Town objected to me? Why is the small number of Deacons so exalted, as if that were the Law of the Church? All that is rare is most esteemed. The small number hath made Deacons valued, and the great number hath rendered Priests contemptible. However, Deacons stand before the Priests, even when the Priests are late down, and this is observed even in the Church of *Rome*: Tho' I have seen a Deacon sitting in the same rank with Priests, in the absence of the Bishop, and give the Blessing in the Presence of the Bishop, such is now the Corruption of Manners! But let such as undertake these things know, that they are against Order; Let them hear these words

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words of the Apostle. It is not just that we should leave the word of God, to serve Tables; let them learn wherefore Deacons were established, let them read the Acts of the Apostles, and remember their condition. The Name of Priest or Presbyter denotes Age, and that of Bishop, Dignity; wherefore in the Epistle to Timothy, mention is made of the Ordination of Bishops and Deacons, but not of that of Priests, because Priests are comprised under the Name of Bishops. Lastly, to shew that a Priest is above a Deacon, one needs only observe, that a Priest is made of a Deacon, but not a Deacon of a Priest.

This Letter was written after his going from *Rome*, the Year is not known, but it was in all probability about the Year 387. What the faith of Bishops, may have a good Sense, if we consider his design in this place, which was to exalt the Dignity of the Priesthood, by comparing them with Bishops, not that he thought them equal in Dignity, since he positively excepteth the Power of Ordination, (and that of Confirmation in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*;) but since Priests have a share in the Government of the Church, they may in that Sense be called Bishops. Like Expressions may be seen in *S. Jerom's* Commentary upon the Epistle to Titus, and in many Authors that have followed him.

The Eighty sixth is a Letter from *S. Augustin*, to *S. Jerom*, whereby he thanks him for the Answer to his, and treats him in the Name of the whole *African* Church, to translate the Greek Authors that had writ Commentaries upon the Scripture. He says, That he was very desirous that *S. Jerom* would translate the Sacred Books after the same way, that he had translated Job, by setting down the differences of the Version of the LXX, which had great Authority in the Church. Now because *S. Augustin* did not understand Hebrew, he could not apprehend that there should be so much difference, betwixt the Hebrew Text, and the Translation of the LXX, and doth not approve of any departing from it. For, faith he to *S. Jerom*, either those passages are clear, or they are dark. If they are dark, you may be mistaken, as well as the Seventy; If they are clear, can any Man believe, that those learned Men did not understand them? This Letter which was written about the Year 395, not being carried, *S. Augustin* wrote another to *S. Jerom* upon the same Subject in 397. But the Person to whom he had given it to deliver to *S. Jerom*, gave out some Copies of it which were spread in *Rome*, so that it was publick before *S. Jerom* saw it. This second Letter is here the Ninety seventh. *S. Augustin* asketh of *S. Jerom* the true Title of his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers; afterwards he reproves what *S. Jerom* had said, That *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*, pretended to have a difference, tho' they were agreed. He pretends that this Opinion is of very great Consequence, and may have dangerous Effects, because if we admit of an officious Lye in the Holy Scripture, it seems to give Men a handle to doubt of all. He therefore exhorts him to alter that passage in his Commentary. At the latter end, he prays him to add to his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, the Errors of some Heretics of whom he speaks, or to make a Book purposely on that Subject. *S. Augustin* having no Answer, because neither of those two Letters were delivered to *S. Jerom*, wrote a Third by *Cyprian* the Deacon, wherein he requireth an Answer to the two former, adding in this, That he found fault with his writing a new Translation of the Bible, pretending that it would cause Disturbances and Scandals, if it were publickly read in the Church: as it really happened in a Church of *Africa*; where a Bishop having publickly read the Prophecy of *Jonas*, according to *S. Jerom's* Translation: the People hearing other Terms than they were wont to hear, accused their Bishop of falsifying the Scripture. This Letter was written some years after the foregoing, about the Year 403.

S. Jerom having received these Three Letters by *Cyprian* the Deacon, thought himself affronted by *S. Augustin's* demands, and answered him with some Lossiness in the Eighty ninth Letter. He repeats all the Questions that had been put to him by *S. Augustin*, and endeavours to give him Satisfaction. He telleth him, 1. About the Title of his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that it ought to be Entitled, the Book of Famous Men, or of Ecclesiastical Writers.

2. He defends his Exposition of *S. Paul's* Epistle to the *Galatians*, about the Action of *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*, by the Authority of *Origen*, *Diadmus* and other ancient Authors, whose Commentaries he only translated, as he had said before in the Preface. That if he is in an Error, he had rather err with those Great men, than flatter himself with having the Truth only on his side. He adds Reasons to Authority, shewing by the History of the Acts, That *S. Peter* could not but know, that Christians were freed from the Burden of the Law; That on the other side *S. Paul* had himself practised that very thing whereof he here acculeth *S. Peter*, by observing the Ceremonies of the Law; from whence he concludes that both these Apostles, being of the same Opinion, had agreed to raise that small Dispute to instruct both Jews and Gentiles by that pious Artifice. Afterwards he refutes *S. Augustin's* Opinion, and strives to answer the Reasons which he had produced.

Last of all he gives him Reasons for the Notes, that were in his Translation of the Scripture. He answereth *S. Augustin's* reasoning, to prove that he had not done well in Translating the Bible a new, very pleasantly, by retorting the same upon him. "You cannot be ignorant, faith he, that the *Psalms* have been expounded by several Commentators, Greek and Latin, who wrote before you. Pray tell me, how you durst undertake to give a new Exposition of them, after those Great men? You believed that those places which you explained were either clear or obscure: If they were clear, it is probable (to use your own way of reasoning) that they did understand them, and if they are obscure, and they did not well understand them, it may be thought that you might be mistaken as well as they. And lastly, he makes himself sport with their Quarrelling with the good Bishop for reading his Translation of

Jonas, shewing that the occasion of it was ridiculous, because the Question was about one single word only, namely the term *Gospel*; which he had rendered *Ev.* This Letter is of the Year 404.

S. Jerome being sometimes without answering this Letter, *S. Augustin* wrote to him; that he was informed that he had received his Letters, and expected an Answer, and whereas there was a Discourse that he had sent a Book to *Rome* against *S. Jerome*, he assures him that he had not. This Letter is of the Year 402. It is here the Ninetieth.

S. Jerome in answer to it saith, That he saw a Letter wherein he reproved a passage of his Commentary upon *S. Paul*, and advised him to retract it; but not being sure that this Letter was from him, he had not answered it yet, because he had been disturbed by the Sickness of *Paula*. Afterwards he upbraids him for the Liberty he had taken; and Taxes him with seeking after Glory, by attacking Great men, telling him that he ought to examine his own Strength, and not compare himself with a Man that was grown old in Studying the Holy Scripture, and much less provoke him to a Combat. And at last deals with him, as with one whom he did not much value, and whom he judged not worthy of his Anger. This Letter is of the Year 402.

The Ninety second is written by *S. Jerome* with the same Spirit. Again he complains that *S. Augustin*'s Letter was published. He writes him word, that his Friends said that he had not acted innocently in that particular, but seemed to go about to establish his own Glory, by the ruin of another Man's: That if he would Dispute, there were young and able Men at *Rome* of his own Strength; As for himself, he might, like a *Veteran* Soldier commend the Victories of others, but not engage in the Fight; That he would not so much as read his Books to find fault; That he had seen nothing of his, but his Soliloquies, and some Commentaries upon the *Psalms*, and that if he would examine them, he could show him how he departed from the Exposition of ancient Authors. This Letter is of the Year 403.

S. Augustin having received both these Letters, answered him with much Civility and Moderation, yet without subscribing to his Opinions. He speaks of the Quarrel which he had with *Rufinus*, and laments that Division, representing to him, that he had not shewed that Meekness and Charity which he might have done. This Letter is written very Artificially. It is the Ninety third. He directed it to *Præsidius*, to see it conveyed to *S. Jerome*, as appears by the Ninety fifth.

S. Jerome contented with *S. Augustin*'s Compliments and Satisfaction, writ to him some time after the Ninety sixth Letter, whereby he excuses himself for having answered him, and tells him, that he earnestly desired there should be no more Disputes betwixt them.

S. Augustin having received this Letter by *Firmus*, returned an Answer by the Ninety seventh Letter, to what *S. Jerome* had written to satisfy his Requests, and defended his Opinions with great Clearness and Moderation. This Letter is here the Ninety seventh, and was written as well as the foregoing in the Year 403.

After this time there was no more said of the Questions that were betwixt them, and they never writ to one another but with Civility. This may be taken Notice of in the Letters we have already spoken of, and in the Ninety fourth, where *S. Jerome* thanketh *S. Augustin*, for Dedicating and sending to him, by *Orosius*, the Books concerning the *Origination of Souls*; and he tells him, That he spoke honourably of him in the Dialogue, which he wrote against *Pelagius*. This Letter is of the Year 406.

The Ninety eighth is a Complement from *S. Jerome* to *S. Augustin* of the Year 397.

The Ninety ninth Letter to *Asella* was written by *S. Jerome*, at his going from *Rome*; he defends himself very warmly from the false Rumours, which his Calumniators had spread against him; because of the Familiarity which he had had at *Rome* with some Roman Ladies. This Letter he writ when he was Embarking to return into the *East*, in 385.

The Hundredth Letter is a Satyr against one *Bonifacius*, who had taken, what *S. Jerome* had writ in general against all Vices, as particularly designed against himself, it is probably of the same time with the foregoing.

[*Erasmus*'s Edition which

Dr. Cave follows calls him *Bonifacius*, which seems to be the truer Reading by the Letter it self, wherein *S. Jerome*, quibbles upon his Name, and plays upon his Nose, and tells him, That tho' his Name be lucky, yet upon that Account he has no Reason to value himself.]

The Hundred and first to *Paschasius*, concerning the best Method of translating, is about the Translation, which he made Two years before of *S. Epiphanius*'s Letter to *John of Jerusalem*. He was accused of not having done it faithfully. To justify himself, he proves by the Examples of the best Translators both Ecclesiastical and Profane, that to translate well, one is not to follow the words, or terms, but the Sense and Conceptions of his Author. He saith, that this Treatise was composed Two years after the Translation of *S. Epiphanius*'s Letter, of the Year 399, which shews that it is of 395.

In the Hundred and second to *Marcella*, he argues against those who accused him, of corrupting the Text of the Gospel, because he had corrected the faults of the Latin Translation according to the Greek Original; and he reproverth those that found fault with him, for blaming the Virgins frequenting Men's Company. This Letter was written likewise sometime after his Departure from *Rome*, in 385, or 386.

These are *S. Jerome*'s Letters, and Treatises contained in the Second Volume.

The

The Third contains the Critical Letters and Works upon the Holy Scripture.

The First directed to *Paulinus*, is not upon that Subject only; for he exhorts him not only to the Reading of the Holy Scripture, but also to retire, and to vow Poverty. But the Principal Subject of that Letter is Precepts, and a Method which is to be observed both in Reading and understanding the Holy Scripture. He shews at first that no Man ought to enter upon that Study, without a Skillful Guide to shew him the Way. He complains that all other Arts, and Sciences, are exercised by none but Men of that Profession, but that every one pretends to be Skill'd in the understanding of the Scriptures.

To shew that Men are deceived, and that the Scripture is not so easily understood, as they imagine, he reckons up the several Books, and takes notice of the great difficulty of finding the true Sense and Spirit of them, and he draws up in short very curious Observations upon every Book of the Scripture, and upon the Character of their Authors.

The Second Letter in Number one hundred and four to *Desiderius*, is a Preface to his Version of the *Pentateuch*. He sheweth how necessary, and withall how difficult it is to undertake it after the Translation of the LXX, and that this is defective.

The hundred and Fifth Letter is a Preface to the Book of *Job*.

The hundred and Sixth is a Preface to the Books of *King's*, where he sets down the number of the Canonical Books of the old Testament, according to the Jewish Catalogue.

The hundred and Seventh is a Preface to the *Chronicles* directed to *Chromatius*.

The hundred and Eighth is another Preface to the *Chronicles*.

The hundred and Ninth is a Preface to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

The hundred and Tenth is the Preface to *Tobit*.

The hundred and Eleventh to *Judith*.

The hundred and Twelfth to *Ester*.

The hundred and Thirteenth to *Job*.

The hundred and Fourteenth is another Preface to *Job*.

The hundred and Fifteenth is a Preface to the Books of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*.

The hundred and Sixteenth is a particular Letter concerning his Translation of *Ecclesiastes*.

The hundred and Seventeenth to *Isaiah*.

The hundred and Eighteenth to *Jeremiah*.

The hundred and Nineteenth to *Ezekiel*.

The hundred and Twentieth to *Daniel*.

The hundred and Twenty first to the Twelve Minor Prophets.

The hundred and Twenty second to *Joel*.

The hundred and Twenty third is a Preface directed by *S. Jerome* to *Damasus* upon the new Translation of the four *Evangelists*.

The hundred and Twenty-fourth is a Letter from *Damasus* to *S. Jerome*, wherein he asketh him five Questions about the Holy Scripture. The First, what is the meaning of those Words. *Genesis* Chap. 4. *Whoever Slay's Cain, Vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold*. The second, if all that God did was very good, as it is said in *Genesis* wherefore is mention made of Clean and unclean Creatures? The third why God said to *Abraham*, that the Children of *Israel* should go out of *Egypt* in the fourth Generation; and yet it is said in *Exodus* that it was the fifth Generation which came out of *Egypt*. The fourth why *Abraham* received Circumcision as a Seal of Faith: And the fifth why *Isaac* Blessed that Son whom he designed not to Bless.

S. Jerome makes no answer to *Damasus* about the second and fourth Question, because they were handled at Large by *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, *Origen* and *Didymus*: But he explaineth the rest. He saith to the first concerning those Words of *Genesis*, *Whoever slays Cain Vengeance shall be taken on him seven-fold*; That they signify, that whoever killeth *Cain*, shall undergo the seven sorts of Revenge, or Punishment wherewith he was threatened. He resolves the Third, by observing that we are not to Read in *Exodus*, that the Children of *Israel* went out of *Egypt* at the Fifth Generation, as it is in the Translation of the Seventy, but that they went out Armed; as it is in *Aquila*'s Translation: Lastly he answereth the fifth, saying that *Isaac* did that good thing for the Family, in Blessing *Jacob* by a particular Effect of God's Providence without knowing it: He cites afterwards a Passage out of *Hyppolitus*, which gives an Allegorical Sense to that Action, affirming that *Esaú* was a Type of the People of the Jews, and *Jacob* that of the Church. He approves this Exposition, and so he easily answers *Damasus* his Question.

In the hundred and Twenty fifth Letter to *Eugarius*, he examineth who *Melchisedeck* was: He rejects that Man's Opinion, who held that *Melchisedeck* was the Holy Spirit. As also *Origen*'s and *Didymus*'s who said that *Melchisedeck* was an Angel. He produces the Opinions of *Hyppolitus*, *S. Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, and *Eustathius*, who believed him to have been a *Canaanite*, King of a City called *Salem*, and a Priest of the Lord: He likewise takes Notice of the Jewish Opinion that it was *Sem Noah*'s Son, and he seems not to disapprove it. He observes that the City of *Salem*, was not *Jerusalem* as *Josephus* and most of the ancients believed, but another City near *Scythopolis*, called, as he says, *Salem* even in his time.

The following Letter to *Fabiola*, is a moral Explication of the Forty Encampings of the *Israelites*, from their going out of *Egypt* to the Land of Promise. He looks upon that Journey

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as a Representation of the way to Heaven, and to every decamping he applies a moral Instruction. The like Reflections are made in the Hundred and twenty eighth Letter upon the Habits, and Sacerdotal Ornaments of the Priests under the old Law.

He shews in the Hundred and twenty ninth, that what is said of the promised Land, is to be understood spiritually of eternal Glory, and as he makes use particularly of the Epistle to the Hebrews to prove his Assertion, so he affirms, that tho' the Greek Churches will not own it no more than the Revelations of S. John, yet the Latins receive both, because they are quoted by the Ancients.

In the Hundred and thirtieth to *Marcella*, he tells her what the *Ephod* and *Teraphim* were. The Hundred and thirty first Letter to *Rufinus*, contains an Allegorical Exposition of the History of the two Women that were judged by *Solomon*, who were, as he pretends a Figure of the Church and of the *Synagogue*.

In the Hundred and thirty second, he answers an Historical difficulty about the years of *Solomon* and *Ahaz*. It is said of *Solomon* that he began to Reign at twelve years, that he Reigned forty years, and that his Son *Roboam* Succeeded him being forty one years old. It seems by that, that *Solomon* had a Son at eleven years: The same is said of King *Ahaz*. He is said to have begun his Reign at twenty years of Age, that he Reigned sixteen years, and that his Son *Hezekiah* Succeeded him at the Age of twenty five, which also intimates that *Ahaz* had him at Eleven years of Age. This seems Extraordinary and Incredible. S. Jerom answers that it might possibly be, but that the difficulty might be saved thus, that the Reigns both of *Solomon* and of *Ahaz*, may have had a double beginning: When they began to Reign with their Fathers, and when they began to Reign by themselves. This being supposed, the answer is at Hand, when it is said that *Solomon* began to Reign at twelve, and *Ahaz* at twenty years of Age, is to be understood of the beginning of their Reign with their Fathers, whereas when it is said in another Place, that they died after having Reigned, one forty, and the other sixteen years, that is to be understood of the Time when they began to Reign alone. Whence it follows that they might then be of Age to have Children. He confesses at the latter end of this Letter that there are several Chronological difficulties in the History of the old Testament: Especially about the years of the Kings of *Israel* and of *Juda*, but he would have no Man trouble himself much to Explain them.

The Hundred and thirty third Letter to *Marcella* is a Critick upon the Commentary upon the *Canticles*, that was made by *Rheticus* Bishop of *Autun*. He observes several Faults in that Author, which were mentioned in the second Volume of this *Bibliotheca*.

The Hundred and thirty fourth to *Sopronius* containeth Notes upon the *Psalms*. He saith that some divide them into Five Books, but that he Comprehended all in one Volume, following therein the Authority of the *Jews* and the Apostles. He affirms that they are written by those whole Names are found at the beginning of every *Psalms*. He speaks afterwards of his Latin Translation of the *Psalms*, and of *Sopronius's* design to Translate it into Greek.

The Hundred and thirty fifth Letter to *Sumia* and *Fretella*, is a Critick upon those passages of the *Psalms* where the Greek of the *Septuagint*, and the Latin Version differ. S. Jerom layeth this down for a Rule, That when there is a Difference betwixt the Latin Copies of the New Testament, they ought to go to the Original: So likewise when there is any Difference between the Greek and the Latin of the Old Testament, to find out the Truth, the Hebrew Text ought to be consulted. By this Rule he explains all those passages of the *Psalms* where the Greek of the Seventy, and the Version then in use did not agree.

In the Hundred and thirty sixth to *Marcella*, he expounds the ten several Names given to God in the Hebrew Tongue.

In the Hundred and thirty seventh to the same, he gives the Signification of the Terms *Halleluja*, *Amen*, *Maranatha*. *Halleluja*, according to him, signifies praise the Lord. *Amen* is a Word which signifies that Credit is given to a thing, desiring that it may be so; and which may be rendered, So be it. *Maranatha* is a Syriack Word, which S. Jerom translateth, Our Lord come.

In the Hundred and thirty eighth Epistle to the same, he shews the Meaning of the Hebrew *Selah*, which the Greeks translate *Diapsalma*, a Word very frequent in the *Psalms*. He saith that some have said that the *Diapsalma* was an Alteration of the Verse; and others, that it signified a Pause; others, a Change of the Tune: He is not of their mind, but saith with *Aquila*, that *Selah* signifies always.

The Hundred and thirty ninth, to *Cyprian*, is an Exposition of the Eighty ninth *Psalms* according to the Hebrew Text.

The Hundred and thirtieth, to *Principia*, is an Exposition of the Forty fourth *Psalms*.

The Hundred and forty first containeth certain Remarks to understand the Hundred and twenty sixth *Psalms*.

The Hundred and forty second, and Hundred forty third, to *Damasus*, clears the History of *Ozaiab*, speaks of the Seraphim, the Holy, holy, holy, and the rest of *Isaiah's* Vision described in the sixth Chapter of his Prophecy.

The Hundred and forty fifth Letter to Pope *Damasus*, explains the meaning of the Word *Hofanna*, rejecting S. Hilary's Opinion, who thought that it signified The Redemption of David's House; as also that it signified Glory: To expound it, he appeals to the Hebrew Text, and pretends, that *Hofanna*, whereof they have made *Hosanna*, signifies Save us Lord.

Lastly, There is in the same place the Hundred fifty fourth Letter to *Desiderius* and *Serenilla*, whom he invites to come to *Emblehem*. It is written after the Treatise of *Famous men*, about the Year 400.

We are to reckon likewise amongst *S. Jerome's* critical Works upon the Bible, the Corrections and Translations which he made of the Books of the Scripture. At first he corrected the Greek Text of the Seventy, and reformed the common Edition, by *Origen's Hexapla*. He made a new Translation (o) of them, wherein he mark'd by two Hooks, those passages of the *Septuagint* that were not in the Hebrew Text, and added the Version of what was in the Hebrew Text, which was not in the Translation of the LXX, noting those Additions with a Star, so that in this Translation one might see at once, both what was added, and what was wanting in the Version of the LXX. This Translation of *S. Jerome's* of the Books of the Prophets, is joyn'd to his Commentaries.

This was the first Labour of *S. Jerome* upon the Bible, which he undertook when he was but young in his first Retirement.

Afterwards having attained to a more perfect knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, he conceived that it would prove a considerable Service to the Church, if he set forth an entire Translation of his own from the Hebrew Text. Wherefore he fell upon that Work, and published a new Latin Version of all the Books, which the *Jews* own to be Canonical (p), and of the Books of *Judith* and *Tobias*, setting before the beginning of each Book the Prefaces already mentioned.

This new Translation of *S. Jerome* was but ill received in the Church at first. Men were very much pre-judged in favour of the *Septuagint*, and *S. Jerome's* enterprise was looked upon as a rash and dangerous Innovation: *S. Augustine* himself disliked it, and sent him word, as we have seen, that he would have done better if he had been contented with his translation of the *Septuagint*, and not have gone about a new one, which would certainly cause some Scandal and trouble in the Church. *Rufinus* and others of *S. Jerome's* Enemies, went yet further, and accused him of perverting the Scripture, and despising the Authority of the Apostles, by rejecting the LXX's Translation which they had made use of, to introduce a new one, borrowed, in some sort from the *Jews*. All these reproaches did not hinder *S. Jerome* from publishing his new Translation. He shews the injustice of his Accusers in most of his Prefaces. Sometimes he complains of the ingratitude of Persons in his Age, who instead of acknowledging the good Services he had done to the Church, reckoned it as a Crime in him: Sometimes he declares, That he did not undertake that new Translation to condemn the *Septuagint*, which he commends, and approves, and which he corrected and translated in his Youth, and that his design barely was, to do an useful Work. Sometimes he saith, That he was obliged to make a new Translation, because the *Septuagint* had been corrupted. But for the most part he affirms openly, That the main reason which put him upon making a new Translation, was the want of Exactness in that of the Seventy, and the small Conformity which it had with the Hebrew Text; which, he believes ought to be depended upon, as the true Original. And for this reason, almost as often as he speaks of it, he gives it the Name of the *Hebrew truth*. He alledgeth also political Reasons for his undertaking. The *Jews* accused us in their Disputes with us, that we did not faithfully quote the Holy Scripture, they continually urged that the Hebrew Text was not conformable to what was cited to them out of the Translation of the LXX. The Christians who were ignorant of the Hebrew, and besides had no Translation from the Hebrew, were extremely perplexed, and were forced, either to remain Speechless, or to have recourse to the *Rabbins*. He sheweth how necessary it was, that a Christian learned in the Hebrew Tongue, should make a Translation conformable to the Hebrew Text. *S. Jerome* had another Argument to recommend his Translation to the *Latins*, and that was point of Honour.

The *Greeks*, says he, boast that the *Latins* have the Holy Scripture only thro' their Channel; it is good to beat down their Pride, and to let them know, that the *Latins* have no need of them, but could go to the Fountain-head themselves. Interest and Convenience, were Considerations, that *S. Jerome* also made use of to bring his Translation into credit. There were a great many different Greek Translations; and several Editions of the Seventy quite different one from the other; It was impossible to compare them together without great pains, and much labour, and to have them without a great deal of Money. And after all, that Variety brought in great Confusion, and rendered the Scripture almost unintelligible, to those that did not understand the Hebrew Text. How necessary then was it to deliver the World out of that perplexity, by setting forth a Translation conformable to the Original, which should make all the rest almost useless.

(o) He made a New Translation. He speaks of this Version as wholly his own in the Eighty ninth Letter, to *S. Augustine*; yet it is likely, that he made use in several Books of the Scripture, of the ancient vulgar Translation, which he only corrected: It is certain that he made a new Translation of the *Psalms*, as he says himself in this Epistle to *Sumia* and *Freleia*: He also translated anew the Book of *Job*, as appears by the two Prefaces to that Book,

and to those of *Salomon*, as it is observed in the Second Book of the Apology against *Rufinus*.

(p) The Books which the *Jews* own to be Canonical. He did not translate the Books that were not in the Canon of the *Hebrews*, except *Tobias* and *Judith*; and so the Translations of the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Maccabees*, *Baruch*, and *Jeremiah's* Letter, and the Additions to the Books of *Hester* and *Daniel*, are not *S. Jerome's*.

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How good soever these Reasons were in themselves, yet they were not strong enough to make *S. Jerome's* Translation welcome to the *Latins* at first; they kept for the most part to the ancient vulgar Version, being unwilling that any thing should be altered it: But by little and little *S. Jerome's* got some credit; tho' the ancient vulgar was still in use; so that in *S. Gregory's* time both these Translations were followed, and this Father observes, that himself used sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Since that time *S. Jerome's* Translation got the upper hand, and was received and read publicly in the Churches of the *West*, excepting the Translation of the *Psalms*, and some Mixtures of the ancient vulgar Translation (q), some passages whereof have been preserved in the vulgar Latin.

As for the New Testament, *S. Jerome* did not undertake to make a new Translation, but contented himself with comparing the old one with the Greek, and to correct the principal passages where it disagreed with the Text, as he said himself in the Preface of the Gospels to *Damasius*, in a Letter to *S. Augustine*, and in his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*. This work was much better received than the new Version of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and hardly any Body was offended at it, because the Greek Tongue being easily understood, it was not difficult to discover the Alterations that might be made in the Greek Text, which could not be done in the Hebrew which was understood by the *Jews* only.

S. Jerome's Commentaries upon the Scripture, have great Relation to his other Studies, and those Writings that we have hitherto spoken of: First of all he sets down the ancient vulgar Translation, and with it joyns commonly his New Translation: Secondly, He enquires after the Sense of the Hebrew Text exactly, and compares it with the several Greek Versions. He cites the other places of Scripture which have any Relation to that which he expoundeth. In making these Observations, he clears the literal Sense of the Scripture, and discovers the Prophecies, by shewing their Accomplishment. And in the last place, he adds mystical Explanations, and short Allegories, which most commonly are only Etymologies, and Turns of Wit about words. He confesseth, that very often, he barely translated some passages of *Origen's* Commentaries, and other Greek Authors without naming them: Wherefore he pretends, that the Errors and Contradictions in his Commentaries are not to be imputed to him; because he only related the Opinions of others without approving them: that if he condemned them not, yet he did not intend to defend them, but would spare the others Reputation: And lastly, That this Moderation should give his Enemies no occasion to Calumniate as they did, and to accuse him of upholding such Errors, that he was so far from, and which he refused in other places.

These Remarks may give a General Idea of *S. Jerome's* Commentaries upon the Bible, especially upon the Books of the Prophets, wherein he followeth this method now described exactly, and insists particularly upon the Exposition of the Historical Sense of the Prophecies. He divided his Commentaries into several Books, and intermix'd here and there some Prefaces, in which he explains in general, the subject of his Commentaries, and then answers the Calumnies that were raised against him.

The Fourth Volume contains his Commentaries upon the Four great Prophets, namely eighteen Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, Six upon *Jeremiah*, Fourteen upon *Ezekiel*, and one upon *Daniel*.

The Fifth Volume contains the Commentaries upon *Ecclesiastes* and the Twelve minor Prophets.

In the Sixth Volume are *S. Jerome's* Commentaries upon the Books of the New Testament, after these there is a Preface to *Damasius* upon the Four Evangelists, a Canon, or a Table of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists: Four Books of Commentaries or Notes upon *S. Matthew's* Gospel; wherein he explains very clearly the Letter of the Gospel, only adding now and then some moral Reflections, but he doth not enlarge upon Allegories. He observeth very near the same method in his Commentaries upon *S. Paul's* Epistles to the *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Titus* and *Philemon*, which are in the same Volume, with the Translation of *Diognetus's* Book of the Holy Ghost.

(q) Excepting the Translation of the *Psalms*, and some mixtures of the ancient vulgar Translation. It is certain that our vulgar is not the ancient Translation that was made from the *Septuagint*. It is certain also that it was made from the Hebrew, but none of the Fathers understood Hebrew besides *S. Jerome*, and so the Body of that Translation cannot be attributed to any Body else: Besides, the Translations of the Books of the Bible which are in his Commentaries, are almost wholly conformable to our vulgar. We find also in the other Books a great many of those Alterations which *S. Jerome* professes to have made in his Translation. It is certain that the vulgar Translation of the *Psalms* is not *S. Jerome's*. It was not made after the Hebrew, but after the

Septuagint, tho' it is in some places conformable to the Translations of *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*, and different from that of *S. Jerome*, which is yet extant among his Works. The Additions to the Books of *Hester*, and *Daniel*, are not of *S. Jerome's* Translation, no more than that of the Books that were not in the Jewish Canon. In short, in our vulgar Latin are many places, which are remains of the ancient Translation mingled with the new, for there are several places agreeable to the Translation of the LXX, and differing from the Hebrew Text, as well as from the Observations, and Translation of *S. Jerome*, who scrupulously tied himself to the *Hebrew Truth*.

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These Commentaries were not written by S. Jerom in the same order as they are set down in this Edition. Those upon the New Testament were composed first, not long after he was returned from his Journey to Rome towards the Year 388. About the same time he writ his Commentaries upon *Ezechiel*, and undertook afterwards those upon the minor Prophets, beginning at *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*. These Works were completed before the Year 392. The Commentaries upon the others hold him till towards the Year 400. Afterwards he wrote upon *Daniel*, and having done that, he undertook the Commentary upon *Isaiah*, which was ended in 409; in 410, he composed that upon *Ezekiel*. The last of all are the Commentary upon *Jeremiah*, as it is observed in the Preface. If we add to these Works already mentioned, the Translation of *Origen's* two Homilies upon the *Canticles*, that are in the Eighth Volume, of the Nine Homilies upon *Isaiah*, of Fourteen upon *Ezekiel*, and of Fourteen upon *Jeremiah*, which are among *Origen's* Works, and the Version of *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, we have all the Genuine Works of S. Jerom, the rest being spurious as we shall shew afterwards.

As for the *Chronicon* it should not be looked upon as a mere Translation of *Eusebius*, S. Jerom having added many things to it, as he says in his Preface, where he observes that what is there from *Ninus* and *Abraham* to the taking of *Troy*, is a faithful Translation of the Greek: that from the taking of *Troy*, to the 20th Year of *Constantine*, he had added and altered many things, which he had collected out of *Suetonius* and other Latin Authors; and last of all, That he continued *Eusebius* his *Chronicon* from the 20th Year of *Constantine*, to the Sixth Consulship of *Valens*, and the Second of *Valentinian*, that is to the Year 378, of the vulgar *Æra*.

We have lost a Commentary of S. Jerom upon the Tenth Psalm, and the Six following, divided into seven parts, which he mentions in his Catalogue. Notes upon all the Psalms, which he speaks of in his first Apology against *Rufinus*; and a Treatise upon the Book of *Job*, which he mentions in the Commentary upon the Fifth Chapter of *Amos*. S. Augustin in his Treatise of Heresies to *Quodvultdes*, saith, That he had heard that S. Jerom had composed a Treatise upon the same Subject, but that he could not find it. The same Saint speaks in the Two hundred and sixtieth Epistle to *Overius*, of a Treatise of S. Jerom's, which *Origen* had brought to *Oecumenius*, wherein he treated of the Resurrection. *Cassiodorus* names some other Works of this Father, as a Letter to *Aniba*, where he saith, That he has explained great Difficulties: An Exposition upon *Salmos*: Judgment: Notes upon all the Prophets; and a Commentary upon the *Revelations*. *Trithemius* mentions a moral Commentary upon the Four Gospels, and another upon the Canonical Epistles; but these Treatises are not extant: neither is it very certain, that they were S. Jerom's.

I have omitted some Books that are in this Volume now mentioned, because they are not S. Jerom's, tho' they bear his Name; Here is the Catalogue of them, and a Critick upon them.

The Questions upon the Book of *Chronicles*, and the Books of *Kings*, which are rejected by most of the Critics, as being not S. Jerom's. First, Because when S. Jerom makes a Catalogue of his Works, he speaks only of his Questions upon *Genesis*, but says nothing of his having written the like work upon the *Chronicles*, or the *Kings*. 2. Because the subject and the stile of these latter Questions seems different from that of the former. In his Questions upon *Genesis*, S. Jerom sets down often the Hebrew words of the Text, and the Greek terms of the Translations, of which he examines the differences: but in these there is nothing like it. In the Questions upon *Genesis* he seriously searcheth into the Sense of the Scripture, and makes solid and useful Reflections: These on the contrary are full of useless, trifling, and fabulous Remarks. Wherefore *Lysanus* thinks they are unworthy of S. Jerom; and ascribes them to some newly converted Jew: For my part I would not affirm so positively, that they are not S. Jerom's, they were composed by a Man that understood Hebrew, who kept to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, who was acquainted with Jewish Traditions: all which Characters belong to S. Jerom: the stile of these Books is very like his, and no Man ought to wonder that in a Treatise of this Nature he hath followed some of the Jewish Fancies.

This will not hold of the small Treatise which contains the Explication of the Countries, and Towns spoken of in the *Acts*: it being evidently written by some other Author besides S. Jerom, since he quotes this Fathers Treatise when speaking of *Smyrna*. It is among *Bede's* Works, who probably may be the Author of it.

The Commentary upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah* is a Collection by *Rabanus* of the thoughts of several Fathers, and particularly of S. Gregory. It is among that Author's Works, and is cited under his Name, by *Benedictus*, in his Commentary upon the Lamentations.

The Commentary or Book of Annotations upon S. Mark's Gospel, is altogether unworthy of S. Jerom, both for the stile and for the matter. The Author knew neither Greek nor Hebrew, nor spoke very good Latin. He is guilty of ridiculous Errors, when he saith, That *Psylcha* signifies *Passage* in act, and that *Pharis* signifies the offering of a Victim, and when he Remarks that *Nardus* *Pfifica* is as much as to say *Mystical*. He confounds *Mary Magdalen*, with *Mary of Bethany*: an Opinion refuted by S. Jerom in his Commentary upon the Twenty fifth Chapter of S. Matthew. Speaking of the Cross, he repeateth several Verses out of *Sedulius*, who writ long after S. Jerom.

The Commentaries upon the Psalms have not fewer Marks of their being Supposititious, for 1. The Author of them had no knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues. 2. His Method

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in Expounding the Scripture is quite different from S. Jerom's, for whereas S. Jerom keepeth to the Historical and Literal Sense, he uses only Moral and Mystical Expositions. 3. His Remarks are contrary to S. Jerom's; as when he Expoundeth the Hundred and fourth Psalm, he saith that *Cynonia* is a Dog-fly. But S. Jerom rejects that Notion, at the latter end of his Letter to *Junia* and *Fretille*. Upon the Eighty sixth Psalm, he observes that according to the Hebrew, it must be *Nungund Sion, dicet Homo*: S. Jerom renders it, *Ad Sion, dicet Homo*. He denies that the Eighty ninth Psalm is written by *Miser*, tho' S. Jerom ascribes it to him, in his Commentary upon the thirteenth Psalm. He saith that a Passage of Scripture cited by S. Paul in the third Ch. of the Epistle to the *Romans* is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, and S. Jerom shews that it is out of *Isaiah*. 4. This Author's Stile is far from the Elegancy of S. Jerom's, nay it is very full of Faults, Repetitions, and Solecisms. 5. This Author's Commentary is made up of common Places, and moral Exhortations. 6. He quoteth S. Encherius upon the Sixteenth Psalm. 7. It is manifest that these Commentaries are not Notes explaining the Letter of the Scripture; but Instructions, and Conferences (as appears by the Expositions of the Eighty ninth, Hundred and eleventh, and Hundred and fiftieth Psalms) whose Conclusions are in the form of an Homily; and by several Expressions, discovering that the Author spake to others. And this has made it be believ'd, that they are the Discourses of some Monk, who expounded the Psalms to his Brethren, by collecting the Expositions of some Commentators. Wherefore it is no wonder to find in the Commentary upon the Ninety third Psalm a passage which S. Augustin citeth in his Epistle to *Fortunatianus*, under S. Jerom's Name, and in the Commentary upon the fiftieth Psalm, another passage quoted under S. Jerom's Name by S. Gregory, in his Exposition of the Fourth penitential Psalm.

The Commentary upon *Job*, having been made, as appears by the Conclusion, at the request of *Victorius* an English Bishop, who lived in *Bede's* time, cannot be S. Jerom's, but very likely *Bede's* himself. Some attribute it to *Philip* a Priest and Monk, S. Jerom's Disciple, to whom *Gregorius* ascribes Commentaries upon *Job*. But this Commentary of *Philip's* is that which is attributed to *Bede*, and this is rather *Bede's*, being very like the Commentary upon the Proverbs of *Salmos*, which is undoubtedly his, as *Trithemius* assures us: These Commentaries do very much differ from S. Jerom's, both as to the Stile, and the Matter: The Author citeth the Scripture according to our Vulgar Translation; he quotes S. Augustin, S. Gregory, and S. Jerom. In the Commentary upon the Twenty fifth Chapter of *Job*, there is a passage cited by *Fauslus Rhodensis* under S. Jerom's Name: It is likely that the Author of that Work had taken it out of this Father.

The Commentaries, or Notes upon all S. Paul's Epistles are not S. Jerom's, but a *Pelagian* Author's, who openly teacheth his Errors in several places, and particularly upon the Seventh Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*. It is certain, that *Pelagius* made a Commentary upon S. Paul's Epistles, which S. Augustin quoteth in several places of the Third Book of *Meritis*, and *Remission of sins*. This same Commentary of *Pelagius* is likewise cited by *Marius Mercator*, and there are most of the passages quoted by both these Authors. Yet two or three are not there; which might give occasion of doubting, whether it were perfectly the same, if *Cassiodorus* had not informed, us that he struck some places out of it.

The Epistle to *Demetrias* the Virgin which is the first Book of S. Jerom's Ninth Volume, belongs likewise to *Pelagius*, as S. Augustin assures us, in his Book of the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, where he refuteth the Errors therein contained.

The Second Epistle of the same Volume is a Letter of S. Augustin's to *Juliana*, *Demetrias's* Mother, against the foregoing Letter.

The Third directed to *Gerontius's* Daughters, is of the same stile with the First; and the Author seems to be of the same Opinions. He commendeth S. Paulinus as his Contemporary and his Friend.

The Eighth Letter of the knowledge of God's Law, seems to belong to the same Author, and perhaps *Pelagius*, who was S. Paulinus's Friend, and had written a Letter to him.

The Fourth Letter to *Marcella*, the Fifth to a *Basilid Virgin*, the Ninth of the *Three Verses*, the Twelfth of the Honour due to Parents are written in the same stile. *Marianus* thinks that the former belong to S. Paulinus. The Sixth, and Seventh are of the same Author: In this last there is some Discourse of the Worship of Relicks, and of discovering the Bodies of S. *Geruasius*, and S. *Protasius* by S. Ambrose. Some ascribe both these Letters to *Maximus Taurianensis*.

The Tenth Letter of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, is written by some Latin Author who lived when the East was infected with the Errors of the *Eutychians*; as he observeth himself, long after the Death of S. Jerom, and *Sophronius*; to whom some have attributed this Letter. He that writ it set it out under S. Jerom's Name, that what he saith of the Blessed Virgin Mary, might be more valued. And the better to colour his Cheat, he pretends to direct it to *Paula* and *Eulochium*. Altho' he enlargeth much upon the Commendations and Prerogatives of the Virgin Mary, yet he saith that it was not certain, whether she was risen again, and her Body carried up into Heaven. This Treatise tho' supposititious, was inserted into the Offices of the Church by *Paulus Diaconus*, and *Alcuin*, in *Charlemagne's* time: And since it hath made up part of the Lessons for the Feast of the Assumption, in the old Breviaries of France and Italy.

The Eleventh is likewise upon the same Subject, and perhaps written by the same Author. The Book of the Seven Ecclesiastical Orders, falsely supposed to be directed to *Rufinus* Bishop

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of *Narbon*, who lived at the same time with *S. Leo*, belongs to a Modern Author in comparison of *S. Jerom*, who lived after *Isidore of Seville*, from whom he hath taken many things. Yet he is older than *Mierologus*, or than *Bishop Hincmar*, who quote this Work under *S. Jerom's* Name; which shows that this Author wrote about the seventh Century.

The fourteenth Letter is a *Commendation of Virginity*; where he describes the Danger of Losing it, and the Enormity of the Crime committed by a Virgin consecrated to God, when she violateth her Vows. This likewise is a Work of an Author younger than *S. Jerom*, as well as the thirteenth Letter, where some Expressions which the Scripture makes use of after a Manner suitable to the Weakness of our Understanding, are explained. An ordinary Skill may discover that none of these pieces are *S. Jerom's*.

The Creed attributed to *Damasus*, which is the fifteenth piece of this Volume, is a Confession of Faith copied out, partly from that in *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and in *Vigilius Tapselini*, which we attributed to *Gregory of Boetica*: but this was brought to the Form it now has, long after *Damasus*; for there is the Article that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, which was not in all the ancient Creeds.

The Explication of the Creed dedicated to *Damasus*, immediately after this Confession of Faith now spoken of, is that Confession of Faith which *Pelagius* sent to Pope *Innocent*, that is condemned by *S. Augustin* in his Book of the *Grace of Jesus Christ*, where he produces some Extracts out of it, which are word for word in this.

The eighteenth Tract is a third Confession of Faith, supposed to be directed to *S. Cyril* and composed by some Modern Author, as appears by his Method of Expounding the Myteries.

The following Treatise upon the Creed goes under *Rufinus's* Name, who without dispute is the true Author of it.

The Treatise to *Præsidius* is a Declaration composed by some mean Imitator of *S. Jerom*, who affects to speak of the Deaths of *Valentinian* and *Gratian*, as happening in his time, for I cannot believe that the trifles and impertinences that occur in that Work are *S. Jerom's*: they are far more worthy of an Impostor.

The Treatise of the *Circumcision to Thersia*, is a more genuine and an Ancient Monument.

The Twenty first Epistle is a Letter of *S. Augustin* to *Januarinus*, which was formerly the One hundred and nineteenth, and now the Fifty fifth among this Father's Epistles.

The Author of the two following Treatises is not known, which are, the one a Declaration against a Virgin called *Sesanna*, that was fallen into sin; and the other a reproof to *Evagrius*, for refusing to comfort a Churchman that had sinned.

The Twenty fourth Letter is written by *Paulinus*.

The other Pieces in the first part of this Volume are mean, and flat Sermons upon divers Subjects.

The Thirty sixth concerning the Observation of the Eves of Holidays is ascribed in the Third Volume of *F. Dachery's Spicilegium*, to *Nicetius* Bishop of *Trier*, who lived about the year 535: there may be possibly several other Sermons of the same Author.

The Fortieth and last, is a Letter upon the Parable of the Prodigal Son, which belongs to some *Pelagian* Author, and perhaps to *Pelagius* himself.

The second part of this Volume containeth certain Discourses very like *S. Jerom's*, though they bear the Names of their Authors. These are, a Letter of *S. Paulinus* to *Sebastian* the Hermit, the Translation of *Pamphilus* his Apology for *Origen*, a Treatise of *Rufinus* concerning the falsification of *Origen's* Books, the Translation of *Origen's* Principles by *Rufinus*, with his Prologue, *Rufinus* his Apology to Pope *Anastasi*, this Pope's Letter to *John of Jerusalem*: Both the Books of *Rufinus* against *S. Jerom*. Three Letters of *S. Augustin* to *S. Jerom*, which formerly were the Twenty eighth, Twenty ninth and One hundred fifty seventh, amongst *S. Augustin's*, and now the One hundred sixty sixth, One hundred sixty seventh, and One hundred ninetyeth, and the Homily of the Pastors which is in the Ninth Volume of the same Author. The Epistle attributed to *Valerius* addressed to *Rufinus*, which comes after these Treatises of *S. Augustin*, is the Work of some Impostor.

Gennadius his Book of *Famous Men*, is a continuation of *S. Jerom's*: but the Catalogue of some Ecclesiastical Authors, which is found also in this Volume, is a sad piece, and so are two Letters going before it, and two others immediately following, falsely ascribed to *S. Jerom* and to *Damasus*.

The Rule for Monks is a Collection of sentences and Precepts taken out of *S. Jerom*, composed by *Lupus* General of the Monks that filed themselves of the Order of Hermits of *S. Jerom*, and approved by Pope *Martin V*.

The Dialogue, of the Origination of the Soul, betwixt *S. Augustin* and *S. Jerom*, is the Fiction of some ignorant Person, who drew out of both these Fathers Works some Passages of his Dialogue.

It is not easy to guess who was the Author of the small Treatise of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*; but it is easy to guess, that he that composed it was well vers'd in the Doctrine of the Fathers: The same may be said of the Author that wrote the Homily upon the Parable of the importunate Neighbour who asked a Loaf of his Friend. *Luk* chap. 11.

The third part of this Volume contains four Treatises as *Marianus* judged unworthy to be ranked among Pieces of any Value. He might have joined to them those which he set down in the first and second Rank, whereof some are even more contemptible than those in the third.

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He begins with three Epistles which some Impostor composed under *S. Jerom's* Name. But the Imposture is discovered by the Meanness of the Expressions, and the little Exactness in the Thoughts, which discover the Cheat. The first is a comforting Letter to *Tyrasius* upon the Death of his Daughter. The second an Exhortation to *Oceanus*, how Injuries are to be endured. The third to the same, concerning the Lives of Clergy-men. It is a strange thing that *Baronius* durst affirm this to be really *S. Jerom's*, it being manifest that the Style is very different from *S. Jerom's*; besides that he speaketh of *S. Martin*, whom he calleth Blessed, and of his Life composed by *Sulpicius Severus*. We have already given our Judgment of the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Authors that is inserted here, and of the precedent and following Letters.

The Rule for Nuns is written by some simple and unlearned Monk.

The Letter of *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus* to *S. Jerom*, and the Answer under this Father's Name, upon the Virgin *Mary's* Life, are fabulous Fictions wholly unworthy of Credit.

Lastly, *S. Jerom's* Life, supposed to have been written by his Disciple *Eusebius*, *S. Augustin's* Letter to *S. Cyril* in *S. Jerom's* Commendation, and *S. Cyril's* to *S. Augustin* about his Miracles, are rejected by every body, as miserable Pieces, full of Fables, Falsities and Ignorance. Can there be a grosser one than what the *Pseudo-Cyril* saith, That *S. Jerom's* Miracles convinced *Silvanus* the Heretic, who taught, That there were two Wills in Christ? as if either *S. Cyril* or *S. Jerom* had lived in the Time of the *Monothelites*, or had approved of those Heretics Doctrines.

S. Jerom, doubtless, was the Learnedest of all the Fathers; he understood Languages very well, and was well skilled in Humanity and Philological Learning. He was well vers'd in Ecclesiastical and Prophane History, and very skilful in Philophy. Poets, Historians, Orators, and the Greek and Latin Philosophers were equally familiar to him; he thoroughly understood them, and filled his Writings with their finest Strokes. His Way of Writing is clear and lively. He affects not that lousy Eloquence of the Barr, which is supported by high Terms and a hand-some Turn of a Period; but he excelleth in that other kind of Eloquence that is necessary for those that commit their Thoughts to Writing, which consists in the Nobleness of Expressions and Thoughts. His Discourse is enlivened by a wonderful Variety of lively and surprizing Turns, and adorned with an infinite number of different Colours, sometimes he brings in Flowers of Rhetorick; sometimes he dexterously employs Logical Subtilties. He often makes apt Allusions by the finest passages of the Poets, and constantly calleth to his Assistance the Thoughts and Maxims of the Philosophers. In a word, he collects the finest things in all Arts and Sciences, and adapts them so exactly to his Discourse, that they seem to be there in their natural Place. So that his Style may be compared to those in-laid Works, where the Pieces are so artistically pieced together that they seem to have been made one for the other. Yet it must be confessed that he affecteth this Way of Writing too much, and overcharge his Discourse with Quotations. He gives a diverting and cheerful Air to the roughest Questions, and explains the most intricate Difficulties with great Clearness. His Commentaries upon the Scripture are written in a Style very different from his other Works. Those Flowers, and that Ornament before named, are banished from them, and the Text is explained with Simplicity and Clearness, as he says himself in several places: For he saith in his Questions to *Damasus*, *He that treateth of the holy Scripture, should not borrow Aristotle's subtle Reasonings, nor use Tully's Eloquence, or the Flowers of Quintilian to refresh his Reader with his Declarations. His Discourse should be plain and vulgar. It is not necessary that it should be composed with Care; it is sufficient that it expounds the Things, and discovers the Sense of the Scripture and clears its Obscurities. Let others be eloquent, and by that get Commendations and Applause; let them thunder out great Words in a plausible Harangue, for my part I am satisfied to speak so as I may be understood, and discoursing of the holy Scripture, I strive to imitate its Simplicity. So much of his Style. His Genius was hot and vehement; he fell upon his Adversaries with fierceness, made them ridiculous by his jests, trampled upon them with Terms of Contempt, and made them blush with Reproaches. Though he was very Learned, yet there is infinitely more liveliness and Vehemency in his Exhortations and Polemical Works than Exactness and Solidity. He knew a great deal, but he never argued upon Principles, which made him sometimes contradict himself. He often carries his Subject too far, being transported with his ordinary Heat, he commends, blames, condemns and approves of things according to the Impression which they make upon his Imagination. He is more moderate and just in his Commentaries, but not always exact, because he did not think enough, but contented himself with dictating to his amanuenses (as he owns himself) either what he had read in other Mens Commentaries, or learned from the Jews. He often sets down the Expositions of different Commentators, without altering any thing, and without naming those from whom he took them. Nay, he introduced such Explanations as he did not approve himself, though without refusing them; being persuaded that it was enough that he had given notice to his Reader, that in his Commentaries there were several Explanations which he copied out of others. Thus he excused himself of some Errors that were imputed to him, because they were found in his Commentaries. This Advertisement may serve also to vindicate him from several Errors and Contradictions which may be found in his Commentaries. In this manner he justifieth himself against *Rufinus*, who upbraided him for teaching in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephefians*, *Origen's* Opinions of the Resurrection,*

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Resurrection, the Pre-existence of Souls, and of the Deliverance of Devils and Damned Men. He does not deny that these Opinions are in his Commentaries; but he asserts, that they are set down in *Origen's* Name, and not in his own; and consequently, that they ought not to be imputed to him. It is an extraordinary thing however, that having produced these Opinions of *Origen* without declaring against them, he should afterwards look upon them as Criminal in *Origen*, and condemn them as very dangerous Errors. But what may seem yet more strange, is, that himself hath uttered something like it in his Commentary upon the 66th. Chapter of *Isaiah*; where he really acknowledges, that the Punishments of Devils, Infidels, and Impious Men, that know not God, are never to end; but he saith, That as for Sinners and Impious Men that are Christians, whose Works are to be tried and purified by the Fire, the Judge's Sentence will be moderate, and temper'd with Clemency. I know this place is understood of Purgatory and Venial Sins; but *S. Jerom's* Words seem to imply something more, since the name of Impious Christians cannot be given to those who are guilty of Venial Sins only, and deserve no more than Purgatory. Several such things may be found in the Commentary upon the 4th. Chapter of *Amos*, in the first Book against the *Pelagians*, and in the Commentary upon the Prophet *Nabum*, where he says, That God granted pardon to those that perished in the Flood, as well as to the *Sodomites*, *Egyptians*, and other Sinners, who were punished in this World for their Crimes; according to this Rule of the Prophet, That God will not punish twice for the same Sin. Several other particular Opinions of *Origen*, are to be met with in this Father's Commentaries, which he seems to approve of. He teaches in his Treatise of the Prodigal Son, that the Angels may sin. Upon the Epistle to *Titus*, he asserts that they were before the Creation of the World. Upon the Prophet *Micah*, That they shall be present at the last Judgment. Upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, That Christ died for them. Upon *Ecclesiastes*, That the Sun and the Stars have Souls; and many other Notions of this kind which he rejected himself when he refuted *Origen*.

In *S. Jerom's* Commentaries there are also several Opinions that favour of Jewish Superstitions, or the too great credulity of the first Christians: As when he asserteth in the Commentaries upon the Prophets, *Daniel* and *Micah*, That the World shall last but One thousand years; or, when he saith in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk*, That God's particular Providence extends only to Men; and that all other Creatures are governed by a general Providence, without God's having a distinct knowledge of each Event: Or, when by too much scrupulosity he condemns all Oaths, as he doth in his Commentary upon the 5th. of *S. Matthew*, and upon the 2d. Chapter of *Zachary*: Or, when he forbids Christians to pay Tribute to Heathen Princes, upon *S. Matthew*, Chapt. the 7th. Or, when he pretends that the Name of *Father* is to be given to no Man, in the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, l. 2. But if he is too scrupulous in these places, in others he seems to be a little too free; as, when in his Commentary upon *Jonas*, he advises and approves the Action of such as kill themselves to preserve their Chastity. Perhaps some persons will not think him less to blame in his Commentary upon the 23d. of *S. Matthew*, where he disapproves the Action of some devout Women, who, in imitation of the *Pharisees*, bound about their Necks, Books of the Gospel, or Crosties, or other Marks of Devotion*. Lastly, He sometimes giveth Allegorical Sences to things which are to be understood literally; as, when in the Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he saith, That *Jacob's* Wrestling with the Angel, is not to be understood literally of a corporeal and visible Combat, but mystically of an invisible and spiritual Fight: Yet he is angry that Men should say that Hell-fire is not a real fire, and that the Scripture makes use of that word by a Metaphor; or, that what is said of the Earthly Paradise, is not to be understood literally, but Allegorically. These are some of the Faults that have been taken notice of in *S. Jerom's* Commentaries, and which crept in by the too great precipitation with which he wrote them.

[* If some Persons will think *S. Jerom* to blame, others, upon much better grounds, will commend him for disapproving Practices that are so very superstitious, and that cannot any manner of way tend to the advancement of solid Piety and Holiness.]

His Polemical Treatises are written with more care. But as he indulges his ordinary heat too much, he is fallen into those extremes for which he hath been often blamed. As for example, when he disputeth with *Helvidius*, he commendeth Virginity to that excess, that it was thought, he designed to condemn Matrimony; and his Book having scandalized many, himself was obliged to apologize for it, and moderate the terms which he had used before. When he undertakes to abate the pride of Deacons, who would make themselves equal with Priests; he so exalteth the Dignity of the latter, that he seems not to think them inferior to Bishops. He discourseth after such a manner of Virginity, as would almost persuade Men that it is necessary to lead that sort of life to be saved. Labour, Fastings, Austerities, with other Mortifications, Solitude and Pilgrimages, make up the subject of almost all his Advices and Exhortations. His delight was to write and hear of the Lives of Monks and Hermits, and he easily believed whatsoever was told him upon that subject, though never so extraordinary.

Molt of *S. Jerom's* Writings being either Critical or Moral, there is very little Dogmatical concerning the main Points of Christianity to be met with in them: Besides, he flourished in a time wherein the Disputes concerning the Trinity and Incarnation were over: The *Arian* and *Apollinarian* Heresies having been rejected, and those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* not being yet rifed.

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the *Pelagian* Heresie brake out towards the latter end of this Father's Life, which he undertook to refute immediately, with as much vigour, as he could have done in his earlier years. He shewed the Necessity of Christ's help, and the Impossibility of living in this World without Sin; and free from Passions, against that Heretic: However, he doth not weaken the strength of Free-will, which consisted, in his Opinion, in a free choice, either to follow or to reject God's Call. He went no further into the Nature of Grace, or other Difficulties about Original Sin and Predisposition. He seems to think that God hath predestinated or reprobated Men, because of his Eternal fore-knowledge of the Good or Evil they should do. This he teacheth in his Apology against *Rufinus*, by opposing *Origen's* Principle, which grounded Predisposition or Reprobation upon past Merits. He saith upon the 12th. *Psalm*, that the Prayer of Jesus Christ did not always obtain what he desired.

I shall conclude these Remarks with some Passages of *S. Jerom*, that express his Thoughts upon the Sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance. *Tou ask* (saith he in his Letter to *Hedibia*, Quest. 2.) how those words of our Saviour in *S. Matthew* are to be understood: *I say unto you, that henceforth I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. Some grounding their Opinion upon these words, have invented a fabulous Reign of a Thousand years; wherein they pretend, that Jesus Christ shall reign corporally, and drink of a sort of new Wine, whereof he has not drunk from the time of his Passion, to the end of the World. But not to trouble our selves about such Fables: Let us acknowledge, that the Bread which our Saviour brake, and gave to his Disciples, is the Body of the same Saviour. If then the Bread that came down from Heaven is the Lord's Body, and if the Wine which he gave to his Disciples is the Church; let us receive at his hands the Cup, which is the New Covenant. Moses gave us not the true Bread, but our Lord Jesus which is Christ did; he invites us to the Feast, and is himself our Meat; he eats with us, and we eat the Church him. We drink his Blood, we daily tread in the Sacrifices; the Grapes that are red with his Blood, are not in He tells us again upon the same Subject, in his Commentary upon the first Chapter of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, That Jesus Christ the Son of God hath given his Blood to redeem us, but that this Blood of Jesus Christ may be taken, either for his Spiritual and Divine Flesh; whereof he saith himself, My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is drink indeed: Or for his Flesh that was crucified, and his Blood that was spilt in his Passion upon the Cross. The Author of the Book of the Body and Blood of Christ, that goes under *Bertram's* Name, quotes this last passage, which doth not prove, as some pretend, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is not really in the Eucharist, but only that it is not there after a visible, passible, and corruptible manner, as it was upon the Cross. The Comparison, added by *S. Jerom*, of the Flesh of the Saints; so that the Flesh which shall one day see the Salvation of God, shall be different from the Flesh that shall be incapable of possessing his Kingdom. Thus, as the Flesh of Saints, in the next Life, is the same Flesh, though impassible and incorruptible; so the same Flesh of Christ, which was corruptible, and capable of suffering upon the Cross, is impassible and incorruptible in the Eucharist. There is another passage, the Exposition whereof is much controverted in the Commentary upon the Twenty-sixth Chapter of *S. Matthew*, where he saith, That the Lord having celebrated the Old Passover, which was a Figure of the New, passed to the true Sacrament of the Passover, that as formerly Melchisedeck, High-priest of the Almighty God, offering Bread and Wine, drew out before-hand the Figure of this Mystery; so Jesus Christ, to fulfill the same, should represent the Truth of his Body and Blood. These last words are variously rendered: The Protestants will have the word represent to signify only to represent. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, maintains, that representare implies as much as to make present. This latter Sense is confirmed by the following Words: The fattest Calf which is offered, to obtain the Salvation of Repentance, is the Saviour himself, whose Flesh we daily eat, and whose Blood we daily drink. The Reader, who is one of the Faithful, understands as well as I do, what this nourishment is, which filling us with its abundance, makes us put forth outwardly Praise and holy Thanksgivings. This sacred Feast is daily celebrated; The Father receiveth his Son every day, Jesus Christ is continually offered upon the Altars. In the Epistle to Pope *Damasus*, he saith, That there is as much difference betwixt the Loaves they offered to God in the Old Law, and the Body of Jesus Christ, in the Eucharist, as betwixt the Shadow and the Body, betwixt the Image and the Truth, and betwixt the Types and the Things they represent. Lastly, In the Epistle to *Heliodorus*, speaking of Priests, he saith, That they make the Body of Jesus Christ with their sacred Mouth: *Sui Christi corpus Sacro ore conficiunt*. In his Commentary upon *Zephaniah*, he seems to doubt whether wicked Priests consecrate it: But 'tis probable, that he speaks thus rather to terrify them, than to establish a Proposition, whose Consequences would prove very dangerous.*

I add an excellent Passage of this Father concerning the Sacrament of Penance, taken out of his Commentary upon those Words of the 16th. Chapter of *S. Matthew*: *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*. Some (saith he) Priests and Bishops of the New Law, understanding not the sense of these words, do imitate the pride of the Pharisees, by ascribing to themselves a power to condemn the Innocent, and to absolve the Guilty. But God doth not so much consider the Sentence of the Priest, as the Life of the Penitent: And as the Levites did not cleanse the Lepers, but only separated those that

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weren't cleansed from those that were not, by the knowledge which they had of the Leprosy: Even so the Bishop, or the Priest, doth not bind those that are innocent, and loose the guilty; but having heard the difference of sins, he knows whom to bind, and whom to loose, in the discharge of his Ministry.

In this place, we may take notice, 1. Of the Custom of declaring Sins to the Priest. 2. The Power which Priests had to Absolve, 3. The use Priests were to make of the Keys, and the care they were to take not to Absolve, but such as were truly penitent*.

[* After what has been already said of S. Jerom, one can hardly esteem him a Person, upon whose Authority Points of Doctrine or Matters of Discipline can safely be established. He may however give the Sense of the Church in his own time, in Matters wherein he personally was not concerned, in which we have Reason to think that he gives a faithful Account of things: And therefore since we have no Cause to disbelieve what he says of the Eucharist, and of (what the Church of Rome calls the Sacrament of) Penance; but, on the contrary, may reasonably suppose, that he spoke the Sense of the Church. The Passages themselves are to be examined. Of those concerning the Eucharist, we are to consider, 1. That he keeps himself to the Language of the New Testament in his Answer to Helvidius's Question, and only confutes the *Milennaries*, but says nothing of the *Modus* of the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament. 2. That his Interpretation of those Words in S. John, *My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed*, of the Spiritual and Divine Flesh of Jesus Christ, shews that he understood them Allegorically; for he distinguishes that from the Flesh of Jesus Christ, which suffered upon the Cross: Now there is equal Reason to believe, that what our Saviour says in the 6th. Chapter of S. John, concerning Eating his Flesh, and Drinking his Blood, is literally to be understood, as what he says in the Institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist: And if one is Allegorically to be interpreted, then they are both. 3. That the Mysteries of Religion were as nicely examined in that Age, as in any since Jesus Christ declared it to the World; and when every thing else that was mysterious was controverted, this single Article of the Real Presence, as defined by the Council of Trent, which is contrary to that Reason, that the other Disputes concerning the Trinity and the Divine Decrees are properly above, was never debated. This is so strange (if we suppose the Doctrine of the Church of Rome to have been then received) that it is incredible; especially when we consider, 4. That the generality of the Fathers, at that time, interpreted every thing in Scripture Allegorically, to which they could not assign a convenient Literal sense. This the People were used to: This was S. Jerom's practice very often; and he had learnt it of Origen, whom he seems sincerely to have followed, till he quarrelled with *Rufinus*: So that we have great Reason to think, that Men so accustomed to Allegories, as the Teachers and the People were in this Age, would not be at a Loss to interpret our Blessed Saviour's meaning in any of his Words, which Literally interpreted, would contradict and do Violence to that Reason by which they were capacitated to understand any part of his Law.

The Passage produced in favour of *Auricular Confession* proves nothing less; S. Jerom says, That after the Priest had heard the difference of Sins, he knew whom to bind and whom to loose; that is very true; but that is no Reason for Men to reveal all their Sins to the Priest; because the Church, in that Age, put Men under Penance only for public Sins; those that had committed private ones of such a Nature, as would, if discovered, have made them unfit to come to the Sacrament, were exhorted to put themselves under a voluntary Penance; and if they did so, they were obliged to declare why they did it, that so the time of their Penance might be regulated; but this seems to have been left to themselves, which makes it quite another thing from the practice of the Church of Rome.]

S. Jerom's Works were published by *Erasmus*, and printed in six Volumes at *Basil*, from the Year 1516, to the Year 1526. In 1530, they were again printed at *Lions* by *Gryphius*, and at *Basil*, by *Proben*, in 1553. The First Edition of *Marianus* was at *Rome*, by *Manutius*, in the Years 1565, 1571, and 1572. The Second at *Paris*, by *Nivelle*, in 1579. The Third at *Amwerp*, in 1579. The Fourth at *Paris*, with *Gravina's* Notes, in 1609. The Fifth is of 1624, at *Paris*. The Last was printed in 1643. These are the Collections of all this Father's Works. There are several of them printed by themselves, as the Letters in *Octavo*, printed at *Rome* by *Manutius* in 1566, at *Amwerp* in 1568, with *Gravina's* Notes, and at *Mentz* in 1470, at *Venice* in 1476, at *Paris* in 1583; at *Dillingen* in 1565; at *Louvain* in 1573. The Book of *Famous Men*, at *Louvain* and *Helmstadt* in 1611, at *Cole* in 1580, at *Lions* in 1617, at *Amwerp* in 1639. The Epistles to *Theophilus* at *Paris* in 1546, and 1589. The Book of *Virginity* at *Rome* in 1562. The Treatise of *Hebrew Names* at *Wittenberg* in 1626. I say nothing of the Editions of the *Chronicon*, because they were mentioned in the Account of *Ensebius* his Works.

The *Benedictines* of the Congregation of S. *Maur* will soon undertake a new Edition of S. Jerom. There is reason to hope that it will not be inferior either in Beauty or Exactness to those of S. *Augustin* and S. *Ambrose*, which are almost completed by the Labours of those Illustrious Monks, who make so good use both of their Time and Watchings, to enrich the Church with such glorious Works.

RUFINUS.

RUFINUS, Sir-named by some *Toranus*, or *Tyranius* (a), a Priest of *Aquileia* (b), was famous in S. Jerom's time; and after he had been one of his best Friends (c), he proved afterwards one of his greatest Enemies. He embraced a Monastick life (d), and was baptized in a Monastery about the Year 370. He went out of *Rome* with *Melania* in 372, to go into *Egypt* (e), to visit the Monks in the Desert of *Nitria*; they came out of *Egypt* into *Palestina*, and dwelt 25 Years in *Jerusalem*, where the House of that famous Widow was the Refort and Harbour of all the Pilgrims that came to visit the holy Places. She received them with joy, kept them at her own Charges, and gave great Gifts to the Church of *Jerusalem*. All this time *Rufinus* spent his Life in the Study and Exercises of Piety. Because he understood the Greek and Latin Tongues very well, he undertook to Read and Translate the Works of Greek Authors, and especially of *Origen*: He conceived so high an Esteem for that Author, that he undertook this Defence against all Accusers. This made him fall out with S. Jerom, who took the contrary side: However, they were reconciled before *Rufinus* (f) left *Palestina* to return to *Rome*. But this Peace did not last long. *Rufinus* and *Melania* having tarried 25 Years in the East, resolved to go back to *Rome*: They took Shipping in the Year 397; and having passed by *Nola*, where they were very well received by S. *Paulinus*, Bishop of that place, they came to *Rome*. Sometime after *Rufinus* published the Translation of the First Book of the Apology for *Origen*, which went under *Pamphilus's* Name, with a Letter to shew that *Origen's* Works had been falsified, and a Translation of the Books of *Principles*, with a Preface that offended S. Jerom. This Saint wrote immediately his Apology against *Rufinus*, against which *Rufinus* composed Two Books of Invectives. This Controverisie made a great noise in *Rome*, where both these famous Antagonists were in great credit, and had many Advocates. *Rufinus* kept himself quiet as long as Pope *Syriscus* lived, and received a Letter of Communion from this Pope; with which he retired into *Aquileia*. But after his Death, *Anasthasius*, that succeeded him, cited *Rufinus* to appear before him; but he not appearing, only excusing himself by an Apology, was condemned without Mercy: so that he could not preserve his Dignity of Presbyter in *Aquileia*, where he abode till the *Visigoths* spoiled *Italy* in 409, when he was forced to retire into *Sicily*, where he died in the Year 410 (g).

Rufinus wrote Two sorts of Books, Translations of Greek Authors, and Books of his own making.

(a) Sir-named *Toranus* or *Tyranius*.] This Sir-name was given him by a certain Author that speaks of Ecclesiastical Writers, whose Book is immediately after the Treatise of *Idephonsus* of *Toledo* in *Miraeus's* Bibliotheca. He is commonly called *Toranus*; but the Original of that Name is not known.

(b) Priest of *Aquileia*.] *Gennadius*, *Palladius*, and all the rest of the Ancients say that he was of *Aquileia*, a City of *Italy*; yes, himself seems to declare it plainly in his Apology; yet *Marius Mercator* calleth him a *Syrian*. *Gerbertus* is of opinion, That that *Rufinus*, spoken of by *Marius Mercator*, and whom he supposes to have been Author of the *Palagian* Heresie in *Rome*, is not the same with him of whom we write now; but his Arguments are very weak, and in all probability he is the same *Rufinus*. Father *Gerberton* thinks, on the contrary, that *Marius Mercator* speaks indeed of our *Rufinus*; but he affirms, that *Rufinus* was not born in *Aquileia*, but only a Priest and an Inhabitant of that Town. He quotes two passages of S. Jerom to prove it, but they are not convincing. It is more natural to say that *Marius Mercator* called *Rufinus*, a *Syrian*, because he dwelt long in *Syria*, and came from thence, when he sowed the *Palagian* Doctrine in *Rome*.

(c) One of his best friends.] S. Jerom commends him in the 5th. Epistle to *Florentius*, and recom-

mends him as a Man whom he particularly esteems. His 4th. Epistle to *Rufinus* shews the same.

(d) He embraced a Monastick life.] He saith in his first Invective, that Thirty years before he was baptized in a Monastery by *Chromatius*, *Jovinian* and *Eusebius*. This Writing is of 399, or 400. (e) To go into *Egypt*, &c.] *Palladius* relateth these Circumstances of the Lives of *Rufinus* and *Melania*, in his *Hystoria Lausica*. Chap. 32, and 33. he saith, That they abode 25 Years in the East, but S. *Paulinus* reckons but 25; And this Epocha agreeth best with the other circumstances of their Journey.

(f) Yet they were reconciled.] S. *Epiphanius* in his Letter charges *Rufinus* with *Origen's* Errors, and reckons him among the Followers of *John of Jerusalem*, and among S. Jerom's Enemies. S. Jerom says the same in the 66th. Letter to *Rufinus*, as soon as he had published his Translation of the Books of *Principles*, *Scias nos reconciliatos inimicitias pure colere*.

(g) Where he died, &c.] S. Jerom in his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel* and *Jeremiah*, speaks of *Rufinus* as one already dead: It is certain that *Rufinus* retired into *Sicily* after *Rome* was taken, as he says himself in his Letter to *Ursacius*, set forth by *Valesius*.

The Greek Translations are the greatest and most considerable part of his Labours; for, as *Genadius* says, he gave the *Latin* a great many of the Greek Books. The Catalogue of them is this:

The Twenty Books of *Jewish* Antiquities, by *Flavius Josephus*.

The Seven Books of the *Jewish* War.

Two Books against *Apion* of the same Author.

Eusebius his Ecclesiastical History, reduced into Nine Books, and Translated with great Liberty (b). The Books of Recognitions (i), attributed to *S. Clement*, with a Preface.

The Sentences (k) of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, which he had falsely ascribed to Pope *Sixtus* the Second of that Name.

The Book of *Origen's* Principles; 17 Homilies of the same Author upon *Genesis*; 12 Homilies upon *Exodus*; 16 Homilies upon *Leviticus*; 28 Homilies upon *Numbers*; 26 Homilies upon *Job*; 9 Homilies upon the Book of *Judges*; the first Homily upon the Book of *Kings*; 9 Homilies upon the *Psalms*, and Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*; and a Letter of *Origen's*, where he complains of his Book's having been corrupted.

The first Book of *Pamphilus's* Apology for *Origen*.

The Orations of *S. Gregory Nazianzen*: The Aitetical Rules of *S. Basil*, and some other Treatises of both these Fathers of the Church.

The Sentences of *Evagrius Ponticus*; and some other Treatises of this Author. He Translated [*By *Mac-besides*, if we believe *Genadius*, a Treatise of *Pamphilus's* against the Mathematicians *]: And *Origen's* observes, that he had published an *Arian's* Book under the Name of *Theophilus* the Mar-mont Ju-dicial Astrologer; as also did most of the ancient *Romans*, who were for the most part very ignorant of that part of Learning, till towards the Fall of their Empire, when *Apuleius*, *Boethius* and *Cassiodorus* Translated some of the Elementary Books of the *Greeks*, into *Latin*.]

Rufinus gave himself a great deal of liberty in his Translations, and kept more to the Sense which he judged ought to be given to Authors, than to their Words. In a Word, his Translations are Paraphrases, rather than literal and faithful Versions. He hath used much freedom, particularly in *Eusebius's* History, and in *Origen's* Treatises, where he hath changed, added and struck out many things, as he acknowledgeth himself. But if these Translations be not sincere, they are eloquent enough, and they have that clearness which makes them pleasing to the Reader.

The Works of *Rufinus's* own Composition, are these.

Two Books of Ecclesiastical History, which he hath added to the Translation of *Eusebius* his Books; wherein he continues the History of the Church, to the Death of *Theodosius* the Emperor. These Books are dedicated to *Chromatius* of *Aquileia*, and were written at the same time that *Alaric*, King of the *Goths*, wasted *Italy*. They were Translated into Greek by *Gelasius* of *Casarea*. They are pretty well written, but there are many Historical faults (l).

A Discourse to prove, that *Origen's* Books have been falsified; published at *Rome* in 397, with the Translation of *Origen's* Book of Principles, and of *Pamphilus's* Apology.

Two Books against *S. Jerom's* Apology, entitled *Invectives*.

In the former, to justify his Doctrine against the Accusations of *S. Jerom*, he produces that Creed, and that Doctrine which he had learned at *Aquileia* above Thirty years before, from *Chromatius*, *Jovinian* and *Eusebius*; he observeth, that in his Church they did not only profess in their Creed to believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, *carnis resurrectionem*; but that they added, of this Flesh, *huius carnis resurrectionem*. "To the end, saith he, that making the Sign of the Cross upon our Brother, as is usually done at the end of the Creed, we may make a publick

"profession, that we believe the Resurrection of the same Flesh which we now touch. He uses

(b) *Eusebius* his Ecclesiastical History reduced into Nine Books, and Translated with great Liberty.] He hath passed over almost all *Eusebius* his Ninth Book, and hath made but One of the Eighth and Ninth.

In the Seventh he hath added a Relation of *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus* his Miracles, which is not in *Eusebius*; and in the Ninth, an Harangue of *Lucian* the Martyr. There is some alteration in the Order of the Chapters in the Sixth and Seventh Books. There are several faults in his Translation; he makes *Zacharias*, spoken of in *S. Luke*, to have been a Martyr at *Lions*; he confounds *S. Basil* with *S. Blandina*, &c.

(i) The Books of Recognitions.] *Bellarmine* believes that this Translation is falsely attributed to *Rufinus*; but *Genadius* owns it to be his.

(k) The Sentences of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*.]

S. Jerom upbraids him with that fraud in several places. *Ep. ad Cresph.* in c. 18. *Ep. ad S. in c. 22. Jerom.*

(l) There are many Historical faults.] These are some of them. He supposes that *Athanasius* hid himself for six years after he was condemned by the Council of *Tyre*. He perverts the Order of Time in the History of *S. Athanasius*. He sheweth but little favour to *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *S. Basil*. He saith that *S. Hilary* was Excommunicated, which is false: He also confounds the Time, when he says, That *S. Hilary* was Banished after the Council of *Milan*. There are several other faults of the same nature; notwithstanding which, it is a very useful Work, because he is the first that has unfolded and put in order the History of that time.

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this Confession for his Justification against *S. Jerom*, from the Accusation of being in an error in the point of the Resurrection of the Flesh, and of not believing that Man should rise again with his whole Flesh. He affirms, that he is wrongfully accused of that Error; for his Opinion is, that the whole Body shall rise again with its Members; but that it shall be glorious and immortal, and shall be no more subject to Corruption, and other infirmities of mortal and corruptible Flesh.

After this he answers what was objected against him, that he entertained Heretical Opinions concerning the Trinity. He shews, that his Doctrine in that point cannot be suspected of Error: That if through inadvertency he hath let pass in the Translation of *Origen's* Principles, any passage wherein he seems to say that the Son sees not the Father, and that the Holy Ghost sees not the Son, he should not for all that be accused of Error, since in so many places he professes the contrary: That if they had charitably warned him of it, he would have either blotted out or altered it, as he had done the others, which he found to be contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Trinity. He complains also, that *Paulinianus* had poisoned the Translation of that place, making him say, That it was neither impious or absurd to say that the Son sees not the Father; whereas he had only said, That he would afterwards give a reason of the Sense, in which it might be said, That the Person of the Father was invisible.

After that he repelleth all *S. Jerom's* reproachfull Allegations, declaring that *S. Jerom* himself had formerly commended *Origen*, Translated his Works, and that in his Commentaries there were the same Errors concerning the Nature of the Flesh, when risen again; the Pre-existence of Souls, and the end of the Torments of the Devils, and the Damned; for which Reason he found fault that *Origen's* Books were Translated. This he sheweth by long Extracts out of different Commentaries of this Father.

The Second Book of *Rufinus's* Invektive is concerning the personal Reproaches which he utters against *S. Jerom*. First he charges him with tearing the Reputation of Christians of all States and Conditions, in his Book of Virginity, and with blaming their Manners at such a rate, that *Pagans* and *Apostates* enquired diligently after that Book, to make use of it against the Church. Secondly, he accuses him of Perjury, because after a solemn Oath to read the Books of profane Authors no more, he ceased not to read and make use of them in his Works: Particularly he takes notice of a passage in his Treatise of Virginity, wherein he pretends that *S. Jerom* spake of God after an irreverent manner. He laughs at *S. Jerom*, for boasting that he was *Diogenes's* Disciple, for having had one Month's Conversation with him. He jests upon him for taking as his Teachers, *Porphyry* the Philosopher, and *Barrabas* the Jew. He quoteth several places of his Writings, to prove, that he not only commended the Erudition and Learning of *Origen*, but that he approved his Doctrine also. He accuseth him of striking out of his *Chronicon*, what he had said before in favour of *Melania*. He reproveth him for the low esteem he had of the Septuagint. He finds fault with his contemptuous rejecting the Story of their 70 Cells. He blames him for not owning the History of *Sufama* for Canonical. Lastly, he makes it Criminal in *S. Jerom* to Translate the Bible a-new. This Invektive is written with much address and vehemence. He composed it in the Year 399.

Sometime after he writ his Apology to Pope *Anastasius*; wherein having expounded his belief of the Trinity, the Resurrection, the last judgment, and the Torment of Eternal fire for the Devils, in a very Catholic manner; he declares that he was uncertain of the Origination of Souls, having observed that Ecclesiastical Authors were not agreed upon that Subject; That some, with *Tertullian* and *Lactantius*, believed that they were formed with the Bodies; That others, as *Origen*, were of opinion, that they were created with the World, and that God infused them into Bodies; and Lastly, That others affirmed that God both created and placed them in the Bodies at the same time; and so, not knowing which of these Opinions was the truest, he remitted the decision to God, not being able to be positive concerning any more than what the Church teaches, That God is the Creator of Souls and Bodies.

Having thus given an account of his Doctrine, he justifies himself of the Objections made against him for Translating *Origen's* Books. He saith, that it is very plain, that it was Envy only that made them condemn that Undertaking; That if there is any thing displeasing in the Author, the Translator is not to be charged therewith, who has barely delivered the Sense of the Author. That he had prevented the inconvenience that might have happened, by striking out the Errors which he conceived to have been added in *Origen's* Books; That he had given notice of it in his Preface; so that they were much to blame to accuse and calumniate him upon that Subject: "For, saith he, when will Simplicity and Innocency be secured against Envy and "Slandering, if they be not upon this occasion? I neither justify nor approve *Origen*, but I Translated him, and so did many others before me; I am the last, and that at the request of my friends. If such a Translation is not acceptable, be it so, I will Translate no more. He concludes, by assuring the Pope, That he neither has, nor ever had any other Sentiments than these he hath now declared, and which are those of the Church of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Aquileia*; telling him withal, That such as through Envy or Jealousie against their Brethren, do occasion Scandals and Divisions, shall give an account at the Judgment-seat of God.

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The

Rufinus

The Exposition of the Creed directed to *Laurentius*, which is found amongst the Works of *S. Cyrian*, and of *S. Jerom*, is likewise *Rufinus's* Work. *Gennadius* who was one of the most zealous Defenders of this Author, faith he hath done extremely well in this piece, and that all other Expositions of the Creed are not to be compared with it; and indeed it would be hard to find a more compleat Treatise upon the Creed than this.

He observes in the beginning, the difficulty of that Undertaking, because it was very dangerous to speak of Mysteries; That some famous Authors had already written, but very succinctly upon that Subject: That *Phoebus* had chosen that way to establish his Heretic: but his design was to expound the Creed with simplicity, by keeping to the very terms of the Scripture, to supply what had been omitted by those that writ before him. Then he declares, that the Apostles had Conference together to compose the Creed, before they divided; that to they might teach all whom they should convert by the same common Creed; That it is called *Symbolism*, either because it is the result of a Conference betwixt several Persons, or because it is the Mark of distinction, whereby Christians are known. Afterwards he examines all the Articles, and observes the several ways of repeating them in different Churches. He clears their Sense in a very plain manner, and confirms it by the most opposite passages in the Holy Scripture. In explaining the Article of the Catholic Church, he gives a Catalogue of the Canonical Books, of the Old and New Testament, and admits into the Canon of the Old Testament, none but the Books owned by the *Hebrews*: But he says, That there are other Books read in Churches, which are not made use of to confirm Articles of Faith, and he calls them Ecclesiastical Books. These Books in the Old Testament are; *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Maccabees*, and in the New Testament, the Book of *Hermas*, and *S. Peter's* Judgment. He observes further upon the same Article, that there is but one Church: and in few words he condemns most of the Sects that have separated from it; He enlarges much upon the last Article concerning the Resurrection of the Body, observing again in this place, that the Church of *Aquileia* had added, of *this Body*, and that they made the sign of the Cross in the Conclusion of the Creed.

The Exposition of *Jacob's* Blessing is the first Book that is Printed under *Rufinus's* Name, in the Collection of his Works. This Treatise was written at *Paulinus's* request; which made *Ipse* to attribute it to *Paulinus*, tho' it be compiled by *Rufinus*, as *Gennadius* assures us: It is divided into two Books. In the first he explains *Jacob's* Blessing, and in the second that of the rest of *Jacob's* Children. He particularly keeps to the Historical Sense, without neglecting either the Mythical or the Moral: He shows, That this Patriarch's Prophecies are fulfilled, either in the Church, or in the Jewish Tribes.

He follows the same method in his Commentaries upon the Prophets *Hosea*, *Joel* and *Amos*. These Commentaries are clear and neat: He expounds his Text after an elegant but natural way without intangling himself with Allegories, hard Questions, or long Digressions. He tells us in the Preface, That he had made some Commentaries upon *Solomon's* Books, and that he designed to do the like upon all the lesser Prophets. He desires the Reader to take Notice, That he made use of the last Translation which is conformable to the Hebrew Text, but that he had but little help from other Men's Works in his Commentaries. "For, faith he, the *Latin* seem to have been agreed to write nothing upon the Minor Prophets. Some *Greek* and *Syrian* Authors indeed have endeavour'd to expound their Prophecies; and I confess I have read upon those Books some Commentaries of *S. John* Bishop of *Constantinople*; but, his Custom was, he compos'd them rather for Exhortations to his Auditors, than for Expositions of the Scripture Text. *Origen* after his peculiar way, entertained his Readers with delightful Allegories, but takes no pains to give the Historical Sense; which is the only thing that is solid. *S. Jerom*, a Man of vast Parts, and thoroughly learned, hath written Commentaries upon those Prophets, but he so much insist'd upon the Jewish Traditions, that he took no pains to find out the Sense of the Prophecies by their Events. So that his Commentaries are wholly made up, either of *Origen's* Allegories, or of Jewish Traditions. This is *Rufinus's* judgment of others; and it must be confessed, that he hath avoided what he reproves in the Commentaries of others, and that his is more useful for the understanding of the Historical Sense of the Prophecies. It is strange that *Gennadius* should make no mention of these Commentaries; but the Stile and the Circumstances sufficiently discover them to be compos'd by *Rufinus*: Tho' some have doubted it.

We have only now to speak of the Commentaries upon the Seventy five first *Psalms*, which were Printed by themselves at *Lyons*, in the Year 1570. but they cannot belong to *Rufinus*, because there are whole Periods taken out of *S. Augustin's* Commentaries upon the *Psalms* (m), and out of *S. Gregory's* Morals. *Gennadius* speaks of several Letters of Piety written by *Rufinus*, among which he gives the first place to those that are written to *Proba*, but they are not now extant.

(m) There are whole Periods taken out of *S. Augustin's* Commentaries upon the *Psalms*. This is particularly remarkable upon the 1st. *Psal.* ver. 1. *Psal.* 136. ver. 1. Upon the Ninth *Psal.* there is a whole Period which beginneth, *Prima*

persecutio, taken almost word for word out of *S. Augustin's* Commentary upon the Third *Psal.* The Author says, That he lived in a time, when Heresies appeared, which shews that this is the Work of a new Compiler.

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It must be acknowledged, That *Rufinus*; tho' very ill used by *S. Jerom*, was one of the ablest Men of his time: Perhaps he had not so much Learning as *S. Jerom*, but his Temper was better and less violent. He doth not write so good Latin, but his Stile is more even. It cannot be denied, but that the Latin Church is oblig'd to him for the knowledge of the most considerable among the Greek Authors; and particularly of Church-History. Tho' he was accus'd of divers Errors, yet he was convicted of none, and he justified himself sufficiently of the reproachful Objections made against him. He defended *Origen*, but that was by rejecting the Errors Father'd upon him. The only Thing he may be thought to have been guilty of, not upon the Score of his own Writings, but by the Testimony of the Authors that have spoken of him, is that he was *Pelagius's* Tutor. But perhaps the Disciples Errors may have been imputed to the Master, tho' he never taught them. However it cannot be said, That he divided from the Church upon that occasion, or that these Errors were obligtly maintained by him. And so, in my Opinion, it is very unjust for modern Writers, to blemish the Memory of him, and use him, as if he had been one of the greatest Heretics in the World. We should not mind all the Accusations where-with *S. Jerom* loaded him in the heat of their Quarrel: but rather imitate the Modesty of Pope *Gelasius*, who gives him the Character of an Holy Man; *Rufinus vir religiosus*. Tho' he confesses, That *S. Jerom* was in the right when he reproved him, for what he said concerning Man's Free-Will.

The Works of this Author have been collected into one Volume in Folio, and Printed at *Paris* by *Domnius* in 1580. They forgot to insert the two Invectives, and the Apology to Pope *Anastasius*, with the letter concerning the falsifying of *Origen's* Books, which are in the last Volume of *S. Jerom's* Works. His Translations are in the ancient Latin Editions of those Greek Authors, which were made publick before new Translations were made.

SOPHRONIUS.

SOPHRONIUS a Man of great Erudition, says his Friend *S. Jerom*, in his Book of *Famous Men*, writ when he was little more than a Child, the Praise of *Bethlehem*, and not long ago compos'd an excellent Treatise of the ruin of *Serapis*: He translated also into Greek, "my Treatise of Virginitie to *Eulphemius*, and the Life of *Hilarion* the Hermit: He likewise translated into Greek the Latin Translation of the *Psalms*, and Prophets, which I made from the Hebrew Text. The Greek Translation of the Book of *Famous Men*, is also attributed to him. There is another *Sophronius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who lived under the Emperor *Heraclius* about the year 636, to whom is ascribed a small Treatise of the Labours and Travels of *S. Peter*, and of *S. Paul*: It is a miserable business not worth mentioning.

SEVERUS SULPICIUS.

SEVERUS SULPICIUS, (a) Priest of *Agen* (b), famous for the Nobility of his Extraction, the Fineness of his Parts, and the Holiness of his Life, was eminent in the times of *S. Jerom*, and *Rufinus*, he was *S. Martin's* Disciple, whose Life he writ; He was an intimate Friend of *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, to whom he writ several Letters. This Man speaking of *Severus's* Conversion in one of his Letters, faith, That it was altogether extraordinary and miraculous; "Because he had at once shaken off the Yoke of sin, and broken the Bands of Flesh and Blood, in the Flower of his Age; and at a time when he was famous at the Bar, when neither Riches, nor a Licence to enjoy Pleasures after Marriage, nor his Youth could turn him out of the Way of Vertue, to engage in the broad and easie Path of worldly Men: That he despised Wealth and Glory to follow Jesus Christ, and preferred the preaching of Fifteen-men, before

(a) *Severus Sulpicius*.] *Gennadius* faith, That *Sulpicius* was his Surname; and *S. Gregory of Tours*, lib. de vit. S. Mar. c. 1. Ed. 1. co. Hist. Franc. c. 31. calleth him as we do *Severus Sulpicius*: but in his Letters he calls himself *Sulpicius Severus*. But sometimes the Surname is put before the Proper name. Most of the Ancients call him only *Sulpicius*. [*Sulpicius* was the Name of his Family; the Emperor *Galba* was of the *Sulpician* Family: *Severus* was his cognomen, as *Cicero* to *Tully*, and *Crispus* to *Salust*; so that in Stridness his Name is *Sulpicius Severus*, not *Severus Sulpicius*; his Prenomen, which went always first, is not known: In *Gennadius's* time, the Roman way of naming Persons was almost wholly

out of use, excepting some few of the Descendants of the Old Roman Families; and therefore one is not strictly to take those words *Cognomen Sulpicius*, as if *Severus* were the Name of the Family and not *Sulpicius*.

(b) Priest of *Agen*.] He faith in the first Dialogue c. 20. that he was of *Aquitain*, and in his History l. 2. He calleth *Phabadius* Bishop of *Agen* his Bishop. They were mistaken who confound him with one *Sulpicius* Bishop of *Bourges*, who lived above 190 years afterwards under King *Gontran*: all the Ancients allow to this *Sulpicius* no other Quality, besides that of Priest.]

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"all the pieces of *Ciceronian* Eloquence, and all the Books of fine Learning: However, he shew-

ed his Eloquence in the Writings which he composed after his Conversion. The chief of these Works is his Sacred History divided into two Books, which contains an Abridgment of what remarkable things happened in the History of the *Jews*, and of the Church, from the Creation of the World, to the Consulship of *Stilico*, and *Aurelianus*, that is, to the Year of Jesus Christ 400, written with great Skill. He wrote also *S. Martin's* Life, three Letters concerning the Death, and Virtues of that Saint, and three Dialogues betwixt *Gallus* and *Posthumianus*, whereof the first is concerning the Miracles of the *Eastern* Monks, and the two others about *S. Martin's* Virtues. *Gennadius* faith, That he wrote some pious Letters besides to his Sister, two Letters to *S. Paulinus*, that were common in his time, not to speak of several others, which were not published because they were intermixt with Domestick Affairs. *F. Dackery* in the Fifth Volume of his *Spi-cilegium*, hath published us five Letters of *Severus Sulpicius* to his Sister, and *Galucius* hath likewise published two in the First Volume of his *Miscellanea*. The others are not yet published.

Gennadius affirms, That *Sulpicius Severus* towards the latter end of his Life, was surprized by the *Pelagian*, but that afterwards having acknowledged the Error, which he was fallen into, by too great a desire of speaking, he kept Silence all the rest of his days, that he might repair his Fault. *Guiberus* Abbot of *Gemblois*, seems to question the matter of Fact. But *Gennadius* his Testimony is not to be questioned in such a matter: *Sulpicius Severus* lived till towards the Year 420.

This Author is eloquent, his Writings are pure and polished, he writ with great Brevity, and great Clearness, wherein he excelled *Sallust* whom he imitated. His is the best written Historical Abridgment that we have, and yet he is not very exact, but commits Faults against the truth of History, especially of the Ecclesiastical. He is very credulous of Miracles, and approves the Dreams of the Ancients about the Reign of a Thousand years, about Anti-Christ, whom he thought to be *Nero*, about the time of the World's end, and about the Sons of Men that had to do with the Women. He passes over the Church History from Jesus Christ, to the Fourth Century, very lightly; he faith very little of the *Arians*, but he enlargeth much upon the *Priscillianists*, and from him we learn more of them than from all the Authors besides.

The Life of *S. Martin* is written with the same Purity as his History; but in a more diffuse and agreeable manner. The Dialogues are composed with so much Art and Exactness, that one can never be weary of reading them, and particularly the first, where *Posthumianus* relates several particulars of the *Eastern* Monks. He speaks there of the Troubles that were in *Egypt*, and *Palestine*, about *Origen's* Books, and makes a most wise and moderate Judgment of them, and tho' he does not wholly excuse *Origen*; yet he does not approve of that Severity, which the Bishop of *Alexandria* exercised against those that defended him. He bewails the misfortune of the Church to be disturbed with things of so small Importance. He commends *S. Jerome* without entirely applauding his Conduct. He quotes a Jest of a good Priest of the Coast of *Africa*, who refused to take Money offered him by *Posthumianus*, saying, *That Gold did rather destroy the Church than edifie it*.

The Works of *Sulpicius Severus*, which *Lazius* had published full of Faults, were revised and corrected by *Gislelinus*, who Printed them with his own Notes, and with *Galepinus's* at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1574. *Sigonius* made a new Edition of them with new Notes, Printed at *Bononia* in 1581, and at *Frankfort* in 1593. The History was printed with *Drusius's* at *Franker* in 1607. There is an Edition by *Elzevir* at *Amsterdam* in 1635. And we have him entire with the Notes of several learned Men, Printed at *Amsterdam*, by *Hornius* his care in 1647, and 1654. These are the principal Editions of *Sulpicius Severus*, to say nothing of the Collections, into which his Works have been inserted.

In speaking of *Sulpicius Severus* who writ *S. Martin's* Life, it is worth observing that a Creed is ascribed to this Saint, but it is very uncertain, whether he be the Author of it, tho' it is very ancient.

S. PAULI-

Saint PAULINUS.

Saint *PAULINUS*, called also *Pontius*, and *Meropius*, descended from an illustrious Family of *Roman* Senators, was born at *Bordeaux* about the Year 453. He was directed in his Studies by the famous *Ambrosius*; he studied with so much Assiduity the best of the Latin Authors, that he got a title very like theirs. He advanced afterwards to the most considerable Offices of the Empire. *Ambrosius* says that *Paulinus* was Consul along with him, but his Name being not found in the *Fasti consulares*, it is probable that he obtained that Dignity only in the Room of some other Person, who died in the Office, and perhaps in the Year 378, after the Death of *Valens*. He married *Therasia* a rich Woman, by whom he got a great Estate, The Happinefs that a Person so powerful and rich as he was, might have enjoyed, was much disturbed by abundance of Buifness, which made him recollect himself, and resolve to be converted, and to retire into *Spain* with his Wife *Therasia*, who had contributed much to make him take this Resolution. He was baptized by *Delphinus* Bishop of *Bordeaux* some time before his retreat, in the Year 389. He dwelt Four years in *Spain*, where he embraced voluntary Poverty, selling his Goods by degrees to give them to the Poor. The Inhabitants of *Barcelona*, where he dwelt conceived such Esteem for him, that they caused him to be ordained Priest upon *Christmas-day*, tho' he thought not of it. *S. Paulinus* perceiving that he could not overcome the People's Resolution, after a long resistance, yielded to be ordained, upon condition that he should not be obliged to remain in *Barcelona*, because his Design was to withdraw to *Nola*. This Ordination was performed in 393, and the next Year, he left *Spain* to go into *Italy*. In his way he saw *S. Ambrose* at *Florence*, who shewed him some Marks of Respect: at *Rome* he was kindly received both by Persons of Quality, and by the People: but Pope *Siricius*, and the Clergy were jealous of him, which made him leave that Town quickly, and repair to *Nola*, where he dwelt in a Country house half a League from the Town; having lived there sixteen years with his Wife *Therasia*, in the Study and Exercises of a Monastical Life, he was chosen and ordained Bishop of *Nola* in 409. The beginning of his Promotion was disturbed by the Incursions of the *Goths*, who took the City of *Nola*; this Assault being over, he enjoy'd his Bishoprick peaceably to his dying day, in the Year 431. We read in *S. Gregory's* Dialogues, that he yielded himself to be a Captive in *Africa* voluntarily, to deliver a Widow's Son that was taken by the *Vandals*: but this Action which did not agree, either with the Circumstances, or the time of *S. Paulinus's* Life, is looked upon by the Learned as a Fable, as several others are, which may be found in *S. Gregory's* Dialogues.

There was a new Edition lately made of this Father's Poems and Letters, wherein they are set very exactly in a Chronological Order.

The first Letter is written by *Paulinus* to *Sulpicius Severus*, sometime after he was ordained a Priest; there he exhortheth *Sulpicius Severus* to continue in that sort of Life, which he had embraced, without being disturbed at the Discourses of the Men of the World that blamed him. He invites him to come to him at *Barcelona*, and acquaints him after what manner he was ordained Priest. "Upon *Christmas-day*, faith he, the People obliged me to receive the Order of Priesthood, against my Will: not that I have any Aversion to that Dignity; on the contrary, "I could wish to have began at the Porter's order to come into the Clergy: but as my Design looked another way, so I was surprized and established at that new Order of the Divine Providence. I submitted my self to Christ's Yoke, and am now engaged in a Ministry beyond my Merit and my Strength. I can hardly yet comprehend the heavy weight of that Dignity: I tremble when I consider the Importance of that Office, being conscious to my self my own weakness: but he that giveth Wisdom to the Simple, and causeth sucking Babes to sing "his Praises, is able to accomplish his work in me, to give me his Grace, and make me worthy, whom he has called when I was unworthy. He addeth, That he took Orders upon this condition, that he should not be tied to the Church of *Barcelona*, so that he consecrated himself to the Holy Ministry, without being bound to the Service of any particular Church. He invites him at last not to put off his Journey, but to come to him before *Easter*.

The Second Letter to *Amandus* a Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Bordeaux*, is written likewise concerning that Ordination, at the same time with the first. He intreats him to give him Advice and necessary Instructions, for the worthy discharging of his Ministry.

The Third to *Alypius* Bishop in *Africa*, was written immediately after his Arrival at *Nola*, in the Autumn of the Year 394. He commends there *S. Augustin's* Books which *Alypius* had sent him; he sends him *Eusebius* his *Chronicon*, and tells him, That he was very desirous to know the particulars of his Life: and at the latter end of the Letter, he says, That he sent him a Loaf as a Token of their Union, and a Figure of the Trinity, adding, That he shall make an Eulogy, of that Bread when he receives it, that is, That in receiving it he shall bless it, as he says in the following Letter to *S. Augustin*. It was the Custom of that time, especially with *S. Paulinus* thus to send Bread as a mark of Union: See the 1st. 4th. 45th. and 46th. Letters. *S. Augustin* in the 34th. Letter speaks likewise of a Loaf, which he sent to *Paulinus*, and makes use of the same

expression;

Paulinus. expression; *The Bread, faith he, which we send unto you, shall be made a Subject of Blessing, by the Charity wherewith you shall receive it.* UBERIOR BENEDICTIO FIET DILECTIONE ACCIPIENTIS VESTRE BENIGNITATIS.

The Fourth is written to *S. Augustin*; he commends his Five Books against the *Manichees* which *Alpinus* had sent him: It is full of Expressions, to shew how greatly he esteemed *S. Augustin*, of whom he craves advice for his Behaviour; both these Letters were written in *Autumn*, in the Year 394, as appears by the Sixth. *S. Augustin* answers this last by the 27th Letter of the last Edition, which is there in the *Italic Letter*.

S. Paulinus's Fifth Letter is directed to *Sulpicius Severus*, wherein he returns him Thanks for the Testimonies of Love that he had received from him: He exalts his Conversion; and comparing it with his own, shews that it was more surprizing and wonderfull. There he also speaks of his Dis temper, and of the Envy which the *Roman* Clergy bore to all men: of any Reputation either for their Holiness or their Pery; and alledgeth this as a Reason of his withdrawing far from *Rome*; He opposes Pope *Siricius* his proud Behaviour towards him, *Papa ubi superba duritia*, to that Charity wherewith both the Bishops and Clergy of *Campania* had entertained him by their frequent Visits, and to that of the *African* Bishops, who had sent on purpose to know how he did.

The Sixth Letter is written to *S. Augustin* in the Year 395, wherein he expresseth how impatient he was to receive some Letters from him.

The following Letter is an Answer of *S. Augustin's* which is the Thirty first of his Letters, written in 396. He sends *Paulinus* word of his Promotion to be a Bishop.

Paulinus having received this Letter, acquaints *Romanianus* by the Seventh, with his great joy for that News.

In the Eighth he exhorteth *Licentius Romanianus* his Son, in Prose and in Verse, to leave the World and give himself to God. These Letters are of the Year 396.

In the Eleventh of the following Year, as is supposed, he urges *Severus Sulpicius* to come to see him.

The Twelfth to *Amandus* is one of the most excellent of all *S. Paulinus's* Letters. There he very elegantly explains the Degrees of Man's Fall, and of the Redemption by Jesus Christ, observing that God had preserved Holiness in the posterity of *Seth*; that in the time of the Flood, The Spirit of Holiness rested in one only righteous Man, who was then the Redeemer of Mankind, and a Type of the Redemption through Christ: That after the Flood men returning to Corruption, God chose *Abraham* to be the Father of the Faithful, of whom should come the everlasting King, and that at last all mankind being so corrupted with Vice, that hardly any Remedy could be hoped for; the same Lord who formed Man, came to restore him by the same power by which he had created him: That he made himself Man to be a Mediator between God and Men: That he was humble, and had chosen the vile things in this World to confound the Proud, the Learned and the mighty things of the Age: And at last he died and rose again, to destroy Death in us, and restore Immortality. These are the main Points explained very exactly by *S. Paulinus* in that Letter. At the latter end he takes notice that there is both Humility, and a laudable Pride. *That Pride, faith he, is to be approved, which makes us despise the World, and neglect whatsoever seemeth great handsome and pleasing to the Eyes of Men, apply our selves only to heavenly things, and stoop to nothing but God's Commandments, &c. on the other side, That that Humility is to be condemned, which hath not Faith for its Foundation, but only such a Littleness of mind as serves for lying, and is an Enemy to truth, which makes us loose our Liberty, and become the Slaves of Vice; which mingles Wine with Water, That is, to say, which weakens the pure truth, by a base Complacency.* MENDACII FAMULA VERITATIS INIMICA MISCEANS AQUA VINUM, IDEST, VERITATIS MERUM AQUOSO ADULATIONIS ENERVANS.

The Thirteenth is a Letter of Consolation to *Pammachius* upon the Death of *Paulina* his Wife in 397, wherein having exhorted him to stop his Tears, and moderate his Sorrow, he commends his great Charity to the poor of the City of *Rome*.

In the Fourteenth and Fifteenth to *Delphinus*, and *Amandus*, *S. Paulinus* testifies his joy for *Delphinus's* Recovery, who had been dangerously Sick, giving him thanks for the Service he had done to *Basilus* the Priest. In the first upon occasion of *Delphinus's* Sickness, he faith, That the Afflictions of the Righteous are profitable. 1. For the Exercise of their Vertue, 2. To keep them from Pride, 3. To imprint in them the fear of God's Justice, which will grievously punish the Impious, since it deals so severely with the Righteous.

The Sixteenth Letter to *Jovinus*, is an excellent Discourse of Providence. It is placed in 399. In the Seventeenth to *Severus Sulpicius*, he complains that he came not to see him, neither met him at *Rome*, whither he was gone to celebrate the Feast of the Apostles *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*; He exhorts him to come into that Countrey, to Honour *S. Felix* the Martyr. This Letter was written by *S. Paulinus* at the latter end of the Year 399, after a Recovery from his Sickness.

The Eighteenth is written to *Vitricius* Bishop of *Roien*, he sent it by *Paschasius* his Deacon whom he found at *Rome*, and had brought to *Nola*. Having excused himself for detaining him so long, he makes a *Panegyric* upon *Vitricius*, describing the Torments which he had suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ. This Letter is of the same Date with the foregoing.

The Three following to *Delphinus* Bishop of *Bourdeaux*, were sent in the Year 400, by *Cardanus* an Exorcist, who came to visit him from that Bishop.

In the Fifth, he shews his gratitude for the Love which that Bishop had for him: He owns himself to be one of that Bishop's planting, praying him that he would cultivate the same Plant by his Prayers, and water it with his Counsels. In the Second, he gives him Notice of the Tokens of love and respect that had been shewed him by *Anastasijs* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Veneris* Bishop of *Milan*. At last having commended *Cardanus*, he expounds the beginning of *S. John's* Gospel.

In the Twenty second to *Severus*, He describeth the Luxury, and Effeminateness of the Men of the World, and exalteth the Frugality of the Monks, in very elegant and proper words.

Here is a very pleasant Letter from *Severus* to *Paulinus*, wherein he recommends a Cook to him, affirming that he was very fit for him, knowing exactly well how to dress a Dish of Beans, and Lettices, and one that would destroy as many Pot-Herbs as any Man he ever saw.

S. Paulinus made this Cook called *Victor* welcome, being so highly commended, and *Paulinus* was so well pleased with him, that he makes his *Panegyric* in the Twenty third Letter commending him, because he cut his Hair perfectly well. He speaks of the use of Hair, and from thence takes opportunity to give an Allegorical exposition of the Histories of *Sampson* and *Mary Magdalen*.

Sulpicius Severus had written *S. Paulinus* a Letter wherein he commended that Saint, for distributing his Estate to the Poor. *S. Paulinus* answers him, That it is but a small thing to renounce this World's wealth, except one also denies himself; and that a Man may quit the Goods of this World heartily, without parting with them altogether. He treateth afterwards of the Conditions of Evangelical poverty, and the dangers and temptations that attend a Spiritual life. Both these Letters are supposed to have been written about the latter end of the Year 400.

The Twenty fifth Letter is addressed to a Person of Quality, whom he exhorts to quit the World, and advises him not to deter his Conversion.

In the Twenty sixth Letter he praises a Monk named *Sebastian*, and a Deacon named *Benedictus*, upon their having worthily discharged their Duties. These two Letters are in the Ninth Tome of *S. Jerom's* Works, among those falsely attributed to him. They seem to have been written in the Year 401.

The Twenty seventh Letter to *Severus Sulpicius* contains nothing considerable. The Twenty eighth directed to the same, is something more useful; there are several passages of Scripture applied to Jesus Christ with much wit and dexterity. He writes, that he sent to him by *Victor*, (whom he commends again in this place,) his *Panegyric* of *Theodosius* the Emperor, and his Verses in commendation of *S. Felix* the Martyr: Both these Letters are believed to be of the Year 401.

By the Twenty ninth, he thanks *Severus* for a Suit of Camel's Hair which he had sent him; judging, that he thereby intended to let him understand the need he had of Penance, and that in exchange he sent him a Suit of Lamb's Wool which *Melania* had given him; whereupon he takes occasion to commend that famous Widow, who lately passed through *Nola*. If this Letter was written in the same Year that *Melania* returned from *Jerusalem*, as he that writ the Notes upon it supposes, then it is of the Year 397, and not of 402, as he affirms: But there is no proof that it is of the same Year.

Sulpicius Severus had desired to have *S. Paulinus's* Picture. The Saint refuses to give it, and calls his Request a piece of Folly: And this puts him upon discoursing in the Thirtieth Letter of the inward and the outward Man; it is thought to be of 402. There he draws a wonderful Picture of Man's Heart; this is one excellent passage of it, much admired of *S. Augustin* in his 186th Epistle. *How should I dare give you my Picture, that am altogether like the Earthly Man, and by my Actions represent the Carnal Man? Shame presseth me on every side. I am ashamed to and by my Picture drawn as I am, and I dare not have it made otherwise. I hate what I am, and I love what I would be. But what will it avail me, wretched Man, to hate Vice, and love Vertue, since I am what I hate, and my lascivious hinders me from endeavouring to do what I love? I find since I am what I hate, and am torn by an intestine War. The Flesh fights against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh. The Law of the Body opposes the Law of the Spirit. Woe is mine, because I have not taken away the taste of the poisoned Tree, by that of the saving Cross. The poison communicated to all Men from our first Parent by his Sin, abideth yet in me.*

About the same time *Severus* asked *S. Paulinus* to send him some Ashes of the Martyrs, to consecrate a Church: *S. Paulinus* having none, sent him a Bit of the true Cross, which *Melania* had brought from *Jerusalem*, with a Design to send it to *Basilus*, *Severus's* Mother-in-Law. This precious Relick was locked up in a Golden Box. Upon Occasion of this Present, he writes the History of the Invention of the Holy Cross. He says that *Adrianus* the Emperor caused a Temple to *Jupiter* to be built in the place where Christ suffered, and one to *Adonis* in *Bethlehem* to blot out the Memory, both of Christ's Birth and Passion: That these Temples stood till the time of *Constantine*: That the Emperess *Helena* destroyed the Temples and Idols of false Deities, and erected Churches in those places; and that in one of them the Prints of Christ's Feet when he ascended up to Heaven were visible upon the Sand. That after this Christ's Feet when he ascended up to Heaven were visible upon the Sand. That after this the Emperess, desirous to find out where the Cross of Christ lay, sent for Christians and Jews, to learn of them the Place where it might have been hid, and that when she was shewed the Place, she caused the Ground to be opened, and contrary to all mens Expectation, having dug deep,

Paulinus.

The Poem, immediately following, is a Paraphrase upon what S. Bernard hath written in honour of the Name of *Jesus*, and is so far younger than S. Paulinus, though it seems to me to be ancient. It is not necessary to observe, that the Life of S. Ambrose is written by another Paulinus.

The six Books of S. Martin's Life, ascribed to S. Paulinus, cannot be his, because in the second he is cited as a third Person, and he that wrote them mentions *Perpetuus*, sixth Bishop of Tours after S. Martin, who was not ordained till towards the latter end of the fifth Century, long after the Death of S. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola. There is in the Rules of *Benedictus A. monensis* an Answer to this Question; *What ought to be the Monks Penance*, which is attributed to Paulinus, but though it be Eloquent, yet it is not believed to have been written by the Bishop of Nola.

The Writings of S. Paulinus are composed with a great deal of Art and Elegance, his way of speaking is close and clear, his Terms are pure and choice, his Discourse sententious and lively: He excites the Attention of his Readers and keeps them awake. He passes insensibly from one thing to another, all hangs well together, one Sentence depending upon the other, and the end of one Thought is the beginning of the next. S. Jerome advised him, upon his Conversion, to learn the holy Scripture and to make use of it. He made great use of that Council; for after that he made it so familiar to him, that in all his Discourses he inserts a vast Number of Passages of Scripture, and adapts them to his Subject, by giving them often a Sense very different from their natural one. They are as so many precious Stones, set in, and so curiously wrought that they raise the Discourse and give it a new Lustre. Yet it must be confessed that he doth it too often, and that his Allusions and Allegories are sometimes too far fetched. He turns things agreeably and finely: His Letters are pleasant and cheerful, they move, and they divert, rather than instruct. It is hard to judge, faith S. Augustin, whether they have more Sweetness or Fire, more Fruitfulness or Light. They soften and give Heat at the same time, they strengthen and mollify. Yet it must be owned that his Notions are not always solid and exact; and often please because of a false Lustre. He often plays with Words, and uses several Childish Allegories. He is excellent in his Draughts and Descriptions. He doth not penetrate into Dogmatical Matters, nor carry points of Morality very far, but only points at them superficially. All his Writings are short, but they are many, and all carefully composed. *Aspinus* highly commends his Poems, yet can they not pass for perfect in that kind, especially those which he made after his Conversion. He understood Greek but indifferently, and was very little conversant with History or the Sciences. He was esteemed, beloved, and cared for by all the great Men of that Age, of what party soever they were, and he kept Correspondency with them without falling out with any. We may say, with Cardinal Perron, that he was the Delight of his time. He led a retired and very frugal Life, yet without great Austerity. He was the Admiration of his own Age by Reason of his voluntary Poverty, and his Bestowing his great Estate upon the Poor.

He was very pious, and had a very tender Conscience. One finds in all his Letters the Character of an humble, modest and meek Spirit, he was much affected with the Sense of his own Weakness, and the Necessity of God's Help. He had much Devotion for the Saints, was inclinable to believe miraculous Stories, and to reverence Relicks.

The first Edition of this Author's Works was made at Paris by *Badius* in the year 1516. The second was printed at *Colen*, by the Care of *Gravinius*. After that they were inserted into the *Orthodoxographia*, and the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *Rosweidus* caused them to be printed at *Antwerp* in 1622, but at last there was an Edition of them in *quarto* at Paris. It is to be wished, that the Book-sellers who printed it had taken as much care to have it upon good Paper, and in a fair Character as he that took care of the Edition did to render it Correct and Useful. He hath divided it into two Volumes; in the former are the Letters and Poems, generally owned to belong to S. Paulinus, which are set down separately according to the Order of Time. He hath revised and corrected the Letters and the Poems by several Manuscripts. He hath added some new Letters, some he hath divided into two, and in some places he hath made one of two.

The second Volume contains the doubtful Works, Notes upon the Epistles and Poems that are in the first Volume; the Testimonies both of Ancient and Modern Authors concerning S. Paulinus, with a new Account of this Saint's Life, very large, and taken out of his own Writings: Seven Dissertations, whereof the two first are to justify the Chronological Order, wherein he hath set the Letters and the Poems. The three following contain the Lives of *Sulpicius Severus*, *Alethius*, *Vitricius*, and *Aper*, to whom S. Paulinus writ most of his Letters. The sixth is concerning S. Paulinus his Works, which are either lost or dubious, or supposititious. The last contains an Examination of the History of S. Paulinus his Captivity. After this comes a Catalogue of various Readings, and several very useful Tables. There is a French Translation of S. Paulinus, his Letters preparing, which will be useful and diverting.

PELAGIUS.

PELAGIUS, an English Monk, (a) Rufinus's Disciple, Head of the Hæresy called by his Name, hath his place amongst Ecclesiastical Authors, because of some Books that he hath written, of which we have spoken already. His Treatises are a Commentary upon S. Paul's Epistles (b), attributed to S. Jerome (c). The Letter to *Demetrius* (d) and some others, in the last Volume of S. Jerome's Works. A Treatise concerning the power of Nature, refuted by S. Augustin in the Book of *Nature and of Grace*. Several Books about Free-Will; part whereof S. Augustin refuteth in the Book of the *Grace of Jesus Christ*; and a Confession of Faith, directed to Pope Innocent (e) which is in S. Jerome, in S. Augustin, and in the second Volume of Councils of the last Edition, pag. 1563. This Author's Style is dry, flat, and barren. He was not learned, but he was a Man of good Sense: His Reflections are short and judicious.

Pelagius.

(a) Pelagius, an English Monk.] S. Augustin, Ep. 106. *Marius Mercator*, S. Prosper in his *Chronicon*, and in the Poem of ungrateful Men, call him Britonem, or Britannum. S. Augustin in several places gives him the Quality of Monk. He was of the Monastery of Bangor in England, not in Ireland. He began to publish his Error in Rome towards the latter end of the fourth Century, if *Marius Mercator* may be believed.

(b) A Commentary upon S. Paul's Epistles.] S. Augustin and *Marius Mercator* speak of his Commentaries, and the latter observes that he composed them before the taking of Rome, which happened in the year 410.

(c) Attributed to S. Jerome.] Some question whether this Commentary be the same which S. Augustin quoteth under Pelagius his Name. 1. Because that among S. Ambrose's Works there is also a Pelagian Commentary upon S. Paul's Epistles. 2. Because all the passages cited by S. Augustin out of Pelagius's Commentaries are not to be found there, or at least they are not there in the same Terms. The former of these two Reasons is very weak, it being possible that a Pelagian Author might write Commentaries upon S. Paul, different from Pelagius's. The second would be of some weight, if in that Commentary attributed to S. Jerome, there were not most of the passages quoted by S. Augustin. For in the first place, S. Augustin in the 16th chapter of Pelagius his Acts, faith, that that Heretic had expounded these Words of the 9th chapter of the *Romans*, *Neque volent, neque current est Dei*; by saying that S. Paul spake thus by way of Interrogation,

Voce interrogantis & redarguentis. This very Exposition, and these very Words are in the Commentary we are now speaking of. 2. S. Augustin, in the 3d Book of the Merits of Sins, ch. 12. faith, that Pelagius expounding that place of the 7th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Sanctificatus est vir fidelis*, observes that there were several Examples of believing Women who had converted their unbelieving Husbands. The same Remark is in this Commentary. 3. S. Augustin, in the same Book, chap. 4. faith, that Pelagius tells us upon these Words, *Rom. 5. Que est forma futuri*, that they may be understood several ways: the same thing is mentioned in this Commentary. But what puts the matter out of doubt, is that *Marius Mercator* in his Commentaries, cites a long Passage out of Pelagius's Commentaries, which is found intire in this. It is true that S. Augustin in the 3d Book of the Merits of Sins, chap. 2. produces an Argument against Original Sin which is not in this Commentary, and that he quotes in the 3d chap. a place taken notice of by *Marius Mercator*, which likewise is not in this Commentary ascribed to S. Jerome; but those places may possibly have been blotted out by some Ca-tholics.

(d) The Letter to Demetrius.] It is certainly Pelagius's. See what is said of it in the Account of S. Jerome.

(e) The Confession of Faith directed to Pope Innocent.] This Confession of Faith was delivered to *Rufinus* Successor to Innocent, who sent it to the African Bishops.

COELESTIUS.

COELESTIUS, *Pelagius* his Country-man and Disciple (a), was guilty of the same Errors; yea, he carried them farther, and maintained them with greater Boldness. He was of a subtil and cunning Temper (b). He included his whole Doctrine in six propositions, which *Hilary* of *Syracuse* sent to *S. Augustin*, who refutes them in the Eighty ninth Epistle. They are related likewise by *Marinus Mercator*; and were condemned in the Synod of *Palestine* where, *Pelagius* himself was constrained to Anathematize them. *S. Augustin* published, and withal answered eight Definitions, or Reasonings of this Author. He presented a kind of Confession of Faith to Pope *Zosimus*, out of which *S. Augustin* produces some Fragments in the fifth; sixth, and twenty third Chapters of the second Book of *Grace, and Original Sin*.

(a) *Coelestius*, *Pelagius* his Country-man and Disciple. *S. Jerom* says that he was of *Scotland* or *Ireland*; that he was a Disciple of *Pelagius*, and afterwards Head of the *Pelagians*. *Marinus Mercator* says that he was of a good Family, and born an Eunuch, and wanted no Learning.

(b) He was of a subtil and cunning Temper. *S. Jerom* in his Letter to *Crespion* observes that his Disciples said that he went over the Thorns of *Logick*. He professeth to despise him much, and calleth him ignorant Calumniator, in his Preface upon *Jeremy*. But *S. Augustin*, in his Book to *Boniface*, Chap. 3. takes notice that he had a great deal of Wit.

NICEAS.

NICEAS, Bishop of some Town in *Romania*, hath written after a plain and easy manner, six Books of Instructions for those that were preparing for Baptism. The First is concerning the Dispositions of *Catechumens*, who desired to be baptized. The Second of the Errors of the *Gentiles*. He observes that in his time they put into the number of the Gods one *Melchidius*, a House-keeper, because of his Liberality; and one *Gadarius*, a Peasant, because of his Strength. The Third Book is of Faith in one only God. The Fourth is against Calculating of Nativities. The Fifth is concerning the Creed. The Sixth concerning the Victim of the Paschal Lamb. The same Author writ a Letter to a Virgin that was fallen into Sin. Which Discourse may serve for an Exhortation to all those that commit Sin. This Author lived about the beginning of the Fifth Century. And this is all that, we know of him.

OLYMPIUS.

OLYMPIUS, a Bishop, and a *Spaniard* by Birth, hath written a Doctrinal Treatise against those that ascribe Sin to Nature, and not to Free-will: Where he shows, That not by Nature, but by Disobedience, Evil was mingled with our Nature. This Bishop was present at the Council of *Toledo* in 405. *S. Augustin* commends him for a Man of great repute, in the First Book against *Julianus*, Chap. 3d, and 7th. and he quoteth his Writings in the 2d, Chapter of the same Work.

BACHIARIUS.

BACHIARIUS, a Christian Philosopher, faith *Gennadius*, who was desirous wholly to disengage himself from the World, and to fix his Thoughts entirely upon God; and therefore often changed his Habitation that he might be the less in love with any. It is said that he writ several small Books. I have read but One, concerning Faith, directed to the Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he applauds himself for his way of living; affirming, That it was not the fear of Men, that made him chuse a Pilgrim's life, but that he might imitate *Abraham* when he left his Country, and parted with his Kindred. There is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* a Letter of this Author's directed to Bishop *Januarius*, written about a Monk, who had abused a Nun. The Bishop to whom he writes, would receive him no more, nor admit him to Penance: *Bacharius* telleth him, that such Severity is contrary to the Scripture, and exhorteth the Monk to quit the Nun whom he had abused, and doe Penance. This is a learned Letter, and well written; there are many happy Applications of both the Ceremonies and the Histories of the Old Testament. *Ivo Carnutenfis*, Epist. 64. mentions another Letter of this Author's upon *Solomon's* latter end.

SABBATIUS.

SABBATIUS, a Bishop in *Gaul*, at the request of a Virgin that was Consecrated to God, whose Name was *Secunda*, wrote a Book of Faith against *Marcion*, *Valentinus*, *Artius*, and *Eunomius*; wherein he demonstrates both by Reason and Testimonies of Holy Scripture, That there is but one only God who made Heaven and Earth out of nothing: He proves also that *Jesus Christ* was very Man, having had a real Body, subject to the same infirmities with our's, to the necessity of Eating and Drinking, to Weariness, Sorrow, Sufferings and Death. He opposes these Truths to the Errors of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, who admitted two Principles, and affirmed that *Jesus Christ* had only the Similitude of Flesh: He sheweth against *Artius* and *Eunomius*, That the Father and the Son are not two different Natures, nor two Divinities, but that they have but one and the same Essence; That the Son proceedeth from the Father, and yet is co-eternal with him. This is what *Gennadius* saith of this Author, whom he places among those who flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Century.

ISAAC.

This **ISAAC** is mentioned by none but *Gennadius*: He ranks him among the Authors that lived in the beginning of the Fifth Century, and says, that he writ a Book of the Trinity and the Incarnation; whose dark Reasonings and intricate Discourses show that he owned Three Persons in one and the same Divinity; yet so, as that each of them had something proper and peculiar, which the others had not: *Viz.* That it was peculiar to the Father to be without beginning, and to be the Original of the rest: That it was the Property of the Son to be begotten, and yet neither created nor posterior to him that begot him: And Lastly, That the Property of the Holy Ghost was, that though he was neither created nor begotten, yet he proceeded from another: And, as to the Incarnation, he wrote so, as that it appeared that he owned two Natures in one and the same Person. *Sirmondus* published this Book from a Manuscript in *Pithensis* Library, which tells us that this Author had been a Jew; for this Treatise is intitled of *Isaac's* Faith, who had been a Jew. It contains those things whereof *Gennadius* hath made an Extract: There are very subtil Reasonings upon the Mysteries of the Trinity and of the Incarnation.

PAULUS OROSIUS.

Paulus O.
rosius.

PAULUS OROSIUS, a Spanish Priest of Tarraco, S. Augustin's Disciple, flourished under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.

S. Augustin sent him into Palestine in the Year 415, to desire S. Jerome's Opinion concerning the Original of the Soul: He brought from thence S. Steven's Relicks. The City of Rome having been taken in the Year 410, by Alaric, King of the Goths, the Heathens, willing to render the Christians odious, accused them of being the cause of that misfortune, and of all the other calamities that oppressed the Roman Empire. To defend them against that reproach, Paulus Orosius, at S. Augustin's request, undertook to write the History of the greatest Events that occurred from Jesus Christ to his own Time, to show that great Calamities had happened from time to time in the World, and that the Roman Empire had never been so free as since the Nativity of Jesus Christ. This Work is intitled *Hormela* in some Manuscripts, and is cited under that Name by some Authors; the Original and Explication of which Title is very uncertain. It is a kind of Universal History, divided into Seven Books, which may be of some use. It is not ill written, but not exact. It has many faults against History and against Chronology. He had not read the Greek Historians, and easily credited whatsoever might help his Subject, without examining whether it was well attested or not.

This Author hath written besides a small Treatise, intitled, *An Apology for Free-will against Pelagius*, which was Printed with his History in the Colon Edition of the Year 1582. By a mistake they inserted several Chapters of S. Augustin's Treatise of *Nature and Grace*, which were separated by Andreas Schotus in his Edition of it, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

There is also, among S. Augustin's Works, before the Treatise against the *Priscillianists* and *Origenists*, a Letter of Orosius to S. Augustin concerning these Hereticks.

Some, upon the credit of certain Manuscripts, ascribe to him a Commentary upon the Book of *Canticke*, which is amongst *Origen's* Works, and a Treatise of *Illustrations Men*; but this was because they put Orosius's Name for Honorius's.

S. Augustin in his 166th Letter, saith, That Orosius had great liveliness of spirit, a wonderful facility of speaking, and a fervent zeal. *Figil ingenio, promptus eloquio, flagrans studio*. His Style is close, and his Language pure enough.

Orosius's History was Printed at Paris in 1506, by Petit. The *Apology for Free-will* was Printed by it self at Louvain in 1558. The best Edition of both these Works, is that of Colon, of the Year 1582. The latter is found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and the former in the Collections of Hieronians.

LUCIANUS, AVITUS, EVODIUS, SEVERUS.

Lucianus,
Avitus,
Evodius,
Severus.

These four Authors are to be joyned with Orosius, because they writ concerning a particular Circumstance of his Life, that related to the Relicks of S. Steven.

The First is a Grecian Priest, one Lucianus, who writ an History of the finding of S. Steven's Relicks: His Book was Translated into Latin by Avitus, a Spanish Priest, Orosius's friend, the Second of those Authors we are now speaking of. The Third is Evodius, Bishop of Uzale, in Africa, One of the Five that writ to Innocent the First, the 95th Letter in S. Augustin; he wrote a small Treatise concerning the Miracles of S. Steven's Relicks, which Orosius had brought into the West. He is likewise the Author of a small Treatise of Faith, or the Unity of the Trinity, against the *Manichees*, which is in the Eighth Volume of S. Augustin's Works, as Sirmondus proves upon the credit of MSS. S. Augustin mentions Evodius's Book, touching S. Steven's Miracles, in the 8th, Chapt. 1. 22. Of the City of God; and Sigebert placeth Evodius amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers.

The last Author here named, is one Severus, a Bishop of the Island *Moronia*, who wrote a Circular Letter of the Jew's Conversion in that Island; and of the Miracles wrought in that place, by S. Steven's Relicks, which Orosius left there.

Lucianus's Book and Avitus's Letter, are printed by Swins upon the Third day of August. Both these Books, attributed to Evodius, are none of his, since they do not bear his Name as the Author, but only because they are directed to him. Baronius published Severus's Letter from a MS. in the Vatican Library. These Relations are so incredible, that were they not authorized by the Testimonies of S. Augustin and Gennadius, we should scarce give any credit to them. They are all at the end of the Seventh Volume of the new Edition of S. Augustin.

MAR-

MARCELLUS MEMORIALIS.

This Author wrote the Acts of the Conference held at Carthage, betwixt the Catholics and the Donatists, in the Year 411. Part of them were printed by Papirus Massonus, and printed with Optatus, and in the last Collection of the Councils; but Baluzius printed them more exactly in his new Collection of Councils.

Marcellus
Memoria-
lis.

EUSEBIUS.

This Eusebius is not much known. Gennadius doth not tell us whence he was, nor what he was; but only observes, that he writ a Treatise of the Mystery of the Cross, and of the Consistency which the Apostles, and particularly S. Peter, had, by virtue of the Cross. He places this Author among those that flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Century.

Eusebius.

URSINUS.

URSINUS the Monk wrote a Treatise against those who affirm, That Hereticks are to be baptized; wherein he teacheth, That those ought not to be baptized again, who were baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, or the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; though they that baptized them were in an error, because it is enough to have been baptized either in the Name of Christ, or in the Name of the Trinity, to give a right to receive the Imposition of hands from the Bishop. This Treatise is among S. Cyprian's Works; I am apt to believe that the Author of it is more ancient, than to agree to this place.

Ursinus.

MACARIUS.

Gennadius mentions one Macarius a Monk, who writ a Treatise against Astrologers in Rome; wherein, saith he, he fought the help of the Scripture by the labours of those of the East. This Macarius is he, probably, to whom Rufinus addresses his Apology, and his Translation of the Books of Origen's Principles; of whom S. Jerome saith in his Second Apology: *Had you not returned from the East, this able Man would yet have been among the Astrologers*. His Book is not extant.

Macarius.

HELIODORUS.

HELIODORUS, a Priest of Antioch, wrote an excellent Book of Virginity, grounded upon Scripture-testimonies. Gennadius, Chap. 29.

Heliodorus.

PAULUS.

PAULUS, a Bishop (saith the same Gennadius, Chap. 31.) wrote a small Treatise of Repentance; wherein he maintains, That Sinners are not so to afflict themselves for their Sins, as to fall into despair.

Paulus.

HELVI-

HELVIDIUS and VIGILANTIUS.

Helvidius
and Vigilantius.

THESE are two Hereticks refused by S. Jerom, reckoned by Gennadius amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers. *Helvidius*, saith he, Chap. 32. *Auxentius* his Disciple, an imitator of *Symmachus*, writ a Book that shows some Zeal for Religion, but an indiscreet one: His Style and Arguments are very intricate. He cites several passages of Scripture, whence he concludes, That the Virgin *Mary* having brought forth *Jesus Christ*, had other Children by *Joseph*, that were called the *Lord's brethren*. S. Jerom confuted that Error, and writ a Treatise full of Testimonies out of the Scriptures against this Author.

Vigilantius, a Priest, Originally of *Gaul*, a Parish-priest, in the Diocesis of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, hath written likewise some Treatises, whereby he shows his Zeal for Religion; but he was deceived with Ambition, and an Opinion of himself, because he had a fine Style. Not being well versed in the Scriptures, he made a very bad Exposition of *Daniel's Visions*, publishing several impertinent things, wherefore he is numbred amongst Hereticks. S. Jerom answered him likewise.

S. AUGUSTIN.

St. AUGUSTIN.

ST. AUGUSTIN was born at *Tagasta*, a City of *Numidia*, in the Reign of *Constantius*, the 13th. of *November*, in the Year 354. which had for Consuls the Emperor himself the seventh time, and *Gallus Caesar* the Third. St. *Augustin's* Father, an ordinary Citizen of that Town, was called *Patricius*; and his Mother, a very virtuous Woman, was named *Monica*. This holy Woman took care to infill into her Son the Principles of the Christian Religion, and placed him among the *Catechumens*: so that falling dangerously sick, he earnestly desired to be Baptized; but the violence of the Distemper abating, it was put off to another time. His Father being yet Unbaptized, and wanting that Sense of Religion that his Mother had, intended only to promote his Son in the World; and though he was not very Rich, yet he spared nothing to instruct and give him Learning: He made him learn the Rudiments of Grammar at *Tagasta*; and then sent him to *Madama*, to study Humanity-Learning. This Child had no mind to Study, and particularly hated the Greek Tongue; but his love for the Poets, made him first take a pleasure in it. At Sixteen Years of Age, having gone through his Humanity-Course, his Father took him from *Madama*, and sent him to *Carthage* to learn Rhetorick; but wanting a Fond for this necessary Expence for some time, St. *Augustin* tarried a whole Year at *Tagasta*; where Idleness disordered him. He went away at the latter end of the Year 371. for *Carthage*, where he applied himself to study Rhetorick, with much Application and Success. In the mean while his Father died, quickly after he was baptized. The reading of *Cicero's Hortensius*, inspir'd St. *Augustin* with a love of Wisdom: But not finding there the Name of *Jesus Christ*, which he had printed in his Heart from his Infancy, he betook himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture: But meeting not there with the flowers of profane Eloquence, he could not relish it, and so suffered himself to be led away by the *Manichees*. Being Nineteen Years old, he returned to *Tagasta*; where he taught Grammar, and frequented the Barr. This Exercise having fitted him for some noble Employment, he went to *Carthage*, at the Age of Twenty five, about the latter end of the Year 379. where he taught Rhetorick with Applause. He was still engaged in the *Manichean* Errors; but he began to be better informed, by a Conference which he had with *Fauftus*, about the Year 383. The Insolence of the *Carthaginian* Scholars, made him resolve to go to *Rome*, though against his Mother's Will, who desired either to keep him there, or to go with him. Being come to *Rome*, he fell sick in the House of a *Manichee* where he lodged: Being recover'd, he got some Scholars about him; but finding that most part of them were so base, to go away without Paying, he fought to settle somewhere else. The Inhabitants of *Milan* having sent to *Symmachus*, the Prefect of the City, desiring that he would find a Rhetorick-Professor for them, St. *Augustin* procur'd himself to be Chosen for that Employment. Being in *Milan*, he was so wrought upon by St. *Ambrose's* Discourses, that he resolv'd to be converted, and quit the Sect of the *Manichees*: He discovered this Design to his Mother, who came to him to *Milan*. *Plato's* Books confirm'd him in his Resolution. His Conversation with *Simplicianus* and *Petilian* did much further his Conversion; and the reading of St. *Paul's* Epistles brought this great Work to Perfection, in the 32d. year of his Age. Before the Vacation, in the year 386. he stay'd only a few Days, to make an end of his Publick Lectures, which he was to read before the Vacation: Which no sooner came, but he withdrew to *Verecundus* his House; where he betook himself seriously to studying of the Truth, and to fit himself for Baptism; which he received at *Easter*, in the year 387. having utterly renounced his Profession. Afterwards, he resolv'd to return into his own Country; and having tarried some time at *Rome*; he embark'd at *Olisia*, where his Mother died. However, he continued his Voyage, and arrived in *Africa* towards the end of the year 388. He went through *Carthage*, where he lodged in a Magistrate's House, named *Innocent*; who was miraculously cured, as he gives the Account, in the 8th. Chap. of the 22d. Book of *The City of God*. He went to dwell at *Tagasta*; where he abode three years, living in common with some of his Friends, exercising himself by Fasting, Prayers, and other Works of Piety, and applying himself Day and Night to the Meditation of the Law of God. The Fame of his Piety was so great, that as all that design'd to embrace Spiritual Life, address'd themselves to him: Among the rest, a Person of Quality in *Hippo*, who was willing to give up himself to God, desired to entertain him, and to bring him to that Town. St. *Augustin* did not find himself dispos'd to follow his Advice: yet God did not permit his Journey to prove in vain; for *Valerius*, Bishop of *Hippo*, having propos'd to the People to chuse a Priest whom that Church stood in need of, he chose St. *Augustin*, when he did not think of it; and he Ordained him, against his Will, about the beginning of the year 391. St. *Augustin* immediately retir'd to prepare himself for the worthy discharging of the Sacardotal Function, and begg'd of *Valerius* time till *Easter*: In which space, he established a Monastery, or Community of Persons that had all things Common, renouncing the Property of any thing. *Valerius*, who design'd that St. *Augustin* should preach in his room, permitted him to do it in his Presence, contrary to the Custom of the *African* Churches. This did not please some of

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gustin.

his Brethren ; but he excus'd it, by the Usage of the *Eastern* Churches, and the need he had that some body should preach the Word of God in his place ; because he being a *Greek*, could not do it so well in *Latin*. This Custom was found so reasonable, that several Bishops in *Africa* followed his Example ; admitting Priests to Preach in their Presence : yea they did St. *Augustin* the Honour, to make him Speak in a General Council of *Africa*, held at *Carthage*, in the year 393. where he Expounded the *Creed*, in the Presence of the Bishops ; who conceived to great an Esteem of his Learning, that they judged him worthy of a more excellent Dignity. But *Valerius* fearing lest a Person so necessary for the Government of his Diocese, should be taken away from him, resolv'd to make him his Co-adjutor ; and accordingly, two years after, he caus'd him to be Ordained Bishop of *Hippo*, by *Megalius*, Bishop of *Calama*, then Primate of *Numidia*, in the year 395. With much difficulty St. *Augustin* consented to that Ordination, though he did not then know, as he afterwards declar'd, that it was contrary to the Laws of the Church, and to a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which forbids the Ordaining Two Bishops in the same Church. I shall not now give any Account of what he did and wrote whilst he was Bishop, because that will come in, in the Abridgment of his Works : Neither will I enlarge upon the Praises which may be given him, nor upon his Holiness and his Virtues, which were known and admir'd by all the World, both before and after his Death. This is no part of my Design ; besides, the Name only of St. *Augustin*, is the greatest Commendation that can be given him ; and whatsoever may be said after that, can serve only to lessen the Opinion Men have conceived of his rare Merit, and his great Piety. He died as Hobly as he had liv'd, the 28th. day of *August*, 430. aged Seventy six Years, with Grief to see his Country Invaded by the *Vandals* ; and the City, whereof he was Bishop, Besieged for several Months.

St. *Augustin*'s Works make up several Volumes, wherein they are divided according to that order which was judg'd to be most natural. We shall follow that which is observed in the last Edition, set forth by the *Benedictines* of *St. Germans*.

The First TOME of St. *Augustin*'s Works.

Tome I.

THE First Volume containeth the Works which he wrote before he was a Priest ; with his *Retractions* and *Confessions* : which serve as *Prefaces* to his Works ; because the First give an Account of his Writings, and is useful to understand the most difficult places of his Works ; and the Second discovers his Genius, and takes notice of the principal Circumstances of his Life.

The Book of *Retractions*, is a Critical Review of his Works. He tells you there the Title, and sets down the first Words of them ; He gives a Catalogue according to the Time, and he observes upon what Occasion, and wherefore he writ them : he tells the Subject and the Design which he had in composing them : he clears those places which seem to be obscure : he softens those which he thinks are too hard, gives a good Sense to such as seem capable of having a bad one, and rectifies them where he thinks that he erred from the Truth. In one word ; He confesseth ingenuously the Errors or Mistakes which he committed. The *Preface* to this Work is very humble : He says, That his Design is, to review his Works with the Severity of a Censor, and to reprove his own Faults himself ; following therein the Apostle's Advice, who saith, *That if we judge our selves, we should not be judged of the Lord*. That he is frighted with those words of the Wife-man, *That it is difficult to avoid committing Faults in much speaking*. That he is not terrify'd with the great number of his Writings ; since none can be said to Write or Speak too much, when he Speaks and Writes only things that are necessary : but he is afraid, lest there should be in his Writings many false things, or at least, unprofitable ones. That if now being Old, he thinketh not himself free from Error, it is impossible but that he must have committed Faults when he was Young, either in Speaking or in Writing ; and so much the rather, because he was then obliged to Speak often. That therefore he is resolv'd to judge himself, according to the Rules of Jesus Christ, his Master, whose judgments he desires to avoid.

The Body of this Work is divided into Two Books. In the former, he reviseth the Works which he writ before he was Bishop : And in the latter, he speaketh of those which he compos'd afterwards, to the Year 427, which is the time when he made his Book of *Retractions*. I need say no more at present, because in discoursing of each of them, I shall mention what St. *Augustin* hath observed in his *Retractions*.

His Confessions are an excellent Picture of his Life ; he draweth himself with lively and natural Shapes, representing his Infancy, his Youth, and Conversion, very critically. He discovers both his Vices, and his Virtues, shewing plainly the inward Bent of his Heart ; with the several Motions wherewith he was agitated : As he speaks to God, so he often lifts up his Spirit towards him, and intermixes his Narration with Prayers, Instructions, and Reflections. He tells us himself, That he would have us view him in that Book, as in a Looking-Glass that represents him to the Life ; and that his Design in the Writing of it, was to Praise both the Justice, and the Mercy of God, with Respect to the Good and Evil which he had done, and to lift up his Heart, and Spirit to God. That this is the Effect that it produced in him when he compos'd it, and

that

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gustin.
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that which it produceth now, when he readeth it. Others (saith he) may have what Opinion it is they please ; but I know that several Pious Persons have loved my Confessions very much, and do love them still. As indeed, all spiritual Persons have ever since read that Work with Delight and Admiration. This Book is not full of whimsical Imaginations, and, empty, obscure useless Spiritualities, as most Works of this Nature are : It contains, on the contrary, excellent Prayers ; sublime Notions of the Greatness, Wisdom, Goodness, and Providence of God ; solid Reflections upon the Vanity, Weakness, and Corruption of Man ; proper Remedies for his Misery, and Darkeness ; and most useful Instructions to further him in a spiritual Life. In one word, It may be said, that of all spiritual Books, there is none more sublime or stronger than this. Yet there are some Notions too Metaphysical, above the reach of some devout Men ; and there appeareth too great an Affectation of Eloquence : There is, perhaps, too much Wit ; and Heat, and not enough of Meekness, and Simplicity.

St. *Augustin*'s Confessions are divided into Thirteen Books ; whereof the Ten first treat of his Actions, and the Three last contain Reflections upon the beginning of *Genesis*. In the First Book, after an excellent Prayer to God, he describeth his Infancy, discovering the Sins he committed at that time, as well as the evil Inclinations that were in him. He represents, with all the beauty, and exactness imaginable, the things that are incident to Children ; their Motions of Joy, and Sorrow, their jealousy before they can speak, how hardly they learn to speak ; their aversion to Study, their love of Play, and the fear of Chastisement. He charges himself with loving the Study of Fables, and Poetical Fictions ; and hating the Principles of Grammar, and particularly the Greek Tongue, tho' these Things were infinitely more profitable, than those Fables, whereof he discovers the danger. He says, That being fallen dangerously Sick, he desired to be Baptized ; but coming to have some Ease, they deferred it, fearing he might defile himself again with new Crimes : Because (saith he) the Sins committed after Baptism, are greater, and more dangerous, than such as are committed before.

In the Second, he begins to describe the Disorders of his Youth ; he says, That being returned to his Father's House at sixteen years of Age, he gave himself to debauchery, notwithstanding his Mother's Admonitions ; That he was guilty of Theft, by robbing an Apple-tree in a Neighbour's Orchard with his Companions, with several Reflections upon the Motives that put him upon that Action.

In the Third he confesseth, That at *Carthage*, whither he was gone to finish his Studies ; he was transported with the fire of Lust. He laments the love which he had for Stage-Plays and Publick Shows, and the Pleasure he found when they affected him at any time with Passion. He declares afterwards, That he read one of *Cicero*'s Books, Entituled *Hortensius*, that inspired him with the love of Wisdom ; but not finding in that Book the Name of Jesus Christ, which remained engraven in his Heart, and which he had as it were suck'd in with his Milk, he applied himself to the Holy Scripture ; but that having read it with a Spirit of Pride, he relished it not, because of the plainness of it's Style ; and then he hearkened to the Dreams of the *Manichees*, who promised to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth. He refutes their Errors, and speaks with great tenderness of the Prayers which his Mother made, and the Tears that she shed for his Conversion.

He continued however Nine years in that Herefie, being deceived, and endeavouring to deceive others. He taught Rhetorick at *Tagasta*. There he lost one of his intimate Friends, whose Death grieved him exceedingly ; whereof he describeth the Excess in the Fourth Book, where he says many fine Things concerning true and counterfeit Friendship. There he mentions the Treatise of *Cornelius* and *Beauty*, which he made at Twenty five years of Age ; and gives an Account how easily he came to understand *Aristotle*'s Categories. And he shews the Unprofitableness of Learning.

In the Fifth he describes the degrees by which he came to be delivered from the *Manichean* Herefie, how he discovered *Faustus* his Ignorance who was the Head of that Herefie. He adds, That having taught Rhetorick at *Carthage*, he went to *Rome* with a design to follow there the same Profession ; but having been disheartened by the unhandom usage of the Scholars, who refused to pay their Masters, he obtain'd of *Symmachus* the place of Rhetorick-Professor at *Milan*, where he heard St. *Ambrose* Preach, who perfectly disabused him of the Errors of the *Manichees*, and made him resolve absolutely to quit that Sect, and become a *Catechumen*.

He goeth on in the Sixth Book, to describe the Progress of his Conversion ; which was much furthered by the Prayers and Admonitions of his Mother S. *Monica*, who came to find him at *Milan*, and contracted a strict Friendship with St. *Ambrose*. He observes, That this Holy Bishop kept her from carrying Meat to the Graves of the Martyrs, as she used to do in her own Country. He describeth the Manners of two of his good Friends, *Alypius* and *Nepotianus*, and the Agitations that were caus'd in himself by the knowledge of his Miseries, and the design which he had to alter his course of Life.

In the Seventh Book, he declares his Condition in the 31st year of his Age, how much he was yet in the dark as to the Nature of God, and the Spring of Evil : how he was perfectly weaned from Judicial Astrology, by hearing of the History of two Children that were born at the same moment of time, whose lot proved quite different : And lastly, by what degrees he rid himself of his Prejudices, and came to the knowledge of God, though he had not as yet those thoughts of Jesus Christ, which he ought to have had.

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St. Au-
gustin.
Tome I.

He declares, That he found the Divinity of the Word in the Books of the Platonists, but not his Incarnation: And afterwards comparing the Books of those Philosophers with the Books of the Holy Scripture, which he began to read, he observeth that the former had made him more knowing, but also more presumptuous. Whereas the others instructed him in true Humility, and in the way which Men ought to follow to obtain Salvation.

At last he comes in the Eighth Book to the best Passage of his Life, to that which happened in the Two and thirtieth year of his Age, which was his Conversion. First of all he was wrought upon by a Conference which he had with a holy Old Man, *Simplicianus*, who related to him the Conversion of a famous Rhetorick-Professor named *Victorinus*. He was further moved by the Story which *Peritiani* told him of another Conversion. And at last feeling himself agitated, and distracted, by several contrary thoughts, he withdrew into a Garden, where he heard a Voice from Heaven, commanding him, to open *St. Paul's* Epistles; whereof he had no sooner read some Lines, but he found himself wholly converted, and freed from the Agitations which till then had troubled him: Nothing can be more noble than the Description which he makes in that Book, of the Combats and Agitations which that man feels that is engaged in Vice, and hath formed a design of being converted to God.

St. *Augustin* was no sooner converted, but he resolved to leave his Profession. The Vacation being come, he retired to the Country-House of one of his Friends called *Verecundus*, to prepare himself for Baptism, which he received at *Easter* with *Alypius*, and his Son *Adeodatus*, whom he had by a Concubine. This he relateth in the Ninth Book, where he discourseth again of the Death of *Verecundus*, and *Nebrius*, and *Adeodatus*, which happened shortly after his Baptism; He speaketh likewise, of the Original of the Singing in the Church of *Milan*, that was established by *St. Ambrose*, when he was persecuted by *Justinian* an *Arian* Prince; concerning the discovering of the Bodies of the Martyrs, *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius*, and of the Miracles done at the time of their Translation; of the discourse he had with his Mother *S. Monica*, about the Felicities of the other Life, and of the Death of that holy Widow which happened at *Oliva*, when he was returning into *Africa*; of her Burial; of the Prayers that were made for her; and of the Sacrifice which was offered. He concludes this Book by recommending her to the Prayers of those that shall read his Confessions.

Having set forth in the foregoing Books what he was before his Conversion, he sheweth in the Tenth what he was at the time of his writing. He finds that his Conscience gave an unquestionable Testimony of his love to God. He explains the Reasons that oblige Men to love God, reckoning up all the Faculties of his Soul that can lead him to know God, especially Memory, whereof he makes a wonderful Description: He says, amongst other things, that it serves to reach us many things, which entred not into the Mind by the Senses, and that it may lift us up to God. He occasionally speaks of Happiness, and of the Idea that Men have of God; afterwards he examineth himself about the three main Passions of Man, the love of Pleasures, of Knowledge, and of Glory. He sincerely confesseth what was his disposition with respect to these Passions, prescribing at the same time excellent Rules, to keep our selves from them. Lastly, He discovers the knowledge of the true Mediatour, and of the Graces which he merited for us.

The Three last Books are about less sensible Matters: He waves the History of his Life to speak of the love which he had for the Sacred Books, and of the Knowledge that God had given him of them; which to show, he undertakes to explain the beginning of *Genesis*, upon which occasion he starts several very subtil Questions.

In the Eleventh, he refuteth those that asked, what God was doing before he created the World, and how God on a sudden formed the design of creating any thing; whereupon he enters into a long Discourse concerning the Nature of Time.

In the Twelfth Book he treateth of the first Matter. He pretends that by the Heavens and the Earth, which God is said to have created in the beginning, we are to understand spiritual Substances, and the shapeless Matter of corporeal things; that the Scripture speaking of the Creation of these two sorts of Beings, makes no mention of days; because there is no time with respect to them. He affirms, That whatsoever he hath said concerning the World's Creation cannot be denied, though the beginning of *Genesis* were otherwise expounded, because these are undoubted Truths. He treateth here of the different Explications which may be made of the Holy Scripture, affirming, That there is sufficient reason to believe, that the Canonical Authors foresaw all the Truths that might be drawn from their words, and though they had not foreseen these Truths, yet the Holy Ghost foresaw them: Whence he seems to conclude, that we are not to reject any fince that may be given to the holy Scripture, provided it is conformable to the Truth.

At last, having admired the Goodness of God, who standing in no need of the Creatures, had given them not only a Being, but also all the Perfections of that Being; he discovereth in the last Book the Mystery of the Trinity in the first words of *Genesis*, and even the Personal Property of the Holy Ghost; which gives him an admirable opportunity of describing the Actions of Charity in our selves. He concludes with a curious Allegory upon the beginning of *Genesis*, and finds in the Creation the System and Oeconomy of whatsoever God hath done for the Establishment of his Church, and the Sanctification of Men; the only end which he propoed to himself in all his Works.

St. Augustin

St. Au-
gustin.
Tome I.

St. *Augustin* placeth the Books of Confessions before those against *Faustus*, which were written about the Year 400, in his Retractions, from whence we may conclude, that these were both written about the same time.

After these two, which serve, as we have said, for a Preface to all St. *Augustin's* Works, you find in this first Volume, the Books that St. *Augustin* writ in his Youth, before he was a Priest, in the same order in which they were written.

The three Books against the *Academici*, are the first after the Treatise of *Beauty and Comeliness*, which is lost. He composed them in the Year 386, in his solitude, when he prepared himself for Baptism. They are written in imitation of *Cicero*, in the form of a Dialogue, and directed to *Romanianus* his Countryman, whom he adviseth to Study Philosophy. The dispute beginneth betwixt *Licentius* Son to *Romanianus*, and *Trygetius*; after them *Alypius* and St. *Augustin* begin to speak.

Having observed in the first Book, that the good things of Fortune do not render men happy, he exhorts *Romanianus* to the Study of Wisdom, whose sweetness he then tasted. He afterwards gives an Account of three Conferences which *Licentius* and *Trygetius* had had about Happiness. *Licentius* held with the *Academici*, That to be happy it was enough to seek after the Truth; but *Trygetius* pretended, That it was necessary to know it perfectly; both being agreed, That Wisdom is that which makes Men happy, they begin to dispute about the definition of Wisdom. *Trygetius* gives several, all disapproved by *Licentius*, who asserts, That Wisdom consisted not only in Knowledge, but also in the pursuit of the Truth: whereupon St. *Augustin* concludes, That since we cannot be happy without knowing and enquiring after the Truth, our only application should be to seek for it.

In the Second Book, having again exhorted *Romanianus* to the Study of Philosophy, he sets down three other Conferences, wherein *Alypius* produces the several Opinions of both the Ancient and Modern Academicks. And because the latter said, That some things were probable, though the Truth was not known, they laughed at that Opinion, it being impossible, say they, to know whether a thing is like the Truth, without knowing the Truth it self. And this very thing obligeth Men to enquire the more carefully after likely and probable things, according to the Principles of the Academicks.

The Third Book begins with Reflections upon Fortune. St. *Augustin* shews, That the Goods of Fortune are of no use to get Wisdom: and that the Wife Man ought at least to know Wisdom, refusing withal, the Principles both of *Cicero*, and of the other Academicks, who affirmed, That we know nothing, and that nothing ought to be asserted. He blames the damnable Maxim of those who permitted Men to follow every thing that seemed probable, without being certain of any thing. He shews the dangerous Consequences of such Principles, and endeavours to prove that neither the ancient Academicks, nor *Cicero* himself, were of that Opinion.

These three Books are written with all imaginable Elegance and Purity: The Method and Reasonings are just: The Matter treated of is well cleared and made intelligible for all Men; it is beautified with agreeable Suppositions and pleasant Stories. It may be said, That these Dialogues are not much inferior to *Tully's* for stile, but much above them for the exactness and solidity of the Arguments and Notions. In his Retractions he findeth fault with several places in them, which seemed not to him sufficiently to favour of Christianity, but might be born with in a Philosophical Work.

The Book of a *Happy Life*, or, of *Felicity*, is a Work of the same Nature, written by St. *Augustin* at the same time, in the 33d. year of his Age. It is dedicated to *Manlius Theodorus*, whom he had known at *Milan*. In the beginning he makes a distinction of three sorts of Persons: Some to avoid the Troubles of this Life, fly into Harbour as soon as they come to the use of Reason, that they may live quietly. Others on the contrary, having been a while engaged in the Storms of this Life, carried away with Passions, Pleasures, or Glory, find themselves happily driven into Harbour by some Storm. The third sort are they, who in the midst of Storms and Tempests, have always had an eye to some Star, with a design to return into Harbour. The most dangerous Rock to be feared in this Navigation, is that of Vain-Glory, which we meet with at the first setting out, and where it is difficult to avoid Shipwrack. These Reflections St. *Augustin* applies to himself, and saith, That at Twenty five Years of Age, having conceived a strong Passion for Philosophy, by reading of *Tully's Hortensius*, he resolved to give up himself to that Study: but that having been some time wrapt up with the dark Clouds of the Errors of the *Manichees*, which hid from him the Star that should have guided him: At last that mist was dissipated. That the Academicks had long detain'd him in the midst of the Sea, in a continual Agitation; but he had now discover'd a lucky Star that shewed him the Truth, by the Discourses, both of *St. Ambrose*, and *Theodorus*, to whom he writeth, That the love both of Pleasure, and of Glory, had for sometime detain'd him; but, in the end, he weigh'd all his Anchors to come into Port.

After this fair beginning, he acquaints *Theodorus* with a Discourse, which he supposeth to be held upon the 15th of November, his Birth-day, with his Mother, his Brother, his Son, his Cousins, and his Two Disciples, *Trygetius* and *Licentius*, who appeared already in the foregoing Dialogues. That they might enter upon the Matter the sooner, St. *Augustin* introduces them agreed in this Point, That Man being made up of Body, and Soul, the Soul is to be fed as well as the Body, because it hath equal need of Nourishment. After this he propounds the subject of

their Conference, saying, That since all Men desire to be happy, it is certain, that all that want what they would have, are not happy; but he asketh; Whether they be happy that have what they desire? St. *Augustin's* Mother having answered, That they are happy, if that which they desire be good, *St. Augustin*, *inquit*, *vellet habere, beatus est*: He replies immediately, That he had found out the greatest Secret in Philosophy; *Ipse* *propterea*, *mater*, *artem Philosophie tenuisti*. Upon these Principles, he shews, in the Three Dialogues of this Book, That true Felicity consists in the Knowledge of God: For, in the first place, the Goods of Fortune cannot make us happy, since we cannot have them when we would. The Academicks cannot be happy in their enquiry after Truth, since they have not what they would find; but they that seek God are happy, because they no sooner seek to him, but he begins to shew them Mercy. All those whole Souls want any thing, are not happy: None but God can fill the Soul; therefore none but God can make us happy: None is happy without Wisdom; And can Wisdom be had without God: Is there any other Wisdom than that which cometh from him? Is he not VVisdom and Truth?

He concludes with Exhorting those to whom he speaks, to seek after God, that they may come to the perfect Knowledge of him, wherein consists the Sovereign Felicity of Life, and the true Happiness of the Soul. He corrects this Passage in his Retractions, observing that Man cannot be entirely and perfectly happy in this Life; because he cannot know God perfectly, till he comes to the other VVorld.

St. *Augustin* treateth of Providence in his Two Books of *Order*: Shewing, That all good, and evil Things come to pass, according to the Order of divine Providence. These Books are written Dialogue wise: In the First, he discourses of Providence in general; in the Second, he begins to enquire, What Order is; but immediately digresses to speak of the Love of Glory: And his Mother coming in, he puts an end to the Conference; shewing, That Women should not be forbidden to Study VVisdom.

In the Third Dialogue, which begins the Second Book, St. *Augustin* clears several particular Difficulties, about the Order of Providence. He enquires what it is to be with God, and in God's Order; in what Sense a wife Man may be said to abide with God, and to be immovable: He maintains, That foolish, and wicked Actions come into the Order of Providence, because they have their Life for the good of the Universe, and manifest God's Justice.

In the Fourth Dialogue he proves, That God was always Just, tho' there was no occasion for the exercise of his Justice before there were wicked Men: That Evil was introduced against God's Order; but that the Justice of God submitted it to its Orders. Having banded these Metaphysical Questions, he enters upon Morals; exhorting his Disciples to follow God's Order, both in their Behaviour, and in their Studies. He says, Men ought to live after the following Pattern.

"It is necessary (*sic* be) for young Men to avoid Debauches, and Excess; to despise gay Cloths, and rich Attire; to be careful not to lose their time, either at Play, or unprofitable Recreations; not to be idle, or Sleepy; to be free from Jealousy, Envy, and Ambition; in one word, not to suffer themselves to be transported by any violent Passion: They should be perswaded, That love of Riches, is the worst Poyson that can infect their Hearts. They ought to do nothing, either with Cowardice, or with Rashness. If they are offended, let them refrain their Anger. They ought to correct all Vices, but to hate no Body; not to be too severe, or too yielding. Let their Reproofs be always for a good End; and their Meekness never Authorize Vice: Let them look upon all that are committed to their Charge, as their own: Let them serve others without Affectation of Dominion; and when they become Masters, let them still be willing to serve: Let them carefully avoid making Enemies; and if they have any, let them bear with them patiently, and endeavour to be quickly reconciled: In all their Business with others, and their whole Behaviour, let them observe that Maxim of the Law of Nature: *Do not that to others, which you would not have done to you*. Let them not meddle with Publick Affairs, except they are very capable... and study to get Friends in what Employment sever they be; take a delight in serving those that deserve it, even when they least look for it: Let them live orderly, honour God, think of him and seek him by Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Having thus given Precepts for the Manners of Youth, he prescribeth Rules for their Studies. He saith, That Learning is got by Authority and Reason; and, That there is a Two-fold Authority, that of God, and that of Men. These may deceive us; but God never affirmeth any thing but what is True. He treateth afterwards of Reason; and having given a Definition of it, he shews, That all Learning is nothing but Reason occupied in the consideration of different Objects. He draws up a Catalogue of all the Sciences, and gives a short Account, both of the object and use of each of them: From thence he passes to the Knowledge of the Soul, and of God; wherein he places true Wisdom, and concludes his Discourse with an Exhortation to Vertue.

His Two Books of *Soliloquies*, were likewise written by S. *Augustin* in his Retirement, about the beginning of the Year 387. His Design is to grow more perfect in the Knowledge, both of God and his own Soul. To this end, after an excellent Prayer to God, he examines his Reason, and makes it return Answers. In the first Book he treateth, particularly, of the necessary Dispositions in the Soul, to deserve the Knowledge of God. He teaches, That it arrives to that Knowledge by Faith, Hope, and Charity, and by turning away the Heart, and Thoughts from

Earthly

Earthly Things, to seek and love nothing but God. At the latter end, he falls upon the Question of the Immortality of the Soul, which he prosecutes in the Second Book. He concludes, That the Soul is Immortal, because it is the Habitation of Truth, which is Eternal: Which puts him upon making several Reflections, both upon Truth and Falshood. This last Volume is not complete, as S. *Augustin* himself observes in his Retractions; where he corrects some faulty Expressions that he used at a time when he was not thoroughly instructed in Religion.

Sometime after the Books of *Soliloquies*, St. *Augustin* being returned to Milan, writ the Book *Of the Immortality of the Soul*: Which is (saith he in his Retractions) as a Memorial which I made to compleat my *Soliloquies*, that were imperfect: But I know not how it came to be Published against my Will; so that it is now amongst my Works. This Book (addeth he) is so dark in the beginning, both by reason of the Expressions, and the brevity of the Reasonings, that it needeth the Reader; and requires so great an Attention, that I can scarce understand it myself with much Application. The reading of it will discover, that it is rather Memoirs, than a finish'd Work. He has Collected several, dry, barren Arguments, to prove the Immortality of the Soul.

These are some of his Principles. Knowledge is Eternal; wherefore the Soul, which is the Seat of Knowledge, is Immortal. Reason, and the Soul, are all one; but Reason is Immutable and Eternal. Matter cannot be annihilated, let it be divided never so much; ye: it abideth. And, Who can believe the Soul to be in a worse Condition? Nothing can create it self, and nothing can annihilate it self. Life is the Essence of the Soul; therefore it cannot be deprived of it. The Soul is not the Disposition of the Parts of the Body; seeing the more we endeavour to abstract it from Sense, the more easily we comprehend Things: Neither can it be changed into a Body; for were this Change possible, it must be either because the Soul is willing, or because it may be forced to it by the Body; but both these Notions are equally absurd. These are the Principles, whereupon St. *Augustin* enlargeth in this Treatise, and which he applies to his purpose with great subtilty, and fineness. This Book is a convincing Evidence of his Skill in Logic.

The following Treatise is Intituled, *Of the Quantity of the Soul*: It is placed here, because it treateth of the same Matter with the foregoing; for, according to the order of time, it ought to be placed after that *Of the Manner of the Church*, as St. *Augustin* observes in his Retractions. He gives this Account of this Treatise *Of the Quantity of the Soul*, writ whilst he was in that City (Rome). *A Dialogue, wherein I raise several Questions concerning the Soul, viz. What is its Original; What its Nature; Whether it is extended; Why it was united with the Body; What alterations happen to it, either when it comes into, or goeth out of the Body. But, because I undertook to examine with exactness and curiosity, Whether it was extended; designing to shew, That it is not, after the manner of Bodies, tho' it is some great Thing. This only Question hath given the Name to the whole Book; which therefore hath been Intituled, Of the Quantity of the Soul.* Evodius is the Person whom St. *Augustin* introduceth, speaking in this Dialogue; as he says in the 101st. Letter: And so it was a Mistake, to put in the common Editions, the Name of *Adeodatus*, which is not found in the Ancient Manuscripts; and with much Reason they have restored the Name of *Evodius* in the Last Edition. This Man propounds to St. *Augustin* Six Questions: The First, *Whence is the Soul?* St. *Augustin* answereth, That this Question may be taken two ways; *Where is the Habitation of the Soul?* And, *What is the Matter it is made of?* Evodius desiring to have both these Questions clear'd to him, he saith, *That the Habitation of the Soul is God, who created it*. As for the Nature thereof, he declares, That he can neither Name nor Explain it, because it hath nothing like Corporeal Beings; and that it is single in its kind. Evodius his Second Question, is, *What is the Quality of the Soul?* St. *Augustin* answereth, *That it is like God*. The Third Question propounded by Evodius, concerns the *Quantity of the Soul*: St. *Augustin* affirms, That the Soul hath no *Quantity*, if by *Quantity* be understood Corporeal Extension; but that it hath, if by that Term is meant spiritual Greatness, Strength, and Power. St. *Augustin*, here discusses the Question of the Soul's Extension with care; and shews, by several Reasons, that it hath no Corporeal Dimensions. He distinguishes Men's Souls from those of Beasts; and grants to the Latter, Sense without Reason: Afterwards, he reckons up the excellent Qualities of Man's Soul, which he reduces to Seven Heads; whence he concludes, That of all Creatures, Man's Soul is that which comes nearest to the Nature of God. With this he endeth this Treatise, without meddling with the other Three Questions propounded by Evodius, viz. The Fourth, *Why the Soul was united with the Body*. The Fifth, *What it is at the entrance into the Body*: And the Sixth, *What becomes of it when it goes out of it*. This Treatise was composed by St. *Augustin*, in 388.

St. *Augustin* having left his Retirement, and being come back to Milan in the Year 381. began to write Treatises upon the Sciences, as he tells us in his Retractions. He could finish none but a Treatise of *Grammar*; but he began several others of *Logic*, *Rhetorick*, *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, and *Philosophy*. He did not know himself, what was become of these Discourses, when he compos'd his Retractions. At the same time he began, also, the Six Books of *Musick*; which he compleated after his return into Africa, about the Year 389. In the First Book he speaks of Musick in general: In the Second, of Syllables, and Feet: In the Three following, he discourses of Measure, Harmony, and Verse: In the Last he shews, That Musick ought to raise up the Mind, and Heart, to a Divine, and Heavenly Harmony.

A New Ecclesiastical History

St. *Augustin's* Discourse of a *Master*, was written about the Year 395. It is a Dialogue betwixt himself, and his Son *Aleodatus*; wherein he shews, That it is not by Men's Words that we receive Instruction, but from the eternal Truth, viz. Jesus Christ the Word of God, who informeth us inwardly of all Truth.

The First of the Three Books of *Free-Will*, was composed at *Rome*, in 387. and the Two others in *Africa*, in 395. In the First, St. *Augustin* resolves that hard Question, touching the original of Evil: And having explained what it is to do Evil, he shews, That all manner of Evil comes from the Free-Will, which readily followeth the Suggestions of Lust; adding, That our Will makes us either happy, or unhappy: That if we are not happy, though we desire to be so, it is because we will not live conformably to the Law of God; without which, it is impossible to be Happy.

In the Second Book, the Difficulty alledged by *Evodius*, VVhy God hath left in Man a Liberty of Sinning, which is so prejudicial to him, hath started these Three other Questions. How we are sure that there is a God? Dorth all Good come from him? Is the VVill free to do Good, as well as Evil? St. *Augustin* clears all these Difficulties, proving, That Free-VVill was given for a good End, and that we received it of God; that there is a Being more perfect than our Soul; that this Being is Truth it self, Goodness, VVidom it self; that every good and perfect Thing cometh from it; and that Free-VVill is to be reckoned among the good Things. That there are Three sorts of Goods: The greatest are the Vertues that make us live VVell; the *Ideas* of Corporeal Objects, without which we cannot live VVell, are the least, and the Power of the Soul are the middle Ones: That the First cannot be abused; but both the Second, and the Last may be put to ill Uses: That Free-VVill is of the Number of these middle Goods. When the VVill adheres to the sovereign Good, it renders Man Happy; but when it departeth from that, to cleave to other Objects, then Man becometh Criminal, and so Unhappy. VVherefore neither the VVill, nor the Objects it embraceth, are Evil; but it is a Separation from God, that makes all Evil, and Sin; but God is not the Author of this Separation. From whence then is this Principle of Averfion? This St. *Augustin* clears in the Third Book. It is not Natural, since it is Guilty: It is Free, and Voluntary; and it is enough to say, That we may chuse, whether we will follow it, or no, to justifie God's Justice: But, how can this Liberty agree with the fore-knowledge of God? Nothing is more easy, according to St. *Augustin*, in this Place. VVe are Free when we do what we please: But Previdence doth not take away our Will; on the contrary it supposes it, since it is a Knowledge of our Will. But are not the Creature's Faults to be imputed to the Creator? Why did he not make it impeccable? Had not Men been more perfect, if they had been created at first in the same condition with the Angels, and the glorified Saints that cannot be separated from the love of God? But St. *Augustin* replies, Doth it therefore follow, That because we may conceive a more Perfect State, therefore God was obliged to create us in that State? Should we not rather believe that he had his Reasons why he did not create us more Perfect? There are several sorts of Perfections. If the State of a Creature, that enjoyeth God, makes Sovereign Felicity; then the State of a Creature that is subject to Sin, which liveth in hope of recovering the Happiness which it lost, is also in God's Order, and exceedingly above that of a Creature that lies under the necessity of sinning eternally. The Condition of these last, is the worst of all; and yet God cannot be accused of Injustice, for giving a Being to Creatures which he knew would be eternally miserable: He is not the Cause of their Sin: That Being which he gave them, is still a Perfection; their Sins and their Misery contribute to the Perfection of the Universe, and to exalt the Justice of God by the Punishment of their Sins. What then is the Cause of Sins? There is none but the Will it self, which freely and knowingly inclineth to do Evil. For if Sin, could not be resisted, it were impossible to know or to avoid it; and then there would be no Sin. Wherefore then doth God punish Sins of Ignorance? How cometh it to pass that he blameth those Actions that are done out of Necessity? What mean those words of the Apostle, *I do not see the Good that I would, but the evil that I would not*? All that, saith St. *Augustin*, is spoken of Men born since Mankind was condemned to Death, because of the First Man's Sin. For were this Natural to Man, and not a Punishment for his Sin; it is certain, there would be no Sin of Ignorance nor Necessity: But when we speak here of Liberty, we speak of that which Man had when God created him.

Here St. *Augustin* answers the greatest Objection that can be urged against Original Sin: Though, say they, both *Adam* and *Eve* have sinned, yet what had we done, wretched Persons that we are, to be thus abandoned to Ignorance and to Lust? Must we therefore be deprived of the knowledge of the Precepts of Righteousness? and when we begin to know them, Must we see our selves under a kind of Necessity not to keep them, by reason of the resistance of Lust? St. *Augustin* confesseth, That this Complaint were just, if Men were under an impossibility of overcoming their Ignorance and Lust. But God being present every where to call his Creature to his Service, to teach him what he ought to believe, to Comfort him in his hopes, to confirm him in his Love, to help his Endeavours, and to hear his Prayers; man cannot complain, That that is imputed to him which he is unavoidably ignorant of; but then that he must blame himself, if he neglects to seek after that which he knows not. It is none of his fault, that he cannot use his broken Members; but he is guilty if he despiseth the Physician that proffers to cure him: for none can be ignorant that Man may profitably seek for the Knowledge

" Knowledge of what he knows not, and which he thinks to be necessary: And it is well enough known that Men ought humbly to acknowledge their Weakness, to obtain Help. In a word, " If Men do that which is Evil out of Ignorance, or if it so happens, that they cannot do the Good " which they would, there is Sin in that; because it is in consequence of the First Man's Sin " committed with full liberty. This first Sin deserved the following.

There remained yet a considerable Difficulty, Why the Innocent Soul becometh subject unto Sin by it's Union with the Body? To explain this, St. *Augustin* mentions four several Opinions concerning the Original of Souls. The First is, That the Soul is formed from the Parents. The Second is, That God creates new ones at Mens Birth. The Third is, That Souls being created beforehand, God causeth them to enter their respective Bodies. The Fourth is, That they come down into the Bodies of their own accord: Now, he judging all these Opinions equally probable, and that it was as yet undecided, he endeavourth to prove, that a Reason may be given for Original Sin, what Opinion soever one holds of the Original of the Soul.

He cometh at last to that particular Difficulty concerning the Children that die as soon as they are born. As for those that have received Baptism, though without knowledge, he saith, That it is Piously and justly believed (for these are the terms he makes use of *Sans pise relleq; Creditum*) that the Faith of those who present the Child to be baptized, supplies for that of the Child: As to the Pain and Sorrow which they suffer, having not deserved them by their Sins, St. *Augustin* saith, That God hath his Ends in permitting their Sufferings, and that perhaps he will recompense them for these Sufferings, as the Church believeth of the holy Innocents killed by *Herod*, who are reckoned among the Martyrs; having thus solved these Difficulties, he makes other useless Queries concerning the Sin of *Adam*.

St. *Augustin* observes in his Retractions, that he designed nothing in these Books, but to oppose their Opinion, who deny the original of Evil to be from Free-Will; pretending that if this were true, God must be the Author of it, introducing thereby an Eternal and Immutable Subfityency o. Evil; That he did not enlarge upon it, nor treat of Predestination or Grace, whereby God prepares the Wills of Men, that they might make good use of their Liberty. Yet, when there was occasion to speak of it, he says something by the by, without making any stop to defend it. Wherefore *Pelagius* and the *Pelagians*, alledged several Expressions in favour of Free-Will, which St. *Augustin* had used in his Books: But St. *Augustin* shews, That what he said of Free-Will, is consistent enough with his System of Grace, and that he established all the Principles of it: It is he proves by Passages taken out of these Books, where he affirms, That every good thing comes from God, and that Man cannot be delivered from Ignorance, and the necessity of Sinning, but by God's help.

The two Books upon *Genesis* against the *Manichees*, were composed by St. *Augustin* after his return into *Africa*, about the Year 389. There he refuteth those impertinent Objections which the *Manichees* made concerning the Three first Chapters of *Genesis*, by giving a reasonable Exposition of them. He insists most upon the literal fence; but sometimes he goes out of the way, and only gives an Allegorical one. As St. *Augustin* designed to benefit all Men by this Book; and particularly, to inform the common People that were abused by the *Manichees*, so he writ it with all the clearness and simplicity he could: In his Retractions, he explaineth some Passages that were misconstrued by the *Pelagians*; especially two, one against the Necessity of Grace, and the other against Original Sin.

The Books of the *Manners of the Church*, and of the *Manichees*, were composed at *Rome* by St. *Augustin*, soon after his Baptism, about the Year 387, as himself witnesseth in his Retractions. It is very probable that he revised them after his return into *Africa*, seeing he mentions them in the first of those Treatises lately named. His design was to confound the Infelence and Vanity of the *Manichees*, who gloried in a vain Temperance; and under that Pretence, exalted themselves above the Catholics: Wherefore in these two Books he shews the opposition of the true Christian's Manners, to those of the *Manichees*; proving how much the counterfeit Vertues which these made their boast of, were inferior to the real Vertue of Christ's Disciples.

In the Book of the *Manners of the Church*, he layeth down, as the first ground of Morality, That God alone is the Sovereign Good of our Souls; from which truth, he infers, That all things must have respect to God, and that we are to love him above all things; and proves this first Principle of Christian Ethics by Testimonies of the Old and New Testament. He shews, That all the Vertues are but so many different Expressions of this Love; That Temperance is that love, which keeps it self pure and uncorrupt for God: Fortitude, is a love that endureth all things with ease, for God's sake: Justice is a love that serveth God only, and by reason of that, procures Good to all Creatures that are subjected to him: Prudence is a love which has a light, to distinguish that which may help to bring us to God, from that which may hinder us in that way; even the love of our Neighbour is not a Vertue, but so far as it relates to God. He alone that loveth God, is capable of loving himself and his Neighbour, as he ought to do. This Reflection giveth St. *Augustin* an Opportunity of speaking of the Duties of Society, and of what Christians owe one to another. Lastly, as Examples do often affect more than Precepts; so he produces several Precedents of virtuous Men in the Church, that he may raise a higher Notion of the Manners of the Catholics. He sets forth the Examples of Hermits, Monks, and Nuns, who have quite severed themselves from the World, to spend their Lives in constant Abstinence, and in Exercises of Piety. He adds the Example of several virtuous

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Ecclesiasticks, and of many holy Prelates, who kept themselves pure in the midst of a corrupt Age; and of an infinite Number of Christians, that led most exemplary Lives. He concludes this Book, by shewing, That the Examples of Evil Catholics can be no Pretence for Heretics to separate from the Church; and that the Notions of the *Manichees* touching Marriage, are contrary to those of the Apostles.

He observeth much the same Method in his Book of the Manners of the *Manichees*: He begins it by refuting their Doctrine about the Nature and Original of Good and Evil: Afterwards he discovers their impious and superstitious Practices, in such a manner as renders them ridiculous and abominable; and then gives a relation of the Disorders whereof the greatest part of that Sect had been Convicted.

The Book of *true Religion*, is the last of those which St. *Augustin* writ before he was a Priest; He therefore made it about the Year 390. there he shews both the Excellencies and the Duties of the true Religion; That the Christian Religion is the only true one: and he refutes the Errors of other Religions, and particularly of the *Manichees* concerning the two Natures. He speaks of Jesus Christ's Religion, in that lofty manner, as gives a very high Notion of it. I shall give an Analysis of his Principles. Religion is the only thing that can guide us to the Truth, to Virtue and Happiness. The Heathen Philosophers acknowledge the Falseness of the popular Religion, and yet approve the same by their outward worship. Since the Establishment of Christianity, none can doubt but that it is the Religion which ought to be followed, *Plato* himself would have owned it, seeing that the loftiest Maxims of Philosophy, concerning the Divinity, and the necessity of Purifying the Soul, whereof he despair'd of perswading the People, are not only Preached throughout the Earth, but also embraced and followed by an infinite number of Persons. The Philosophers must needs know God upon this occasion, and give place to him that did this Miracle. Neither Curiosity, nor Vain-glory ought to keep them from acknowledging the difference between the Proud Conjectures of a few Philosophers, and the Publication of a Doctrine that Cures the Soul, and reforms the Errors of all Nations. Religion is not to be sought for either among the Philosophers, since they approve by their Actions, the same Worship which they condemn in their Writings; nor among the Heretics, who have no share in the Sacraments of the Church; nor among Schismatics, who have separated themselves from the Church; nor among the Jews, who expect from God none but Temporal and Transitory Rewards; but only in the Church universally dispersed throughout the Earth, which makes use of the Errors of others for its own Good. The Church makes use of the Pagans, as the Matter of her Works; Of Heretics, as a Proof of the Purity of her Doctrine; Of Schismatics, as a Mark of her Stability; and of the Jews, as an Evidence of her Excellency: And so the Heathen, thrusts out Heretics, forsakes Schismatics, goes before the Jews, and yet the openeth to all an entrance into the Mysteries, and a door of Grace, either by forming the Faith of the former, or by reforming the Errors of the latter, or by causing the last to return into her Bosom, or admitting the others into the Society of her Children. As for carnal Christians, she beareth with them for a time, as Straw which is serviceable to the Wheat upon the Floor; and because every one is either Straw or Wheat, according to the Motions of his Will, she suffers those that are in Sin or in Error till they are Accused, or till they undertake to defend their false Opinions with obstinate Animosity. But such as are cut off from the Church, do either return by Penance, or being carried away by a mischievous Liberty, they give up themselves to Vice; or they make a Schism, or frame an Heresy. Yea, very often God's Providence permits some virtuous Christians to be put out of the Communion of the Church, by Tumults and Disturbances excited against them by carnal Persons: but this Separation is not imputed unto them, and God notwithstanding crowneth them in secret, when they bear with that Injury patiently, without making a Schism from the Church, or setting up any new Heresy; *Such Examples, saith St. Augustin, seem rare, but yet there are some, and more than can be believed.* Having thus rejected the false Religions, he concludes, That we must hold to that of Christ, and to that Church which is Catholic; and which is so called, not only by her own Children, but also by her very Enemies. The first Ground of this Religion is History and Prophecy, which discovers to us the Economy that God's Providence hath made use of in process of times for the Salvation of Men. That after this Belief, we ought to purify our Hearts, to render them capable of knowing the Trinity, the Incarnation, and other Articles of the Creed. That Heresies serve to clear the Mysteries. After this, he discourseth of the Soul; shewing after what manner it becometh, as it were, Earthly and Carnal by loving the Body; and how it gets out of that Unhappy State, by turning to God and overcoming disorderly Affections by the Grace of God. He treateth of the Nature and Fall of Angels. He shews, That Sin must be voluntary; That Death, Weakness, and Pain, are Punishments for Sin; and yet are not unprofitable, because they wear us from Corporal Things. He refutes his Discourse of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and faith, That God's Bounty towards Men, never appeared so much as in that Mystery; That the Word of God of the same Substance and Co-eternal with the Father, was incarnate to make himself Man like unto us, to deliver us from our Sins: That he hath used no force or violence to draw us to himself; That he hath manifested himself to be God by Miracles, and Man by his Sufferings; That he hath appointed his Example for a Remedy against all the disorderly Passions of Men; That his Life is a continual Instruction, and his Resurrection, an Evidence that we may hope to be one day delivered from all sorts of Evils; That he hath taken off the Veil from the

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the Figures of the Old Law; That he hath abolished the Ceremonial Ordinances, with which the Jews were over-laden; That he hath instituted few Sacraments indeed, but very wholesome ones to preserve Society in his Church; That he hath perfected our Morals, by increasing the number of Precepts, but that at the same time he hath given Men strength to practise them. He treateth here of the Nature and Original of Evil, shewing that it is not a Corporal Substance, but consists in a vicious adhesion of the Will to Corporal Beings. He runs through the several Conditions of Men, and the Means to find out Remedies for all their Distempers. He discovereth the Life that is to be made both of Authority and Reason to cure Man, and applyeth both to take him off from the Creature. He hath several curious Speculations upon the Knowledge and the Affections of Men; and particularly he examines the three principal Passions, Pleasure, Ambition and Curiosity, and layeth down very profitable Precepts for Piety and Manners. He recommends the Reading of the holy Scripture, distinguishing the several Explanations, and giving some Rules for the understanding of it. The whole Work is concluded with an Exhortation to all Men to embrace the True Religion.

In his *Retractions* he maketh some Remarks upon this Treatise; most of them are of small consequence; these are some of the most important. He had said, That Sin was so necessarily Voluntary, that an Action could not be Sin, if it was not Voluntary. He justifies this Assertion in his *Retractions*: but he adds, That Sins committed through Ignorance or Lust, are in some sort Voluntary, because they cannot be committed without Will: and that even Original Sin is Voluntary, in this sense, because it was the Will of the First Man, that made it Hereditary to all his Posterity. He observeth likewise, upon what he had said, That Jesus Christ had done nothing by Violence, but only used Counsels and Exhortations: That he did not then reflect upon the Action of Jesus Christ, when he drove the Merchants out of the Temple with Scourges, that came thither to Buy and Sell; but faith he, That cannot be looked upon as a violent Action: *Sed quid hoc aut quantum est?* Upon what he had said, That Miracles were ceased in his time, *left Men should still cleave to Sensible Things, and their Minds be too much accustomed to them*; he noteth, That these words are not to be taken strictly, seeing that Miracles are still wrought in the Church, and that himself had seen some at *Milan*.

The Rule, which is the last Piece of this Tome, is indeed St. *Augustin's*; but he wrote it for Nuns, and not for Monks. Some body took it out of the 109th. *Epistle*, and fitted it for Men. This Alteration has been long made.

As they have placed by themselves, at the latter end of each Tome, those Pieces which are none of St. *Augustin's*, and yet have some relation to those contained in that Volume; so at the end of this, there are the Treatises of Grammar, Logic, Categories and Rhetoric, that were attributed to St. *Augustin* in the former Editions; perhaps, because he faith himself, in his *Retractions*, That he had begun some Treatises upon those Sciences: but his Discourses were written in the form of Dialogues, and like that of *Ambrose*; where he makes use of that Science, to raise up the Mind of Man to his Creator; but these are neither Dialogue-wise, nor fit to lift up Mens Minds towards God. The Manner how they are written, and the Methods observ'd in them, are very different from those of St. *Augustin*. In a word, There are in those Treatises several Observations unworthy of that Father, and contrary to his Opinions. The Discourse of Grammar, begins indeed with the same words that St. *Augustin* hath noted in his *Retractions*; but they have been added, and are not to be found in the Manuscripts.

The Author of the Book of Categories, has a great Esteem for *Aristotle's* Philosophy; and faith, That he could scarce understand his Book of Categories with *Themistius's* help: Whereas St. *Augustin*, who had no great Esteem for *Aristotle's* Philosophy, asureth us, That he understood his Categories, without Labour, and without a Tutor. The Name of *Aleodanus*, that was inserted into the Printed Copies, is not found in the Manuscripts.

The *Monastic Rule*, which are at the latter end of this Volume, are rejected with Common Consent. The last, wherein St. *Benedict's* Rule is quoted, is, if we believe *Hollstenius*, written by *Aldredus Rivulensis*, an Abbot in England, who flourished in the Twelfth Century; and indeed it is in the Catalogue of this Author's Works, published [by Bale,] in the Second Century of English Writers: part of it is among St. *Augustin's* Works.

THE SECOND TOME.

THE Second Tome of St. *Augustin's* Works, containeth his Letters; which do not only represent the Genius and Character of that holy Father, but contain also very important Points of Doctrine, Discipline and Morality. In the last Edition, they are placed according to the Order of Time; for which Arguments are brought in a Preface. They are divided into Four Classes. The First contains those which he writ before he was Bishop, from the Year 386. to 395. In the Second, are those which he writ from the Year 396. to the time when the Catholic Bishops had a Conference at Carthage with the *Donatists*, and the breaking out of the Pelagian Heresy in Africa, that is, to the Year 410. The Third comprehends those that were written

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written from the Year 411. to the end of his life, that is, to 430. And the *Fourth* contains those whereof the time is not justly known, though they were certainly written after he was made Bishop. There are Two hundred and seventy in all. The *Benedictions* have taken away some Treatises, which were put among the Letters; and they have added those which he Answered. And lastly, Some are added, that were not published before.

The thirteen or fourteen first are about Philosophical Matters that St. *Augustin* used to discourse about with his Friends, when he was first Converted.

The First was written by St. *Augustin* to *Hermogenianus*, about the latter end of the Year 380, concerning the Books that he wrote against the Academicks. He tells him what his Aim was in writing them, and asketh his Advice about what he had said concerning those Philosophers. About the latter end of the Third Book, he commends the Academicks, and faith, That he was so far from Condemning them, that he had Imitated them. He blameth the false Academicks of his own time, and calleth them *stupid* who believed the Soul to be Corporeal. He concludes, with saying, That he flattered not himself with triumphing over the Academicks, as *Hermogenianus* said; but that he thought himself happy, for being above despair of finding the Truth, which is the Food of the Soul; and that he had thereby broken that troublefome Chain which hinder'd him from fastning, as one may say, to the Breasts of the True Philosophy.

In the Second Letter, to *Zenobius*, he testifies his Sorrow for his being Absent, and his Impatience to see him again, that they might resolve a Question which he had begun to examine: This Letter was written the same time with the foregoing.

The Third, to *Nebriidius*, is about his Books of *Soliloquies*, composed in the beginning of the year 387. He speaketh there of his Happines of having attained to the Knowledge of some particular Truths, and particularly of those concerning our Nature; confessing withal, That he was ignorant of many things. Among things unknown to Man, he propoeth these: Why the World is of such Bigness? or rather, How big it is? Why it is where it is, rather than any where else? He observeth, That Bodies may be infinitely divided; and, That there is no Quantity but may be both infinitely encreased and diminished: That it is not so with Numbers, which may be infinitely encreased, but not diminished proportionably, seeing there is nothing below Unity.

In the next, directed to the same, and written about the same time, St. *Augustin* acquaints him with the Progress that he had made in the Knowledge of the Truth, during the time of his Retirement. We have not the other Letters, which he writ at that time to *Nebriidius*, as appears by the Ninth Book of *Confessions*.

The Fifth and Sixth, are Letters written in *Africa*, by *Nebriidius*, to St. *Augustin*, about the end of the Year 388, or the beginning of 389. In the First, *Nebriidius* pitieth St. *Augustin*, that he was interrupted in the Contemplation of the Truth by other Business. And in the Second, he tells him his Notion, That Memory cannot act without Imagination; and, That the Imagination draws her Images of Things from it self, and not from the Senses. St. *Augustin* resolves both these Questions in the Seventh Letter. To the former, he answereth, That we remember things which cannot be represented by Sensible Ideas: whence he concludes, That there is a Memory independent upon the Imagination. To the latter, That there are Three sorts of Images or Phantoms, in our Imagination; that some are transmitted by the Senses, and these represent such things as we have seen and felt. That the Second, that are formed by Imagination, represent such things as we never saw; and which, perhaps, are not, but which we fancy, or suppose to be, or to have been: And that the last arise from the Consideration of some Speculative Truths, as Numbers and Dimensions. That without doubt, the first sort do not proceed from Sense; but we must grant, that the Second have their Original from Sense, since they represent nothing but what is true. That the last, though they seem to spring from the Reasons and Principles of Sciences, which lead not into Error, yet are false; because they represent Spiritual Things, as if they were Corporeal and Extended. Whence he concludes, That the Soul doth not imagine the things that it does not see, and that it doth not feel, but either by lessening or by encreasing the Images of what it hath seen or felt.

The following Letters, to the Thirteenth, are directed to *Nebriidius*, though the Years are not precisely known: it is certain, that they were written before St. *Augustin* was Ordained, because *Nebriidius* died before that time. In the Eighth, *Nebriidius* asketh St. *Augustin*, How Demons can make us Dream? St. *Augustin* answers him in the Ninth, That they do it, by stirring those Parts of the Body which can make an Impression upon the Soul, after the same manner as Musical Instruments excite in us certain Thoughts, Passions and Affections. In the Tenth, St. *Augustin* propoeth to *Nebriidius*, To live together retired: And he setteth forth the Advantages of Solitude. In the Eleventh, he endeavours to explain that Question in Divinity, How the Three Persons being inseparable, the Son alone was made Man? Having diligently studied how to answer it, he tells *Nebriidius*, That the understanding of Mysteries, is got only by Piety: That this is the surest way to compass it, and therefore that Men ought chiefly to give up themselves to the Practice thereof. He had also handled that Question in the Twelfth Letter, but it is imperfect. In the Thirteenth, he advises *Nebriidius* not to think any longer, that the Soul hath another thinner Body than that which we see, it being impossible to resolve that Question, since our Senses cannot discern such a Body, and Reason cannot discover any such thing to us.

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In the Fourteenth, he answers Two other Questions propoed by *Nebriidius*. The first, concerning the *Sun*; which is of final importance, and hath no difficulty. The Second deserves, St. *Augustin* more Reflection: *Nebriidius* asks St. *Augustin*, Whether the Knowledge of God, includeth not only a *general Idea of Mankind*, but also an Idea of every Man in particular? St. *Augustin* answereth, That in the Creation, God had only a Prospect of the general Idea of Mankind; but yet that there is in God a particular Idea of every Man. He clears his Answer by this Example: The Idea of an Angle, is one single Notion, as well as that of a Square: so when I design to make an Angle, one only Idea offers it self; and yet when I go about to describe a Square, I must have in my Mind the Notion of Four Angles joined together: Even so each Man was Formed after the particular Idea of a Man; but in the Creation of People, it is no longer the particular Idea of one Man, but the general Idea of many men and conceived all at once. This is refined Metaphysics.

The Fifteenth Letter is written to *Romanianus*; to whom St. *Augustin* promisseth his Book of *The True Religion*, which he finished not long before he was Ordained Priest. Which proves, That this Letter was written about the Year 390. He exhorts *Romanianus* to renounce the Cares of the World, and to seek after solid and lasting Goods.

The Sixteenth Letter, is, a Discourse written by *Maximus*, a Grammarian of *Madawra*, who disputeth against the Christian Religion. He owns, That there is but One Sovereign Being, and One only God; but pretends, That it is the same God whom the Heathen worship under several Names, which signify his several Attributes. He cannot endure, that in the Christian Religion, they should prefer Martyrs of obscure and strange Names, before those Immortal Gods whose Names are so famous. He desires of St. *Augustin* to let him know who that particular God is, whom the Christians suppose to be present in secret and retired places.

St. *Augustin* answereth this in the Seventeenth Letter, discovering the Falseness of this Pagans Rallery, by other Ralleries that are more Spiritual. At the latter end of his Letter, he declares, That among Christians and Catholics the Dead are not adored: And, That no Divine Honours are done to any Creature, but only to God, who created all things. These Letters were written before the Worship of the Gods was prohibited by the Imperial-Law of the Year 391. whilst St. *Augustin* was retir'd at *Tagaste*, near *Madawra*, and before he was a Priest, namely, about the Year 390.

It is believed, that the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Letters, were written before St. *Augustin* was Ordained Priest; because he gives himself no Title in the Inscription, and because they seem more florid than those which he wrote after he was in Orders. The Eighteenth is directed to *Celsianus*. There he distinguishes Beings into Three Natures: The First Moveable in Place and Time, and that's Body: The Second Moveable in Time, but not in Place, and that is the Soul: And the Third is Immoveable in Time and Place, and this is God. The First is incapable either of Happines or Unhappines: The Last is essentially Happy: The Middle Being is Unhappy when it cleaveth to the Beings of the First sort, but Happy when it carries it self to the Supreme Being. In the Nineteenth Letter, he exhorteth *Caius*, to whom he sendeth his Works; to continue in those good Dispositions of Mind wherein he left him. In the Twentieth, he giveth *Antoninus* Thanks for his Love, and for the good Opinion he had of him; with excellent Instructions, desiring the Conversion of his whole Family.

St. *Augustin* was Ordained Priest by *Valerius*, Bishop of *Hippo*, who being a Greek, and not able to speak Latin fluently enough to Preach to the People, cast his Eyes upon St. *Augustin* to Preach in his room. St. *Augustin* being sensible how hard it was to discharge the Duties of that Station, entreatheth *Valerius*, in the Twenty first Letter, to let him withdraw for a time, that he might fit himself, by Study and Prayer, for the Employment which he had laid upon him. This Letter is very instructive for those that are to be promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities: It begins with this curious Reflection; That there is nothing more acceptable, especially at this time, than the Dignity of a Priest, a Bishop and a Deacon; nothing more pleasant and easy than the Exercise of these Offices, when Men will do things only of Course, and flatter others in their Disorders: But on the other side, That there is nothing more mischievous, pernicious and damnable before God, On the contrary, nothing is more glorious and happy in God's account; but at the same time, nothing more difficult, painful and dangerous, especially at this time, than the Exercise of those Functions, when Men resolve to discharge them according to the Rules of that holy Warfare which he professes to follow. He declareth, That though he wept very heartily on the Day of his Ordination, foreseeing the Dangers he was exposed unto; yet he did not then know his Weakness so well as he has done since.

He observeth, That he was Ordained, when he thought to have taken some time to study the Scriptures. He begs time till *Easter*, to prepare himself for Preaching, by Study and Prayer. This Letter was written about the beginning of the Year 391.

The Twenty second, to *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, was written the following Year. St. *Augustin* laments the Feasts which they made in Church-Yards, and at the Martyrs Graves, under pretence of Religion, desiring *Aurelius* to give Order about them. He observeth, That of the Three Vices condemned by St. *Paul*, in the *Epistle to the Romans*, namely, Drunkenness, Uncleanliness and Discord, they seemed to punish but One in the Church, that was, Uncleanliness: That the others were tolerated; yea, they thought to honour the Martyrs by their Drunkenness: That this Abuse was never in the Churches of *Italy*, or else it had been reformed by the

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The Thirty ninth Letter, is a Note from St. Jerome, who recommends *Prasidius*, and pre-
sents his Services to *Alypius*. It is written in the Year 397.

The Fortieth from St. Augustine to St. Jerome, is about their Disagreement, concerning
St. Peter's Action. St. Augustine also desires to know the Title of his Book of Ecclesiastical
Writers; and exhorts him to make a Collection of Origen's Errors, and of those of other
Heretics.

The Forty first Letter written in *Alypius* and St. Augustine's Name, to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Car-
thage*, commending that Bishop for preferring the good of the Church, before the Honour of
the Episcopal Order; by permitting, contrary to Custom, that Priests should Preach God's
Word in his presence. This Letter was written within few Years after St. Augustine was
a Bishop.

The Forty second, is a Note from St. Augustine to St. Paulinus, never before Published,
intreating him to write to him, and to send him his Book against the Gentiles. It is of the lat-
ter end of the Year 397.

The Forty third, and forty fourth Letters to *Glorius Eleusus* give an Account of a Conference,
which St. Augustine held in the City of *Tunisia*, with some Donatists, in the Year 397, or
398. as it is proved in the Preface to the Letters. In the first, he produces the Judgments that
were given against the Donatists: He justifies *Cacilian's* Innocency, and shews, that those who
condemned him, were suspected Judges; and that the Authors of the Donatist Schism,
were guilty of the Crime which they charged upon others. He adds, That it was to no purpose to impute
to the Church the pretended Crimes of the dead: since the Church may tolerate wicked men,
without ceasing to be a Church. That the Donatists themselves suffer among them very di-
rectly Persons; that *Maximianus* had caused *Primitianus* to be condemned, as *Majorinus*
had formerly procured a Sentence against *Cacilian*, by caballing and Intrigue: That the Sect of
the Donatists being limited within *Africa*, and having no Communion with the Churches
that were dispersed throughout the VWorld, cannot be the Catholic Church. In this Letter,
there is that famous Sentence concerning the Authority of Councils. *Let us suppose, that
Pope Miltiades, and the other Bishops, who gave Judgment with him, have not judged right,
then we may have recourse to a Plenary Council of the whole Church, in which the cause of the
Donatists ought to be debated again with those that judged it, and their Sentence reversed, if it shall
be found that they have given a wrong Judgment.*

The Second Letter contains a particular Conference of St. Augustine with *Fortunianus* Dona-
tist Bishop, which was spent in Reproaches on both sides, for the Villanies that were com-
mitted on both sides, without meddling with the main Question, of the Schism. St. Augustine re-
quested, that the Dispute might be ended in a greater Assembly, and in what place they
pleased, where Christians of all Parties might meet. In this Letter, there is an Account of a
Letter of the false Council of *Sardica*, of Eastern Bishops; which *Fortunianus* quoted, because it
was directed to *Donatus*: St. Augustine not knowing the Story, was perplexed; but finding that
St. *Athanasius* was condemned in that Letter, he did not mind it.

The Forty fifth Letter, is a Note to *Paulinus*, written a Year after the foregoing, in 398.

The Forty sixth, from *Publicola* to St. Augustine, contains several Cases of Conscience, which
this Lord proposed concerning the Oath, whereby they obliged the Barbarians to swear by their
Gods. That they would preserve the Fruits of the ground faithfully, which they would not
otherwise have preserv'd, had they not been bound by that Oath: About the use of Meats,
and other Things offered to Idols; and concerning the killing of one that assaults, or robs
us.

In the next, St. Augustine endeavours to decide the Questions proposed by *Publicola*, concern-
ing those Matters. Upon the first he saith, That that Oath ought not to be required of the
Barbarians, but that use may be made of them, after they have taken it; and he that uses
their Service, hath no share in the Oath. that those that swear by false Gods, are doubly guilty,
if they keep not their Oath, both of an abominable Oath, and of Perjury. As to things
offered to Idols, he answereth *Publicola* upon several Particulars, as that there is no danger in
making use of the Meats offered to them, when it is not known, and it is too nice a scruple to
forbear the use of those things which have been applied to prophane uses, if it be not done
with respect to that. To the Last Query he saith, That no man ought to kill any Man, upon
any Account whatsoever; except perhaps, says he, Soldiers, or such as are obliged to it by the
Duties of some publick Office. But that we are not forbidden to secure our selves against the
Violences of others, by making use of VValls, and, That if a Thief be killed or wounded
with the VVall falling upon him, or he falling from the VVall, the thing is not to be im-
puted to him that built the VVall. This Letter was written before the Temples of Idols were
quite demolished, in 399.

In the Forty eighth Letter to *Eudoxius*, Abbot of a Monastery in the Island of *Capraria*, St. Au-
gustine exhortheth both him and his Monks to make good use of the Quiet they enjoy'd, that so
they might be ready to leave it whenever the Church should have need of them. This
Letter is supposed to have been writ in the Year 398.

In the 49th. He asketh of *Honoratus* a Donatist Bishop, a Reason, Why the Catholic Church,
which ought to be Universal over the whole Earth, came to be limited to *Africa*, and was no
where to be found but among the Donatists? The time of this Letter is not very certain.

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The 50th. Letter to the Principal Patrons of the Colony of *Suffectum*, is a Complaint upon
the account of a Murder of 60 Christians whom they massacred, because their *Hieracles* was St. Au-
gustine taken away; He tells upon them, boasting to have another made for them: But he concludes *Augustine*
with these upbraiding words; *But he who restores to us that great number of our Brethren, whose Tome II.*
Letter you have taken away; for if we restore to you your Hieracles, it is reasonable you should restore
them to us. *Barnabas* thinketh that this Massacre happened upon occasion of an Edict made
against Idolatry in 399. But the Translator of St. Augustine's Letters, affirms, That this is none
of his, for two Reasons; First, Because he thinks it is Impertinent; Secondly, Because it is not
written in St. Augustine's Style. I am much of his mind as to the second Point, but I cannot allow
the first; for though this Letter does not seem to be grave enough for such a Subject, yet the
Rally is sharp, which sometimes is more effectual than a Pathetical Discourse. However it
is ancient; and of St. Augustine's time.

In the 51st. Letter, St. Augustine objects to *Crispinus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Calama*, the Diffen-
sation between the *Primitianists*, and the *Maximianists*, as an Answer to what the Donatists urged
against the Church. It was written after the Death of *Optatus Gildonianus* in 399, and before
that of *Praxetatus*, who died in 400; when St. Augustine wrote his Books against *Parme-
nians*.

In the 52d. He exhorts *Severinus*, his Kinsman, to forsake the Donatists, and to come into the
Catholic Church. It may be of the same time with the foregoing.

The 53d. is written in St. Augustine's Name, and of two of his Colleagues, *Fortunatus* and *Aly-
pius*; to *Generosus*, a Catholic of *Constantina*; and contains an Answer to a Letter written by a
Donatist Priest to this Man, to seduce him; wherein he pretends to have received an Order by
an Angel from Heaven, to oblige him to embrace the Donatist's Party.

St. Augustine proves in that Letter, That the Donatist's Party cannot be the true Church,
1. Because they have no Succession of Bishops from the Apostles. To prove this, he produces
the Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*, from St. Peter to *Melchisedecus*. 2. He quoteth the Acts of
Ambrosius Felix, which shew, That *Silvanus* the Predecessor of a Donatist Bishop of *Cirta*
was a Traditor. 3. He urges all the Determinations that had been made against the Do-
natists. 4. He confesses, That there may be wicked Men in the Church, and urges against the
Donatists the Diffentions between the *Primitianists*, and the *Maximianists*.

The 54th. and 55th. Letters to *Jannarius*, are mentioned in St. Augustine's Detractions; where
they are placed among the Books that were written about the Year 400: They contain several
very useful Decisions about Church-Discipline: He layeth it down at first as a Principal Matter,
That Jesus Christ, whose yoke is easie, his burthen light, hath instituted but few Sacraments;
the observation whereof is as easie, as the Wonders which they represent to us, are sublime. Such
is Baptism, the Communion of his Body and Blood, and other things which the Scripture
enjoins us to observe, excepting those that belong to *Moses's Law*. But as to those that are
observed by Tradition, being not written, if they be universally observed, we ought to look
upon them as settled either by the Apostles themselves, or by General Councils, whose Authority
is very great in the Church; as the Annual Celebration of the Passion, Resurrection, and
Ascension of Jesus Christ, and of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and of other things of this Na-
ture, which are generally observed through the whole Church. As to those that are variously
observed in divers places, as Fasting upon *Saturdays*, which is practised in some places, and in
others not, Communicating every Day, or only upon certain Days; offering daily or only upon
Sundays and *Saturdays*: There is a Liberty for those Things, and for all others of the like Nature.
And there is no better Rule for a Wise and Prudent Christian, than to follow what he seeth
practised in the Church where he is. For what is clearly seen, to be neither against Faith, nor
good Manners, ought to be indifferently received; and the good of a Society requireth, That
Men should hold to what they find established among those with whom they live. He gives an
Account of what he had heard St. *Ambrose* say in that case; and having laid down this Rule as
the Ground of all that he was to say, he speaks particularly of frequent Communion; That some
believe, That it is good to Communicate daily; but to do it more worthily, certain Days are to
be set apart, in which they live after a purer and more reserved manner: Others, on the contrary
judge, That when Men are not Guilty of those Sins for which Penance is enjoined, and them-
selves forbidden to come to the Communion of the Body of Jesus Christ; that they ought to
come daily to the Eucharist, as a Remedy to preserve them still. He reconcilith these two, by
adding a third Advice; in which he exhorts them both to Peace, and leaves it to every one, to act
according as he shall be guided by the light both of Faith and of Piety, since neither of them
Profane the Body of Christ; but on the contrary strive to honour it. He proposes the Examples
of *Zacharias* and the Centurion, whereof the one presently received Jesus Christ with Joy into his
House; and the other, judged not himself worthy, that he should come under his Roof.

Secondly, St. Augustine saith, That a Traveller ought to observe the Customs of the Place
where he is, and not require those of his own Country. Thus when a Man comes into a Coun-
try where they Fast upon *Thursdays* in *Lent*; he ought to Fast with them, though they Fast
not in his Country; for fear of disturbing the Peace by unprofitable Disputes.

These Principles being laid down, he answereth *Jannarius* his Questions. The First is about
the Hour of Offering upon the *Holy Thursday*, Whether it should be done in the Morning or in
the Evening? Or, Whether we ought to Fast and not to Offer till after Supper; because it is
said;

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St. Aug. 28th. 1. Tome II. said. That it was after Supper that Jesus Christ took Bread; or whether we ought not to Sup till the Offering be over? St. Augustin answers. That this is one of those things which are neither taught by Scripture, nor universally observed throughout the Church; and so every one is to follow the Custom of his own Church, there being nothing of either side inconsistent either with Faith or Good Manners; and that Alterations, though useful in themselves, cause Disturbances: That Christ's Example is no Law in this case, otherwise the whole Church is in an Error to enjoy the receiving the Eucharist fasting, which the Apostles first received after Supper; but that since it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, out of reverence to so great a Sacrament, that the Body of Jesus Christ should be received into Christian's Mouths before any other Meat: and therefore this Custom is observed throughout the World. And yet some others believing upon good Grounds. That for a more exact Commemoration of Christ's Death, it was convenient to offer and receive once a Year upon *Holy Thursday* after Eating: This Custom can no more be Condemned, than that of Bathing upon that Day; neither are they to blame that fast and Bathe not; wherefore the Sacrifice is offered twice, once in the Morning for these last, and once in the Evening for the first.

In the Second Letter to *Yennarius*, which is the 5th. St. Augustin goes on to treat of the Ceremonies of the Church: Shewing, Why *Easter* is always celebrated after the Fourteenth Day of the Moon in *March*; Why Christ would rise again the Third Day, and the next Day after the Sabbath; What signifieth the Day of Christ's Crucifixion, and that in which his Body remained in the Grave, and that of his Resurrection; Why Lent is kept before the Resurrection; Why the Holy Ghost came down the Fiftieth Day after the Resurrection, with many other things, whereof he gives Mythical Reasons, very edifying and very proper to shew how both our Saviour's Death and Resurrection ought to operate upon us.

He adds several things concerning the Ceremonies of the Church: He observes, That *Lent* is kept throughout the whole Church, as well as the Solemnity of the Holy Days which were designed for those that are newly Baptized: That the Custom of Singing *Hallelujah* from *Easter* to *Whitsuntide* is not general; because, though it is Sung every where at that time; yet in some Churches it is Sung at other times also. As to the Praying Standing at the same time, he durst not affirm it to be an universal Custom. The Washing of Feet was not constantly used every where. He approves of Singing in the Church, though it was not universally established. He Condemns those that introduce new Customs, if they are useless; and declares how much he is troubled, to see those Wholesome Things neglected which the Church prescribes; and that all is full of Humane Institutions. He affirms, That endeavour should be used, to abolish all sorts of things, which are neither Expressed in Scripture, nor Enjoined by Councils, nor Confirmed by the universal Practice of the Church; but are done after different manners, according to the difference of Places, though no reason can be shewed why they were at first established. For, faith he, though it doth not appear that they are contrary to the Faith, yet it is sufficient to make us reject them, that they are servile Customs and Burdens to our Holy Religion: And which from that Liberty, wherein God's Mercy hath established it, prescribing but few Sacraments; the design and Virtue whereof are clearly Manifest, make is fall into a kind of Slavery, worse than that of the Jews: But as the Church enjoineth much Straw, so it is forced to tolerate many things, yet without doing, or approving, yea without palliating, what it finds to be contrary to Faith or Good Manners. He afterwards blameth those who through Superstition abstain from certain Meats; and those who, that they may know what they have to do, will at all Adventures open the Book of the Gospel out of a Superstitious Custom. Lastly, He tells *Yennarius*, That all Knowledge must have respect to Charity, which is the only end of all our Actions.

The 56th. and 57th. Letters were written to *Celer*, before the Conference at *Carthage*. He exhorts him to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and to forsake the Donatist.

In the 58th. He applauds *Pammacius*, a Senator, for causing his Vassals that were Donatists to return to the Church. It seems to have been written at the latter end of 401, and sent by the Legates of the Council of *Carthage* the same Year.

The 59th. Is an Answer to *Victorinus* a Bishop; who writ to him, to come to a Council which he was then calling. He faith, That he could not be there, because he was indolent; and besides, he would not have gone otherwise, upon the account of his Letter; because *Xarippus* Bishop of *Tagoza*, pretended to the Primacy, which ought first to be determined. It appears by the 65th. Letter, that *Xarippus* was in the right, and that he was acknowledged Primate in 402. which shews that this Letter was written in 401. Now to understand this Letter, and all the rest of St. Augustin's, that speak of Primacy or Metropolitick Rights, we are to observe, That this Right belonged not in *Africa* to the Dignity of Towns, but to the Seniority of the Bishops.

In the 60th. St. Augustin acquaints *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, That *Donatus* and his Brother had left a Monastery against his will; and that such falls being ordinary to Men of that Profession, those do the Clergy an Injury, who admit Deferters from Monasteries into the Church again. That an ill Monk is so far from making a good Churchman, that on the contrary, it is hard to make a good Churchman of a good Monk; because, though there may be Purity enough on the one side, yet there is often want of Instruction on the other; or at least some other Imperfections which may make him unworthy of coming into the Church. Yet *Aurelius* had ordained *Donatus*, supposing that he had left the Monastery, by

St. Augustin

St. Augustin's order, before that Canon was made; whereby it was forbidden to ordain a Monk of another Diocese. Wherefore St. Augustin writes to *Donatus*, That he was at Liberty, to do what he pleased, if he was not acted by a Spirit of Pride; But as to his Brother, who was the cause of his desertion, *You know*, faith St. Augustin, what I think of it; but I have nothing to say to you as to that matter; for I dare not contradict the Opinions of so Wise and Charitable a Man as you are, and whom I ought to reverence so much. The Canon mentioned in that Letter, is that of the Council held the 15th. of September 401, and it is in the *African Code*, Chap. 80. which shews, That the Letter was written soon after.

The 61st. is written to *Theodorus*, to assure the Donatist Clergy, That if they returned to the Church, they should be admitted to the same Rank and Dignity, which they held before in their own Party. St. Augustin promittes it solemnly and with an Oath. He confesseth, That there was no Evil in the Donatists, but only their Separation from the Church: That their Baptism, their Ordination, their Vows and all their Sacraments were good; though unprofitable to them whilst they wanted Charity.

Both the following Letters directed to *Severus*, Bishop of *Milevis*, are written about a Clerk, called *Timothy*, who had sworn, That he would never leave *Severus*, though he was of the Church of *Hippo*, and had performed the Office of Reader in that Diocese. St. Augustin pretends, That the Oath which this Priest had taken, being disapproved by his Bishop, and not received by him with whom he had Sworn to abide, did not oblige him, nor free him from the Obligation which he was under to remain in that Church to which he belong'd. Yet he dealt very civilly with *Severus*; and though he caused *Timothy* to be ordained Sub-Deacon at *Susanna*, which belong'd to the Diocese of *Hippo*, yet he sent him back to *Severus*, that he might have no occasion to complain of him. It was upon this occasion, probably, that a Canon was made in the Council of *Milevis*, of the 27th. of September, 402. whereby a Bishop is forbidden to detain a Clerk, who had performed the Office of Reader in another Diocese.

In the 64th. Letter to *Quintianus*, he exhorts him not to be Impatient, because *Aurelius* deferred to give Judgment in his Cause; declaring, That he could not admit him to his Communion before *Aurelius* had admitted him to his; advising him, likewise, not to suffer the Apocryphal Books to be read in his Church; and Answers the Complaint that was made against St. Augustin, for receiving into his Monastery, Persons of another Diocese, against the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, that was held in the Year 401.

In the 65th. Letter, St. Augustin acquaints *Xarippus*, Primate of *Numidia*, That he had given Judgment against *Abundantius* the Priest, who was convicted of staying; and eating upon a Fast-Day in the House of a Woman of ill Reputation. He faith farther, That he had admonished him, and assured him, That according to the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, in 401. he might, within the Year, have his Cause examin'd again; but he declares to *Xarippus*, That what Judgment soever, might intervene in his behalf, yet he would never trust him with a Church in his Jurisdiction. It is observed in that Letter, that *Easter Day*, in that Year, wherein it was written, happen'd upon the 6th. of April, which is an infallible Proof, That this Letter was written in the Year 402.

In the 66th. St. Augustin upbraids *Crispinus*, a Donatist Bishop at *Calama*, because he Re-baptized those of *Mappalia*, whom with Threatnings, he had forced to embrace his Communion. It appears by the Second Book against *Peitilianus*, written in 402, that this happened not long before that same Year.

The 67th. and 68th. are Letters which St. Augustin, and St. Jerom. writ to one another, in the Year 402.

In the 69th. both *Alypius*, and St. Augustin, exhort *Calixtus* to fill up the Bishoprick of *Vaga* or *Bagada*, which was then vacant by the Demission of his Brother *Maximian*; who, for Quietness sake, being obliged to quit the Bishoprick, had generously done it, as appears likewise by a Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, in the Year 402. which is the 88th. in the *African Code*.

The 71st. 72d. 73d. 74th. and 75th. of St. Augustin, to St. Jerom. and of St. Jerom. to St. Augustin, are about that Dispute that was between them: Of which we gave an Account in the Abridgment of St. Jerom's Works.

The 76th. Is an Exhortation, in the Church's Name, to all Donatists, which contains the most prevailing Motives to make them return to the Church. It was written after the Donatist Bishops had refused a Conference that was offered, in pursuance of the Order of the general Council of *Africa*, in the Year 403.

The 77th. and 78th. are concerning a Scandal that happened in the Church of *Hippo*. One *Spes* of St. Augustin's Monastery, had been accused of Uncleanness, by *Boniface*, a Priest. This Man charged the Crime upon the Priest; affirming, That he was the guilty Person. St. Augustin finding no Proof to Convict either of them, remitted the Judgment to God; But *Spes* desiring to come into the Clergy; and being denied by St. Augustin, insisted, That if he might not be admitted, because he had been accused, neither was *Boniface* to continue in the Order of Priesthood. St. Augustin thought fit to oblige them both, to go to the Grave of St. Felix of *Nola*, that God might be pleased to discover the Truth by some Miracle. Now he intended, that this should be kept Secret: but the Thing talking vent, St. Augustin wrote about it to the Clergy of *Hippo*, and to Two private Men, That none ought to be disturbed at the Scandals happening in the Church; That no Man should be rashly Condemned; That there was no

Proof

other Considerations of the same Nature. Afterwards, he exhorts *Vincentius* to return to the Church; shewing, That the true Church is that which is spread throughout the Earth. He Answers what the *Donatists* objected, to prove that it might be comprehended within a small number of Righteous Men; He shews, That it must necessarily be mix'd with both bad and good; And at last, declares against Re-baptizing. This Letter was written about the Year 408.

The 94th. Letter, is by *St. Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*; and the 95th. is *St. Augustin's* Answer to that of *Paulinus*. He discourses of the Nature of Bodies after the Resurrection; and of that of Angels. It is incertain whether they have Bodies, or whether they are pure Spirits. These Letters are of the Year 408.

The 96th. Letter, is an Excellent Example, shewing, How little Bishops in *St. Augustin's* time, were given to Interest. *Paulus* Bishop of *Catagena*, had bought an Estate in the Church's Name, with a Summ which he recovered; though he had Surrendered his own Estate for what he owed to the Royal Treasure. *Boniface* his Successor, not willing to benefit himself by that Fraud, declared the thing as it was; chusing either to have nothing, or to receive the whole from the Emperor's Liberality, rather than keep a thing gotten by Fraud. *St. Augustin* writeth this Letter to *Olympius*, Surveyor of the Buildings, to obtain by his means this Gratification from the Emperor, in the behalf of *Boniface*. *Olympius* not being in that Employment before the Death of *Silico*, which happen'd in August 408, this Letter cannot have been written till towards the latter end of that Year. To the same Magistrate, and at the same time, was the following written; whereby he prayeth him to see the Laws maintained that were Published in *Africa*, in the time of *Silico* his Predecessor; and to let the Church's Enemies know, That these Laws having been Enacted freely by the Emperor himself, they were in full force after *Silico's* Death.

In the 98th. to *Boniface*, *St. Augustin* resolves a Question that was made to him by that Bishop, namely, How the Faith of Parents can serve for their Children that are admitted to Baptism, though the incredulity of Parents can be no Prejudice to their Children, when they offer them to *Demons*. *St. Augustin* Answers, That it is most certain, that after a Child is born, he partakes no longer of other Men's Sins; but before, he is partaker of *Adam's* Sin, from which he is delivered by the Operation of the Holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Baptism. That Water represents outwardly, both the Mystery and Grace, but the Holy Spirit produces the Effect. That neither the Faith of Parents, nor yet of Godfathers is the cause of this Grace; but the Prayer of the whole Church, that begets Christ in each Member. In which sense, the Godfathers Answer for the Child, that he believes, and resolves to live Christianly, because he receiveth the Sacrament of Faith, and of Conversion to God. He explains this last Notion by several Examples, and among the rest he alledgeth that of the Eucharist, saying, "That as the Sacrament of Christ's Body, is in *Yome* for the Body of Christ; so the Sacrament of Faith is Faith it self; and in this sense it is said, That whosoever hath the Sacrament of Faith, hath Faith it self." This Comparison would not be very Just, if *St. Augustin* did not consider something else in the Eucharist, besides the external and sensible part.

The 99th. is written to the Lady *Italica*, on the occasion of the first Siege of *Rome*, by *Alaricus* in 408.

In the 100th. Letter, *St. Augustin* intreateth *Donatus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, to restrain the *Donatists*; but not to punish them with Death. And having expressed himself with the most Pathe- tical terms that can be used to oblige him to Meekness, he concludes with these curious words: It is a more troublesome than profitable Labour, to compel Men to forsake a great Evil, rather by Force, than by Instruction. This Letter was written at the time when they published new Edicts against the *Donatists* in 408.

The 101st. Letter to *Memorius* a Bishop, was joyn'd to the Sixth Book of his Treatise of *Mulick*, which *St. Augustin* sent by it self to that Bishop, because he could not find his other Books upon the same Subject, that *Memorius* desired. This *Memorius* was Father to *Julianus*, who writ afterwards against *St. Augustin*, who was now a Deacon. *St. Augustin* gives him great Commendations in that Letter.

The 102d. is placed in the Retractions; amongst the Books compos'd before the Year 411. There *St. Augustin* answereth Six Questions propos'd by an Heathen to a Priest call'd *Deogratias*.

The First is, concerning the Resurrection; Whether that which is promised to us, shall be like that of *Jesus Christ*, or like that of *Lazarus*; And whether after the Resurrection, Men shall be Subject to the Infirmities and Necessities of the Flesh. *St. Augustin* answereth, That our Resurrection shall be like that of *Jesus Christ*, and that after the Resurrection, we shall be freed from all cares and inconveniences of corruptible Flesh.

The Second Question is, If none can be Saved but by *Jesus Christ*, what is become of those that died before his coming? What is become of so many Millions of Souls, against whom nothing can be objected, since Christ had not yet appeared among Men? Why did not the Saviour come sooner? Let it not be said, that the Jewish Law supplied that want; for there was already an infinite number of Men upon Earth, when it was given, and yet it was neither known, nor practised but in a small corner of the World.

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St. Augustin having shewed, That the Pagans were not less perplexed, with that Question, than the Christians, answers, That *Jesus Christ* being the Word of God, who Governed the World from the beginning, all those that knew him, and lived according to his Precepts, might be saved by the Faith which they had, that he was in God, and should come upon the Earth. He adds, That *Jesus Christ* would not appear in the World, and cause his Doctrine to be Preached, but at such a time, and in such Places, where he knew, that there were those who should believe in him; and that he foresaw, that in all other Places, or at any other Times, Men would be such as they have been, though the Gospel had been Preached to them. This Notion was very favourable to the *Semipelagian*s, and they failed not to make use of it; as appears by *Hilary's* Letter to *St. Augustin*. But this Father answered them in the 9 Chap. of the Book of the Predes- tination of the Saints; That he did make use of the Word Fore-knowledge only, because he thought it was sufficient to convince the Infidelity of the Pagans who made this Objection; and therefore he omitted to speak of that which is hid within God's Counsels of the Motives of that Dispensation: And so when he said, That *Jesus Christ* would not show himself, nor cause his Doctrine to be Preached but in those places, and at such a time, he knew those Persons liv'd, who should believe in him: It is as if he had said, That *Jesus Christ* did not show himself unto Men, nor suffer his Doctrine to be Preached, but in those places and at that time, when he knew, that those should live who were Elected before the Creation. He expounds again in the same place, what he had said in this Letter: That the Christian Religion never failed of being Preached to those that were worthy; and, that if it failed not, it was because they were not worthy of it. Saying, That he had not declared his Opinion concerning that which renders Men worthy, whether it is the Grace of *Jesus Christ*, or their own Will.

This is the Third Question: Why should they condemn Victims, Incense and Sacrifices, seeing that from the beginning God was honoured after this manner; and that he is represented as having need of the First-Fruits of the Earth?

Ans. God hath no need either of our Offerings, or our Sacrifices. The Service we yield to him turns to our own profit, and not to his. At all times Sacrifices have been offered to God, but they ought only to have been offered to the true God. The Sacrifices that are offered to Creatures are Sacrilegious. Both the Sacrifices and the Sacraments of the Old Law are changed; and this Alteration was foretold. The New Testament is established upon the Sacrifice of the High-Priest; that is, upon the Effusion of the Blood of Christ himself; and now all Christians offer a Sacrifice that is suitable to the Manifestation of the New Covenant.

The Fourth Question is concerning the Eternity of Punishments; against which this Maxim of the Gospel was objected; *With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you.* Every measure, say they, is limited to a certain space of time; What mean then those Threatnings of Eternal Sufferings?

St. Augustin shews, That this Question is idle and unworthy of a Philosopher; That it is important to say that all measures are limited by a certain space of time, since there are other measures, besides those of time; That it is a common Saying, That a Man shall be dealt withal, as he dealeth with others, though he receiveth not precisely the same Treatment; That these words of *Jesus Christ*, *It shall be measured unto you, after the same manner that ye measure unto others*; signify only, That Men shall be Punished or Rewarded, by the same Will which made them do Good or Evil to others; that is, by the remorse of their own Consciences; That Sins and Punishments are not measured by time, but by the quality of the Will; That the Punishment of Sin is eternal; because, as the Sinner desired to enjoy Pleasure for ever, it is just that he should be Punished for it for ever.

The Fifth Question was not difficult to solve. It was supposed that *Solomon* had said, That there was no Son of God. *St. Augustin* answers, That *Solomon* never said it, but the contrary.

The Last, is a Serious Answer to the Jest of the Heathens, about the History of *Jonas*.

The 103d. Letter, is a second Letter of *Nectarius* of *Calama*, who reneweth the same Request that he made in the 90th. for Pardon of his Heathen Countrymen, who had misused the Christians.

The 104th. is an Answer of *St. Augustin*, where he particularly refuteth the Opinion of the Stoicks, concerning the Equality of Sins. *St. Augustin* received *Nectarius* his Letter upon the 27th. of March 409. and it is probable that he returned an Answer instantly.

The 105th. is an Exhortation to the *Donatists*. After he had justified the Severity of the Imperial Laws, he examines the ordinary Points of Controversie that were in dispute with those Schismatics; Proving, 1. That the Validity of Baptism dependeth not upon the holiness of the Minister. 2. That the Catholic Church cannot be confin'd to the *Donatists*. 3. That the Wicked, who were tolerated in the Catholic Church, could not hinder it from being the true Church.

In the 106th. *St. Augustin* intreateth *Macrobius*, a *Donatist* Bishop at *Hippo*, not to Re-baptize a Sub-deacon that was gone over to their Party. *St. Augustin* gave this Letter to *Maximus* and *Theodorus*, who delivered it into *Macrobius* his own hands; who made them no Answer, but that he could not refuse to give the Faith to them that came to him; which Answer, they returned to this Saint by the 107th. Letter. *St. Augustin* immediately fet Pen to Paper to prove that behaviour of the *Donatists*, as he doth by the 108th Letter; wherein he proves, That Baptism is not to be repeated, alledging chiefly the Example of the *Donatists* themselves, who

approved

approved the Sentence of the *Agathensis*, whom themselves had condemned and put out of their Communion. The time of this Dispute with *Marcellinus*, is not very certain; yet it is supposed to be changed in 409.

The 120th is a Letter of Compliment written to St. *Augustin* by *Armentarius* Bishop of *Milvum*, wherein he tells of the Pleasure that he found in reading his Works. He gives him high Commendations, especially for his love towards God and towards his Neighbour. St. *Augustin* answers him by the 120th, in a very modest and civil manner. The time of these Letters is not well known.

The 117th is a Controversy betwixt St. *Augustin* and the Priest, concerning those *Misericordians* who then walked bare *hoy* and *shorn* in the Year 409. caused a great number of holy Persons and Virgins to forsake so *foolish*.

In the 117th Letter, St. *Augustin* exhorteth *Priscus*, who was leaving the Paganishship, in 410, to renounce the Pomps of the World, and to follow Jesus Christ, and to bring back to the Communion of the Church, those that had any Dependency upon him.

The 113th is a Letter of Recommendation to *Crescentius*, concerning *Armentarius* his Bishop, who was taken out of the Sanctuary of a Church, whither he was fled to, secure himself from the Pursuit of one of whom he Rented a Forest.

The Three following Letters are about the same Business. St. *Augustin* cites a Law that was made by *Honorius* the Emperor, the 21st of January, 410. so that these Letters were written after that Year.

The 117th is a Note from *Discordus*, to which he joins several Questions to St. *Augustin*, taken out of *Cicero's* Dialogues. St. *Augustin* Answers him in the next, That it is unworthy of a Bishop to spend time in explaining such kind of Questions. He treateth afterwards of the Design which Men ought to have in their Studies, and of the chiefest Good. He Respects the Philosophers Opinions upon that Subject; and shews, That God is the chiefest Good. He exhorteth *Discordus* to study Christian Philosophy, discovering the Blindness and the Errors of the Heathen Philosophers. St. *Augustin* speaking in this Letter of the Heretics he was so Dispute with, saith nothing of the *Priscians*; which makes it probable, that it was written before the Year 412. but it could not be written long before, because he declares there, that he was growing Grey.

The 119th containeth *Conferens* his Questions concerning the Mystery of the Trinity. And the 120th containeth St. *Augustin's* Answers, who expounds the Faith, touching that Mystery. He treateth there of Faith, and Understanding.

The 121st Letter is written by St. *Paulinus*, who proposes to St. *Augustin* some Questions upon certain Passages of the Psalms, of St. *Paul's* Epistles, and the Gospels.

In the 122d St. *Augustin* exhorteth himself to his Clergy, and People, because he was obliged to be silent. He exhorts them to diminish nothing of what they were wont to do for the Poor. This Letter was written in the Year 410, when *Alaric* took *Rome*. I suppose also, that St. *Jerom* hinted at the Calamity, in Enigmatical Terms, in the following Letter, which is the last of the Second Classe of St. *Augustin's* Letters.

The Third Classe.

THE Letters of the Third Classe are all those that St. *Augustin* writ from the Year 411. to the end of his Life.

The First, which is the 124th is directed to *Albina*, old *Melania's* Daughter, to *Pinianus*, and to the younger *Melania*, who had retired into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Africa*, after the Death of *Augustin*, in the Year 411, and were come to *Tagasta*, when St. *Augustin* wrote this Letter; whereby he excuseth himself, that the Condition of the Church at *Hippo*, rather than the Severity of the Winter, hindered him from coming to them.

Pinianus being come to *Hippo*, to see St. *Augustin*, as he was celebrating the Holy Mysteries, the People demanded, that he should be ordained Priest, and obliged him to swear, That he should not leave the Town of *Hippo*; and that, if he took Orders, he would be ordained no where, but at *Hippo*. *Albina*, and her Children, complained of that Violence; believing, that the Men of *Hippo* had no other Design in doing so, but to fix in their Church so Rich a Man as *Pinianus* was; pretending, that the Oath forced upon him was not binding. St. *Augustin* writes to *Albina*, the 125th Letter, to justify both himself, and his People, of the Suppositions entertained of him upon that Subject, praying *Albina* to remove them. He speaketh afterwards of *Pinianus* his Oath, and of the Obligation to keep it; whereupon, he layeth down the following Principles about the Matter of Oaths. First, That none ought to swear to a Thing forbidden, whatsoever Fear he may be in of Death if he sweareth not; and that he ought rather to suffer Death. 2. That when a Man has sworn, by constraint, to a lawful Thing, he is bound to Discharge it; and cannot defend himself from it, without being guilty of Perjury. 3. That the Bond of an Oath is performed, not when we do what is signified by the Letter, or the Terms, wherein the Oath is expressed, but when we observe what the Impulse of the Oath expects, if it be known when the Oath is taken: and so a Man may be Perjured in keeping what:

what is signified by the Terms of the Oath, if he defeats the Expectation of him to whom the Oath is made; and that, on the contrary, this being done, there is no Perjury, though the Letter of the Oath is not observed in its proper Sense. From whence he concludes, That though *Pinianus* is not bound to abide at *Hippo*, as if that City were made a Prison for him; yet he is obliged, by his Oath, to dwell there as an Inhabitant, with Liberty to go and come, but not to go away never to return.

In the following Letter to *Albina*, St. *Augustin* justifies himself from the Accusation that was made against his People, for detaining *Pinianus* out of Covetousness. He saith, That such Imputations reflect upon him, because he is Administrator of the Church's Goods, whereas the People neither dispose of, nor profits by them. Wherefore, to clear himself absolutely, he is obliged to make Oath, and to take God to witness, as he doth in this Letter, That the Administration of the Church's Goods is a Charge to him. He discourages again of the Validity of *Pinianus* his Oath, and of the Obligation he lay under to execute it.

The 127th to *Armentarius*, and *Paulina* his Wife, was written soon after *Rome* was taken. He exhorts them not to regard this present Life; shewing also, how much they were obliged to keep the Vow of Continency, which they had made. This Letter is full of most Excellent Thoughts against the Love of the World, and of Life. Among other things, he particularly takes notice, That if, to prolong this Transitory Life, Men are not afraid to take so much Pains, to undergo so many Dangers, and Losses, much more ought they to expose themselves, for that Life which is Eternal: That all the Pains we take in this Life, to prevent Death, tend to nothing else but to keep us in Misery; that we constantly avoid the present Death; that we may be exposed to the Fear of all possible Ones. What (saith he) do not those Men endure, whom the Physicians force to endure, Fire, and the Knife; and, What is the Consequence of so many Pains? Is it to escape Death? No! but to die a little later. The Pains are certain, but the preserving of Life is uncertain; and very often the Patient dies in those Torments, to which he exposes himself for Fear of Death; and chusing to suffer not to die, instead of chusing to die to prevent suffering, it happens that they meet with Death in the midst of those sufferings, which they chuse to undergo to avoid it. . . . But the greatest Evil, and the most to be abhorred, is, That to lengthen this wretched Life a little, we displease God who is the Spring of true Life. . . . Besides, the such a miserable Life, as this is, could continue for ever, yet were it not to be compared with an happy Life, tho' never so short. In the mean time, the love of this Life, as short as miserable, makes us live a Life that is not only Happy, but Eternal; tho' in that very Life, which we so unobtainably love, we seek for nothing but what we may be secure of in the other, and which the love of this makes us lose. For what do we love, by loving a Life so wretched, and so short? It is not the misery of it, since we desire to be happy, nor the shortness of it, since we fear to see the end. We love it therefore, only because it is Life; and this alone, makes us love it, tho' short and miserable. From these Principles he concludes, That we should love nothing but eternal Life; shake off all Clogs, and Cares of present Things; cleave solely to Jesus Christ, to whom we should have our Recourse, as to the chief Physician, who alone is able to ease our Pains, and satisfy our Desires.

The 128th Letter, is a Declaration of the Catholic Bishops to *Marcellinus*. The Emperor's Commissioner, appointed to be at the Conference betwixt the Catholic Bishops, and the *Donatists*, by which Declaration they submit themselves to all the Conditions of the Order, given by *Marcellinus*; and give their consent, That in case the *Donatist* Bishops yield in the Conference, and be convicted of Schism, yet they should be maintained in their Dignity; so that in the Places, where there was a Bishop of each Communion, they should Govern jointly, till the Death of the one; or that both should give up, and a Third be chosen: And, that though they granted this Advantage to the *Donatists*, yet they made no Conditions for themselves, but were contented to lose their Dignity, if the *Donatists* had the better in the Conference.

Marcellinus, by his Order, had appointed a certain Number of Bishops of each Party, to be at the Conference; but the *Donatists* desiring to be all there, made a Solemn Declaration. The Catholic Bishops gave their Consent by the 129th Letter. The time of these Two last cannot be doubted, seeing they relate to the Conference at *Carthage*, appointed the 14th. of *October*, 410. and began the 1st of *June*, 411.

The 130th is directed to the illustrious and pious Lady *Proba Falconia*, the Widow of *Prætorius*, *Prætorius*, and Consul in 371. who withdrew into *Africa* after the taking of *Rome*. This Holy Widow having desired St. *Augustin* to write to her concerning Prayer, this Saint gives her, by this Letter, excellent Instructions about the manner how we ought to Pray, and the necessary Disposition to do it well. He discourages there of the Contempt of Riches, of renouncing the World, of that true Happiness which ought to be prayed for, and of love of our Neighbour. He proves, That true Praying is from the Heart. He explains in few Words, the Lord's Prayer; shewing, That it contains what we are to Pray for. He observes that, we may desire to be delivered from Pain, Sickness, and Afflictions; but that we are not to desire with impatience, nor to think that God regards us not, when we obtain not that ease which we desire. This Letter is full of very Christian and Sublime Maxims, and Notions, very useful for Pious Persons.

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The 131st. to the same Lady, hath nothing Remarkable; he thanks her for enquiring after his Health.

In the 132d. Letter, St. *Augustin* exhorts *Volusian*, to whom it is written, to read the Scriptures, and to propose to him those Difficulties which he shall meet with.

In the 133d. Letter, St. *Augustin* entreats *Marcellinus* not to punish those *Donatists* with Death, who had confessed their Crimes by Torture; and to have respect, in the Choice of Punishments, to that Meekness which the Church professeth to exercise towards all Men.

The next Letter contains the like Entreaties to the Proconsul, *Apringius*. Both these were written after the Imperial Law against the *Donatists* was enacted in 412.

By the 135th. *Volusianus* desires a Solution of the Difficulties proposed against the Christian Religion, which centred all in this: Objection, *How God should so humble himself as to become Man?* With this Letter came another from *Marcellinus*, which is the 136th. wherein he desireth St. *Augustin*, to answer the Questions made by *Volusianus*; adding some other Objections of the Enemies of the Christian Religion. They said, That God had abolished the Old Law, either out of Inconstancy, or because he was weary of it. That the Doctrine of the Gospel was contrary to Statutes; and that the Christian Emperors had done great Dis-service to the Affairs of the Common-wealth.

St. *Augustin* in the 137th. answereth *Volusianus* his Questions. He lays down this Rule at First, That though there are such Deep Things in the Scripture, that a Man may daily make new Discoveries, how Learned and Quick soever he be; yet it is not difficult to arrive to the Knowledge of what is necessary to be known to be Saved. Afterward, he answereth *Volusianus* his Question concerning the Incarnation; shewing, That though the Word was made Man; yet he did not give over the Care of Things upon Earth, nor ceased to be every where, and to Govern all Things: That the Union of the Soul with the Body, which daily happeneth, is not less difficult to be comprehended than that of God with Man; which happened but once to save Men from their Sins. Here he lays down very powerful Arguments, to persuade Men to believe the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; as, The Original of the People of *Israel*; God's Dealings with them; his choosing them to be his beloved People; the Laws and Ceremonies of the Old Testament, which had all a relation to Jesus Christ; the Predictions of the Prophets; the Life, Actions, and the Death of Christ; the Establishment of the Church; its Encrease, and Preservation; the greatness and sublimity of the Morals that were taught in it; the plain Sense of the Scripture, which makes it accessible to all Mankind, though there are such Depths as few Minds can penetrate, and other such Considerations which are sufficient to prove the Truth of the Christian Religion.

In the following Letter, St. *Augustin* replies to the Objections made by *Marcellinus*: The First is about the Alteration of the Old Law, which they imputed either to Envy, or to Inconstancy in God. St. *Augustin* saith, That God is unchangeable in all that concerns himself; and that as he hath given Precepts, and Ordinances for the Good of Man, so it is for the same End that he sometimes changeth them; as he judgeth it may be more convenient for them.

The Second Objection, proposed by *Marcellinus*, seems more difficult. They accused Christ's Doctrine, as inconsistent with the Well-being of the State; because it forbids rendering Evil for Evil; Commands turning the other Cheek; giving the Cloak also to them that offer to take our Coats; and to go Two Miles with him that forceth us to go one. These Precepts say they are contrary to the Practice of Common-wealths: For who is he that will suffer his Enemy to rake away his Goods? Who doth not seek to return Evil for Evil to Barbarians, who come to lay the Privinces of the Empire waste?

St. *Augustin* refutes this Objection; shewing, that this Maxim here looked upon as contrary to the Good of the State, was a Maxim of the Old Romans, who thought it worthy of their Greatness, and profitable for the Common-wealth to forgive Injuries: That *Cicero* exalting *Cæsar* for a great Prince, commendeth him for his readiness to forgive Injuries: That such Things are read with Admiration in Profane Writings, whilst they are despised in Christian Books, where they are more plainly, and more nobly expressed. He proves afterwards, That these Divine Books are so far from being contrary to the Happiness of Governments, that they are most proper to maintain Peace and Concord: That however, they are not to be understood literally; and that we are not absolutely forbidden to defend our selves, or to punish Crimes; but only, that Men should not act by a Principle of Revenge, but with a Design to do good to him that offends us: So that these Precepts of Jesus Christ, have respect to the Disposition of the heart, rather than to what is done outwardly, and tend only to preserve Peace, and Charity in their Hearts, leaving us the Liberty to do what we think may conduce most to the Advantage of those to whom we desire to do Good.

Having answered *Marcellinus*, and St. *Paul's* Example, to justify such a Carriage, he adds, That this Milder sort of Execution of Justice against Evil Doers, provided it be done with a Spirit of Charity: That War itself may be managed with the same Spirit, when Men desire to Conquer with a Design to do Good to the Vanquished, and keep them from doing Hurt. Then he answereth *Marcellinus*'s second Objection; shewing, That the Christian Emperors ought not to be charged with the decay of the Empire; the Heathen themselves having confessed, That their own Manners, and the Vices of the Romans, were the main Causes of it. He

sheweth,

sheweth, likewise, how Contemptible the Jugglings of *Apollonius*, and *Apuleius* were, in comparison of the Miracles of Christ, and his Apostles.

The 139th. Letter is likewise directed to the same *Marcellinus*, but upon another Subject. He speaks of Publishing the Acts of the Conference at *Carthage*: He earnestly conjures him to hinder the *Donatists*, that were cast into Prison, from being put to Death. He mentions his Books of *Baptism*; His *Abridgment of the Conference of Carthage*; A Letter to the *Donatists*; Two foregoing Letters; and that which follows, directed to *Honoratus*: Whereby it appears, that all these Discourses belong to the Year 412.

The 140th. Letter, is this just now mentioned, directed to *Honoratus*, and written concerning Five Questions. He treats of Grace, of the New Covenant, and of the Design of Christ's Incarnation. He observes, at first, that every Man hath a Soul endued with Reason; but very different Lives are made of it. Some use their Reason with no other prospect but to please their Senses; others on the contrary, seek after those good things which concern their Soul, and which are of a Nature above their own. The Soul may make a good use of Temporal Happiness, but that is only when it is apply'd to the Service of the Creator: for all Substances being good in their Nature; it is a good thing to use them in order, and not thereby to oppose the Order of the Creator: And the ill use which Men make of good things, doth not hinder the good use, which God knows how to make, even of evil ones. For his Justice by Punishing, brings into order those whose Injustice put them out of order by Sin. God granted this Temporal Felicity in the Old Covenant, which neither promised, nor afforded any but Temporal Advantages; but at the same time he revealed the New Covenant, whereof the Old was but a Figure: Tho' but a small number of Saints have taken notice of it, and even these, though Ministers of the Old Covenant, belong'd to the New. But in the fulness of time, the Word of God was united with Man to be a Light to the Nations, and those that received it, became the Children of God, not Children by Nature as Jesus Christ is, but Children by Adoption and Grace. It is he that taught us to despise the things of this Life, and to value none but those which we shall enjoy in the other. This is the Oeconomy of the New Covenant, which St. *Augustin* explains at large in this Letter. He proveth it by the Exposition of the 22d. Psalm, which begins with these words, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Which was the Subject of *Honoratus*'s first Question. He insists chiefly upon shewing, That Christians ought not to put their Trust and Confidence in the good things of this World; but to love and seek after that only which concerns the next. This is almost the sole design of this Letter, to justify that the love of Spiritual and Eternal Blessings is the only aim of the New Covenant; To the same purpose he expounds also the beginning of St. *John's* Gospel; the Parable of the ten Wife and ten Foolish Virgins; these words of St. *Paul*, Eph. 3. I pray God that being firmly settled, rooted and grounded in love, you may be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and length, and height, and depth; and what is said in the Gospel concerning utter Darkness, which were the Subject of *Honoratus*'s five Questions. This Man was but a *Catechumen*, and yet St. *Augustin* sets before him the most sublime and the highest things of the Christian Religion; and yet when he speaks of the Eucharist, he doth not clearly explain it; but only tells him, That he shall know after Baptism; in what time, and after what manner it is offered: But he declareth plainly enough what he believed concerning the Eucharist, saying, That Proud Men who come to the Lord's Table, do indeed receive his Body and Blood, and adore it, but they are not fed therewith; because they imitate him not, and though they eat it, yet they refuse to become poor as he was. At the latter end of his Letter, he speaketh against those who put their Confidence in their own strength, and not in the Grace of Jesus Christ. This is in short what St. *Augustin* treats of in this Letter, which may be looked upon as a Treatise, as he says himself in the Conclusion, and in his *Retractions*; where he places it amongst his entire Discourses.

The 141st. is a synodical Epistle of an Assembly of Catholic Bishops held at *Cirta*, directed to all the *Donatists*, whereby they are exhorted to return into the Church; Their Bishops having been so solemnly confounded and convicted in the Conference at *Carthage*, of which he gives a short Abridgment in that Letter. It bears Date the 14th. of June 412.

The next Letter to *Saturinus*, *Euphrisus*, and the Clergy newly returned into the Unity of the Church, is of the same time. St. *Augustin* Congratulates their re-union, endeavours to confirm them in the good Resolution they had taken, and exhorts them to discharge their Ministry faithfully.

In the 143d. Letter, St. *Augustin* answereth a Question proposed to him by *Marcellinus*; to whom it is written: namely, where the Magicians of *Egypt* could find VVater to turn into Blood, when *Moses* had turned all the VVater that was there already. He saith, That this Question may be answer'd two ways; either by saying, That they took Water out of the Sea; or, by supposing, That the Plagues of *Egypt* had their Effect only where Egyptians were, but not where the Children of *Israel* dwelt. Having thus disentangled himself of the Question, he explains some Parables of his Books concerning Free-Will, and the Original of Souls. He confesses, That his Writings having been written with Precipitation, some faults could not but creep in. He sincerely acknowledgeth, That even in Writing he perceived faults, and that he corrects and reproves them, being far from hiding or defending them. He saith, That he is not like those, who through excessive love of themselves, and to cover their own Errors, would leave others in theirs; That he would not have his best Friends to say, That he was not mistaken.

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from Evil to Good: For (saith he) they are wicked Men; because they abstain from Evil through Fear of Suffering; for Fear they make when Good; and only the Love of Righteousness.

He tells us further, That upon some occasions, it is *Mercy to Punish*; and in others, *Cruelty to Forgive*: *Sicut enim est abstinendo misericordia peccatis, ita est crudelitas peccatis*. He speaks at last, of Restoring Stolen Goods, or such as are ill gotten: And concerning these, he saith, (1.) That it is a Mockery, not to do Penance; not, to restore, when it is in our power, the Goods that are gotten by those Crimes for which we pretend to do Penance. (2.) That though a Judge may, without Injustice, appoint Punishments to oblige a Thief to make Retitution; yet one may intercede for him, not to prevent restoring what is taken away, since we bind them to it by the dread of God's Judgments, and debar them from the Communion till they have done it; but only by way of preventing unnecessary Cruelty against a Man that is supposed not to be in a capacity of making Retitution, or not fully convicted of the Theft. (3.) That when we have not evident Proofs that such a one is possessed of our Goods, it is better to hazard losing them, though perhaps he is guilty, but denies it, than to torment and put him to Death, perhaps unjustly, if he hath them not. An excellent Caveat to teach Masters not to be too forward to seize upon their Servants, merely upon Suspicion. (4.) That Lawyers may take Money for their Advice in a just Cause, but not Judges to do Justice, nor Witnesses to give Testimony to Truth; and that both are exceedingly guilty when they take Money; the one for an Unjust Sentence, and the other for a False Witness. (5.) That Lawyers having taken Money to defend an ill Cause, or to blind the Judge, are obliged to make Retitution, as well as the Witnesses or Officers, who exact Fees beyond what belong to their Places. (6.) That Estates gotten by Seals, False Accusation, or Oppression, ought to be restored; and that it is not enough, to bestow them upon the Poor. (7.) That in some sense it may be said, That wicked Men have Nothing, but that All things belong to the Faithful. "For (saith St. Augustin) whatsoever we have which we have no Right to, belongs to another, and we have Right to nothing but what we justly possess; and we possess nothing justly, but what we possess as we ought: and all that we possess not as we ought, is another's; and we possess nothing as we ought, if we make not good use of it. . . . So that wicked Men never possess any thing as they ought; and good Men enjoy it so much the more justly, because they love it less." Strange Consequences would follow from this Position, had not St. Augustin added this Restriction immediately: "But their Iniquity is tolerated, who possess not this World's Goods as they ought; yea, Laws are established to secure their Possession; and are called, *Civil Laws*, because that by them Civil Society is preserved; not by obliging them to use those Goods as they ought, but by preventing their abusing them for the Oppression of others. . . . Yet we have respect to these Humane and Temporal Laws; and our Intercessions never go so far, as to hinder the restoring of what is ill gotten, according to the Laws."

The 154th. Letter is from *Macedonius*; who sendeth St. Augustin word, That he had done what he desired; and, That he had read the Three First Books of *The City of God*, which St. Augustin sent him.

St. Augustin answers him in the 155th. wherein he discourses of Happiness; shewing, That God is the Spring of a happy Life, and that true Virtue consists in the Love of God: "Virtue (saith he) is nothing else but the love of what ought to be loved: To know how to make a good Choice, is called *Prudence*; not to be turned away from it, for any Evil, by Pleasure or Pride, is called *Fortitude, Temperance and Justice*. Thus God is the chiefest Good: so that to love any other thing more, or as much as him, is not to love our selves; for our Condition is so much the more happy, as we approach with greater violence towards that which is best."

These four Letters were written immediately after St. Augustin had composed his three first Books of *The City of God*; which were completed in 413. before the Fourth and the Fifth, which were published in 415.

The 156th. Letter was written from *Syracuse*, by one *Hilary*; who desireth St. Augustin to let him know what he should think of certain Propositions, set forth by some at *Syracuse*: That "it is in Man's power to keep himself pure from all Sin; That it is easy for him, if he please, to keep the Commands of God; That Men are born without Sin, and by consequence, that it is inconsistent with the Justice of God, that Children dying before Baptism, should perish; That rich Men cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, without renouncing their Riches, and selling all they have, and giving it to the Poor; And that whil' they keep them, all the good Works they may do, according to God's Law, will profit them nothing: And lastly, That we ought to Swear in no case. He asketh further, Whether the Church without spot or wrinkle, spoken of by St. Paul, is that to which we now belong, or that which we hope to make up one day with the blessed in Heaven. This *Hilary*, of *Syracuse*, is very like that *Hilary* who joined with St. Prosper to refute the *Semi-Pelagians*, and who writ to St. Augustin the 226th. Letter; both were Lay-men, since St. Augustin calleth them *Son*: They were both great Enemies of the *Pelagians*, Disciples and great Admirers of St. Augustin: The Style of both Letters seems to be the same, which makes it probable that they were both written by the same Person.

Be that as it will, in the next St. Augustin answereth the Questions proposed in this Letter; which gave him opportunity to treat at large of Original Sin; Of the Corruption of our Nature;

ture; Of Justification, and of the Grace of Jesus Christ: And to prove against the *Pelagians*, (1.) That no Man can be free from Sin in this Life. (2.) That no Man can fulfil the Law, Grace doth not take away Liberty; because the Will of Man is by so much the more free, as it is the more subject to Christ's Grace, and delivered from the Dominion of Sin: We should not think that Free-Will is destitute, because it needeth such Helps; on the contrary, it supposes that it subsists still, when we say that it hath need of help. (4.) That we learn of St. Paul, That all the Children of Adam are born in sin; and perish eternally, if they are not sanctified by the Grace of Baptism. Here he refuteth the *Pelagians* very fully; who answered, That Sin was not from Adam, but by Imitation: And he enlargeth upon the Opposition which St. Paul makes between Adam and Jesus Christ; between the Condemnation caused by the Old Man because of Sin, and the Justification which the New Man worketh in us by his Grace. Having handled these Points, he speaks occasionally against *Colestius*, who had been both accused and convicted of those Errors which St. Augustin had lately refuted. Afterwards this Saint discourses against another *Pelagian* Error concerning Manners; and proveth, (1.) That to be saved, Men need not part with their whole Estate, and reduce themselves to entire Poverty. And lastly, he observes, That the Church here below consists both of Good and Bad. He adds further, concerning Swearing, That Men should avoid Swearing as much as possibly they can: That it is best, not to Swear at all; no, not in Truth; because those that are used to Swearing, are every moment upon the brink of Perjury: That it is a most dangerous thing to play with Oaths; but the surest way, is, never to Swear, and use only *Tea and Nay*. St. Jerom mentions this Letter in his *Dialogue*, written in the Year 415. and speaks of it as a Discourse newly published. It was read in the Council of *Palestine*, assembled in July, 415. as St. Augustin observes in the Book of *The Acts of Pelagius*, chap. 11. which shews that it was written in the Year 414.

The Subject of the 158th. Letter is as followeth; *Evo dius*, Bishop of *Uzala*, having given an Account of a Young Man's happy Death, who had led a most holy Life, and had appeared to some after his Death; propo ses some Questions to St. Augustin about such Apparitions, and asks, Whether the Soul hath not a Body after Death? We ought not to forget that this Bishop, speaking of that Young Man's Death, observes, That in his Sickness he repeated Psalms, and in his Agony he made the Sign of the Cross upon his Forehead: That they buried him honourably, and for Three Days together Hymns were sung upon his Grave, and on the Third Day they offer'd the Sacrifice of our Redemption. At the latter end of this Letter, *Evo dius* asks St. Augustin some other Questions about the difference betwixt God's and Man's Willdom.

St. Augustin answers that Bishop in the 159th. and tells him, That this Question requireth much Labour and Study to resolve all the Difficulties that may be in it. But to let him know his Opinion in one word, He did not believe that the Soul did go out of the Body with a Body: That as to Visions and Apparitions, nothing can be said, without deciding after what manner an infinite number of different Ideas are raised in our Souls: which is a thing very hard to be comprehended; though it is certain, that such Representations are neither Corporeal Motions, nor Corporeal Qualities. He refers *Evo dius* to what he had said concerning that Matter, in his Book upon *Genesis*; and contents himself to tell him what happened to *Gennadius*, a Physician at *Carthage*; who doubting whether there was another Life, was convinced of it by a Young Man that appeared to him in a Dream; and made him apprehend, that since he did both hear and see him, though his Eyes were shut, and had no use of his Ears, that even so after Death, though he should have no bodily Eyes, yet he should see, and feel, and live.

The 160th. and 161st. are both by *Evo dius*. In the first, he asketh St. Augustin what God is? and what is Reason? And in the Second, he desireth him to explain a Passage in his 137th. Letter to *Volusianus*.

St. Augustin answereth both by the 162d. Wherein he tells *Evo dius*, That he had not Time enough to answer those Questions, but he had already resolved several of them, in his Books of the *Trinity*; Of *Free-Will*; Of the *Quantity of the Soul*; and, Of *True Religion*. He confirms what he had said in the 159th. Letter, touching a Soul separated from the Body; and about Apparitions. And at last justifieth what he had said of the Incarnation to *Volusianus*; If a Reason could be given of that Mystery, then would it cease to be Wonderful: Were there an Example of it, it would not be Singular.

Though St. Augustin had signified to *Evo dius*, That he was not at leisure to answer such sort of Questions; yet this Man propo ses two more in his 163d. Letter: The former, concerning the Original of Christ's Soul; and the other, about a difficult Passage in St. Peter's Epistle, where it is said, That Jesus Christ preached in the Spirit to the Spirits in Prison; which some time were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.

St. Augustin resolveth both these Questions in the 164th. Letter: And beginning with the latter, he saith, (1.) That no Man can doubt of Christ's Descent into Hell. (2.) That he did not deliver all Men from thence, but only such as he judged worthy to be delivered. (3.) That almost the whole Church believes that Jesus Christ delivered our First Father; and some others think, That he brought out the other Patriarchs and the Prophets: But that it is more probable that these righteous Men were not in Hell, but in another Place, called *Abraham's Bosom*. (4.) That those

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those just Men who were raised again when Christ died, did take again their Bodies to die a second time. (5.) It cannot be said, That Jesus Christ preached the Gospel in the other World, to those that were incredulous in this Life. (6.) That that Passage of St. Peter, is not to be understood of the Spirits or Souls destined in Hell; but of the Spirits who lived in the days of Noah, whom the Word did then enlighten: So that St. Peter's meaning, in St. Augustine's Opinion, is not, that Christ descended into Hell, to preach the Gospel to those who believed not, in Noah's time; but that Jesus Christ dying for us, was raised again by the same Spirit by whom he formerly preached, or by which he formerly instructed Unbelievers, in the days when *Adam* prepared the Ark, whilst God's Patience waited and invited them to Repentance. (7.) That Christ's Birth was not defiled with Sin; and though he took in the Womb of a Virgin true Humane Flesh, yet was it not sinful Flesh, because Lust had no hand in forming of that Flesh. This brings him infensibly to the other Question, about the Original of the Soul. St. Augustine is still to seek about that Subject, and dares not declare for any of the four Opinions that divided the Christians at that time, but clearly disowns the Notion; That for the Punishment of some Sins committed in another Life, the Soul is cast into the Body, as into a Prison: But maintains, That it is certain that Christ's Soul was not subject either to the Death of Sin, or to Condemnation. All these Letters of *Evo dius*, and these Answers of St. Augustine, were written not long after one another, after that to *Vulturnus*, in the Year 414.

The 164th. is a Letter of St. Jerome to *Marcellinus* and *Anaplesia*: Wherein this Father having related the several Opinions about the Origination of the Soul, advieth them to address themselves to St. Augustine, if they desired to know more. It is visible, that this was written before the former; because it is directed to Count *Marcellinus*, who was executed in 413, but it is placed here, because of its relation with the following Letter of St. Augustine, which is a Treatise upon the Soul's Original, dedicated to St. Jerome, and sent to him by *Orosius*, in the Year 415.

St. Augustine having observed, That the Soul cannot be called a Body, if by Body be understood an extended Substance; though it might be termed *Corporeal* in another sense, if this Term be taken at large to signify Substance in general: he proposes then to St. Jerome the several Opinions concerning the Soul's Original; starting some Difficulties upon that which St. Jerome seemed to approve best; yet it is that which we now hold, That Souls are created and put into our Bodies at the Birth of each Person. He insists particularly upon this, That it is difficult to make that consist with Original Sin, and with what the Church believes concerning Children that die without Baptism; and so he asketh of St. Jerome a Solution of these Objections, having answered the Reasons alleged against that Opinion which seemed most probable to St. Augustine. He takes notice, That the Innocents were honoured in the Church, as Martyrs.

The next Letter to St. Jerome, upon these words of St. James, ch. 2. v. 10. *He that transgresseth in one point, is guilty of all*, was written immediately after the foregoing, as St. Augustine observes in his *Retractiones*. He desireth St. Jerome to explain that Passage to him; and himself giveth an Explication of it, which he submits to St. Jerome's Judgment. He examineth the *Stoick* Opinions, who taught, That all Sins were equal; and that of the Philosophers, who affirmed, That it was impossible to have any one Virtue, without being endowed with all. Having banded these Questions on both Sides, he concludes, That though it were true, That One Virtue could not be alone; yet it would not follow, That All Sins were equal: But however, it is not true, That all Virtues must necessarily be joined together: because Virtue being no other thing than the love of what one ought to love, a Man may have more or less of the Love; for no Man can attain to perfect Charity in this Life. This being supposed, he saith, That whosoever transgresseth the Law in One Point, is guilty of breaking the Whole; because Sin is against Charity, and Charity is the fulfilling of the Law. But from hence it doth not follow that all Sins are equal; because that though every Sin violates Charity, upon which the Law dependeth, yet that hinders not, but that a Man is more or less guilty, according as the Sins he commits are greater or less. In a word, There is more or less Sin in us, according as there is more or less Charity; and we shall never be perfect in Charity, before we are delivered from the weakness of this mortal Flesh. Lastly, We ought not to despise small Sins, or daily Faults; but ask God Pardon for them, and blot them out by constant Prayers, and good Works. Whosoever should neglect to expiate them; and who thinking himself over-righteous, should ask of God to be judged without Mercy, would doubtless come to Christ's judgement-seat overwhelmed with Sins, that would weigh him down, and would find no Mercy.

The 168th. is a Letter of Thanks, which both *Timotheus* and *Jamers* return to St. Augustine, for his Book of *Nature and Grace*, composed in 415, which was dedicated to them.

In the 169th. St. Augustine answereth *Evo dius* about two Questions which that Bishop had put to him; one concerning the Trinity; and the other about the Dove, under whose Shape the Holy Ghost appeared; and there he explains the Faith of the Church, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, very clearly and exactly. This Letter is of the same Year with the Book of *Nature and Grace*; that is, in 415.

The next Letter in St. Augustine's and *Alypius*'s Name, is upon the same Subject: There they instruct *Maximus* the Physician, who was newly converted from the *Arian* Heresy; and exhort him to reduce those to the Faith whom he had led into Error.

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The next is a Note from St. Augustine, and *Alypius*, to *Peregrinus*, a Bishop; whereby they desire him to give them an Account of what Success their Letter to *Maximus* had; and not St. Augustine to be offended at the length of their Letter, because they used to write such to those Persons, *gustin*, whom they esteemed most. This *Peregrinus* not being made Bishop before the Year 413, it is Tome II. likely both these Letters were not written before 415.

The 172d. is an Answer of St. Jerome to St. Augustine's 166th. and 167th. Letters. There he commendeth what St. Augustine had writ, and exculpeth himself from making any Answer. This Letter was brought by *Orosius*, in 416.

The 173d. is directed to *Donatus*, a *Donatist* Priest, of the Town of *Carthage*, in the Diocess of *Hippo*, who having been informed, That there was an Order to Arrest, and to carry him to Church, had purposed to throw himself into a Well. St. Augustine shews him, in this Letter, the Excess of his Folly; proving, That it is just to force them to do Good that are bent to do Evil. This Letter was written after the Conference at *Carthage*.

The 174th. Letter of St. Augustine to *Aurelius*, Bishop of *Carthage*, was sent with his Book of the *Trinity*, completed in 410.

The 175th. to Pope *Innocent* I. is not a particular Letter of St. Augustine's, but a Synodical Epistle of the Council assembled at *Carthage* in 416, whereby the Bishops of that Council, to the Number of 68, inform the Pope of what they had done in the Council against *Pelagius*, and *Caelestius*: How *Orosius* having delivered them the Letters of *Herod*, and *Lazarus*, against *Pelagius*, and *Caelestius*, after they had reviled what they had done before at *Carthage*, Five Years since, against *Caelestius*, they had again Anathematized their Errors, to reclaim those that started them, from that Extravagancy; or, at the least, to Cure such as were infected already, and to preserve such as might be infected, in process of time, from the Contagion. They make the Pope acquainted with it, that so the Authority of the See of *Rome*, being joined with the Judgment of the *African* Bishops, might secure the Salvation of many, and call back, into the right way, those that had gone astray. They refute afterwards, the Principal Errors of the *Pelagians*, against Grace, and Original Sin. They add, That though *Pelagius* had been justly acquitted in the Council of *Palestine*, yet now the growing Error, that over-spreads the Church, ought to be Anathematized. Lastly, That though both *Pelagius*, and *Caelestius*, seem to disown their Errors, and have undertaken to deny that they ever owned them, and to affirm, that the Writings objected to them, are none of theirs; yet Anathema's ought to be pronounced against any one who dares teach, and avow, That the natural Strength of Man, is sufficient to avoid Sin, and to accomplish God's Commandments: And thus dares affirm, That Children need not be delivered from Perdition, by the Baptism of Jesus Christ; or, that they can have a share, in eternal Life, without that Sacrament.

The 176th. is likewise a Synodical Letter of the Council of *Milevis*, made up of 60 *Numidian* Bishops, and Assembled at the same time with the foregoing. They exhort Pope *Innocent* to use his Authority, to Condemn that new Heresy which was an Enemy of the Grace of Jesus Christ. They accuse *Caelestius*, and *Pelagius*, as the Authors of it; yet hoping that they will renounce their Errors.

Besides these Two Letters, St. Augustine writ a particular one in the Name of the Bishops, *Aurelius*, *Alypius*, *Evo dius*, and *Possidius*, his Colleagues, and familiar Friends; wherein he represents to him, That *Pelagius* having lived long at *Rome*, it was a thing of great Consequence there, to Condemn plainly the Error which he taught; and that it were convenient to send for *Pelagius*, to examine him, and oblige him to make such a Confession of Faith, as might not be capable of an ill Explication; and to anathematize the Errors that were found in his Books. They refute likewise the *Pelagian* Doctrine, explaining the Difference betwixt the Law, and Grace; and shewing the Necessity of the latter to fulfil the Commandments.

St. Augustine wrote again upon the same Subject, and about the same time, the 178th. Letter to *Hilary*, supposed to be Bishop of *Narbon*; and the 179th. to *John* of *Jerusalem*, to whom he sendeth his Book of *Nature, and Grace*; with that of *Pelagius*, desiring, in exchange, The *Ecclesiastical Acts*; whereby it appeared, That *Pelagius* had been Justified; he means, the Acts of the Council of *Diospolis*. All these Letters are written in 416. *Orosius* being come back again, who brought from *Palestine*, into *Africa*, *Herod*, and *Lazarus*'s Letters against *Pelagius*.

The 180th. to *Oecumenus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, is also of the same time. This Man had embraced St. Jerome's Opinion about the Origination of Souls, and concerning an officious *Lye*. St. Augustine shews him, in few Words, the Difficulties that attend St. Jerome's Opinion, about the Origination of Souls, with the difference betwixt Tropes, or Metaphors, and Lying. He observes, That St. Jerome, with whom he had had a Dispute about that Subject, had altered his Mind in his Dialogue against *Pelagius*. He desireth *Oecumenus* to send him a Treatise of that Father, whereof *Orosius* had spoken to him, and wherein he treated of the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The 181st. 182d. 183d. and 184th. Letters, are Pope *Innocent*'s Answers to those of the *African* Bishops; whereby he approves, and confirms all that was done in *Africa*, against *Pelagius*, and *Caelestius*; they are of the Year 417.

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The 18th. Letter, is amongst those Discourses that St. *Augustin* mentions in his Retractions, where he calls it the Book of the *Correction* of the Donatists, against those who found fault, that the Imperial Laws were put in Execution to make them return into the Church. He directs it to *Bonifacius* a Tribune, and afterwards Count in *Africa*.

Having shewed there the difference betwixt the *Arian* Heresie, and the *Donatist* Schism, he proves, That keeping within the Rules of Christian Moderation, the terror of the Laws may be used to reduce Hereticks to the Church. He speaketh at large of the Cruelties which the *Donatists*, and particularly the *Circumcellians* exercised against the *Catholicks*. He refutes all the Reasons then alleged, at large; which Reasons were now made use of, to persuade Men, that Hereticks are not to be reclaimed from their Errors, by Force, or Punishments. He says some Things concerning Penance, and Remission of Sins: That Baptism blots out all Sins; and that, by Penance, they may also be remitted; and, "That if the Church hath ordained, That none of those, who have been under Penance, shall be admitted into the Clergy, or kept in it, this is only for the upholding of Discipline, least some should be Penance, out of Pride, with a Design to obtain Ecclesiastical Dignities; not that he would cast Criminals into Despair, how Guilty soever they be, ----- but that this Method is altered upon those Occasions, where the Business is not only to secure the Salvation of some particular Men, but to deliver whole Nations from Death. In which Circumstances, the Church hath remitted much of the Severity of her Discipline, to find a Remedy for greater Evils and for this very Reason, the dealth thus with the *Donatists*: That she is furnished if they expiate their Sin of Separation by as bitter Grief as was that of St. *Peter*; and she preferreth their Rank and Dignity among the Clergy. That the Church practised this, when whole Nations were to be reclaimed from Error, or Heresie: That *Lucifer Calaritanus* was looked upon as a *Schismatick*, for being of another Opinion: That the Sin of the Holy Ghost is not Error, or Blasphemy, since it would thence follow, that no Heretick ought to be admitted to Penance, or obtain Remission of his Sin; and that, by this, no other thing can be understood but final Impenitency. St. *Augustin* observes, in his Retractions, that he wrote this Letter at the same time that he composed the Book of *The Acts* of *Pelagius*, in 417.

The 186th. Letter of St. *Augustin*, is written to *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola*; not to *Bonifacius*, as it is entituled in some Manuscripts; since it is quoted as directed to *Paulinus*, in the Book of the *Gift of Perseverance*, Ch. 21. and by St. *Prosser*, Ch. 43. against *Cassianus* his Conference. And indeed, St. *Augustin* quotes a Passage out of a Letter, from the Person to whom he wrote, which is found in the 8th. Letter of St. *Paulinus* to *Sulpicius Severus*. This whereof we now speak, is written in the Names of St. *Augustin*, and *Abycius*, who was an intimate Friend of St. *Paulinus*, against *Pelagius*, whom this Saint had in great Esteem. In this Letter St. *Augustin* layeth open all his Principles, concerning Grace, and Predestination, and refuteth *Pelagius* his Notions. He begins with the Relation of what had been done against him in *Africa*, and sends Copies of it to St. *Paulinus*. Then he layeth down these Positions, That the Grace of Jesus Christ, that is necessary to enable us to do Good, is altogether of Free Gift; That God sheweth Mercy to whom he pleaseth; That he takes whom he thinks fit, out of the Mass of Corruption, into which Mankind is fallen, through *Adam*'s Sin. He insinuateth, particularly, upon the Example of Infants, whereof some are saved through God's Mercy, and others damned, because of Original Sin. He refutes *Pelagius*'s Opinion, touching the State of Infants, whom he supposes to be in a middle State between Heaven, and Hell, which he calleth Eternal Life. He proves, That Free-Will does not consist in an Indifference, to Good or Evil; for it is inclined to Evil, and cannot do Good, without the assistance of the Grace of God. He tells St. *Paulinus*, that *Pelagius* maintained the contrary in his former Books, that afterwards he seems to have retracted his Errors in the Council of *Diocesis*, whereof he had received the Acts; and then he dissembled again sometimes, confessing the Necessity of Grace, and often affirming, That the Will had Power of it self to abstain from Sin: So that God's Assistance, in his Opinion, was afforded us over and above, to enable us to do that which is good with the greater Ease. These are the Opinions refuted by St. *Augustin* in this Letter, where he urges a Passage from a Letter, written by St. *Paulinus*, to convince him, that he ought to reject them, and condemn *Pelagius*.

The next Letter to *Dardanus*, is a Didactical Treatise, mentioned by St. *Augustin* in his Retractions. There he shews how God is said to be Omnipresent, upon occasion of Two Questions, which *Dardanus* had proposed to him: The one upon these Words of Jesus Christ to the good Thief, *This Day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*; and the other, *Whether Children have any Notion of God in the Womb*. The former Difficulty is grounded upon this, That the humane Nature of Christ was not in Paradise immediately after his Death, because his Soul descended into Hell, and his Body was laid in the Grave. St. *Augustin* saith, That the Soul of Jesus Christ, may be said to have been in the same Place where the Souls of the Righteous were, which may be called Paradise. But he thinks it more probable, That this is meant of Christ's Divinity, which never ceased to be in Paradise. This puts St. *Augustin* upon treating of God's Immensity, whereof he speaketh after a very high manner; shewing, That we ought not to conceive of it, as of a Corporeal Extention. He discourseth, likewise, of the particular manner, how God dwelleth in the Saints, and in Baptized Infants that do not yet know him. And this leads him to the Second Question, about the Knowledge of Children that are yet in their Mother's Womb. He affirms,

affirms, That they have no knowledge, no, not after their Birth, and that the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them, and they know it not; whereupon he enlargeth upon Justification that is wrought by Regeneration, and speaketh of Birth in Sin, the Necessity of Baptismal Grace, and of Faith in Jesus Christ. It is evident by St. *Augustin*'s Retractions, That this Letter was written in the Year 417. It is directed to the Prefect of *Gaul*, to whom St. *Jerom* wrote also a Letter.

The 188th. Letter to *Juliana*, the Mother of *Demetrius*, is a warning given to that holy Widow by St. *Augustin* and *Abycius*, not to suffer her self to be surprized by the hidden Poison in the Letter to *Demetrius*, whereof they did not yet know *Pelagius* to be the Author. He shews her, That this Letter ascribeth all to Free-Will; whereas the Principle of Christian Piety is to attribute all to God.

In the 189th. St. *Augustin* lays down several very useful and edifying Rules to *Ennice*, to live Christianly in the Profession of Arms; recommending to him, above all things, Charity towards God, and towards his Neighbour; as the Foundation of all Virtues. He shews, That to be a Soldier is no unlawful Profession, and that a Soldier may be a good Christian, if he be desirous of Peace, and goes to War with no other design but that of procuring it. And that Necessity alone ought to put him upon taking away his Enemy's Life, and that his own Will ought not to have any hand in it. That he ought to do no Injustice nor Violence, nor get Wealth by wicked means. At last, he advises him to remember, That every good thing cometh from God: It is not certainly known in what Year this Letter was written.

The 190th. to *Optatus* contains St. *Augustin*'s Opinions touching the Original of the Soul. First of all he supposes Original Sin as an indubitable thing; Then he saith, That whereas he had written; that we may without danger be ignorant of the Soul's Extraction, it is with this Proviso, that we certainly hold, 1. That it is not of God's Substance, but a Creature. 2. That it is a Spirit, and not a Body. 3. That it is not placed in the Body for a Punishment of Sins committed in another Life. He saith afterwards, That no Man can be justified but by Faith in Jesus Christ, and that it was that Faith which justified the Patriarchs. He enlargeth also upon the free Predestination of God's Elect, which is the choice that God made of them to take them by his Grace out of the mass of Perdition, and upon the eternal Death of Children dying before Baptism. Lastly, He endeavours to prove, That if we reject *Tertullian*'s gross Opinion, who supposed the Soul to be Corporeal, the Notion of the Propagation of Souls agreeth best with Original Sin, though it hath some Difficulties. He observes, That it was the most general Opinion in the West, and he believes it more probable, than that of constant Creation; yet he dares not decide any thing upon this Matter, neither will he condemn the *Pelagians* for holding this latter Opinion; But because they draw from it a Consequence against Original Sin, he speaks of the Condemnation of *Pelagius*'s Doctrine by the Popes, *Innocent* and *Zosimus*; and quotes a Letter of the latter which is not extant: St. *Augustin* writ this Letter at *Cæsarea*, where he dwelt some time after the Council of *Carthage*, in the Year 418. There are these two curious Sentences: The first, *We make our selves unworthy of Knowledge, if we desire that others should believe that we know them, when we are ignorant of them*. The second, *It is rashness to decide by Conjecture what Reason doth not discover, and what the Holy Scripture doth not clearly reach*.

In the 191st. Letter, St. *Augustin* congratulates *Sixtus* the Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Rome*, who was suspected to have been a favourer of the *Pelagians*, because he declared himself for Grace. He desireth him to beware of those, who not daring to set forth their Doctrine openly, did notwithstanding sow it secretly; praying him to reclaim those with Meekness, whom Fear kept in deep silence, but preserved still the same Venom in their Hearts.

In the 192d. he entertaineth *Colestinus* the Deacon, afterwards Bishop of *Rome*, with the Duties of Christian Charity. He saith, That this Virtue is not of the Nature of those Things which cease to be after performance; for the more a Man performs Actions of Charity, the more Charitable he is. That no Man ought to want this Duty towards his Friends, since all Men are obliged to exercise it towards their Enemies: That Charity towards Enemies, is the way to make them Friends: for it makes us desire that they should become virtuous, which they cannot be, unless they be in Charity with those that wish them so much good, even the same Charity that others have for them. That it is not with Charity as it is with Money: for the less we think to be re-imburshed, the more we love those that we give Money to; whereas the more desirous we are that those should prove Charitable towards us, to whom we shew Charity, the more we love them. One may plainly see that this Letter is a Christian Complement wittily written. It was sent at the same time with the two next to *Albinus*, after St. *Augustin*'s return to *Hippo*, whether he did not come till the 20th of September of the Year 418. for it appeareth by the Acts of the Conference which he had with *Emeritus*, that he was then in *Mauritania*.

The 193d. Letter lately Published out of a Manuscript, is directed to *Marcator*, who is thought to be the same that writ against *Pelagius* and the *Nestorians*. St. *Augustin* having excused himself, that he had not given him an Answer sooner, by reason of his Journey into *Mauritania*, shews him here, That since the *Pelagians* own that Children in Baptism believe through other Men's Faith, they may own likewise, That Original Sin is remitted to them, by reason of others believing. He addeth some proofs, of their being born in Sin; and that they cannot enjoy

enjoy Eternal Life without being Baptized. He holds Death, to be a Punishment for Sin, and answereth the Objection of some *Pelagians*; who, to prove the contrary, alleged the Examples of *Enoch* and *Elias*, who died not. St. *Augustin* answereth, That it is probable that they shall die some time or other; but if they die not, it is by the special grace of God, who is able to remit the Punishment of Sin no less than Sin it self. This Objection raises another that is better grounded: How can the Penalty of Sin remain, after the Sin is remitted? St. *Augustin* doth not resolve it here, but refers us to his Book of *Infant-Baptism*. What followeth concerning the Resurrection, is taken out of St. *Augustin's* Answers to *Dulcinius* his Objections.

The next, which is the Second Letter to *Sixtus* Presbyter of *Rome*, was written some time after the former; He relates there the *Pelagian* Errors, which he refutes by confirming the contrary Doctrine. These Errors are, 1. That Free-Will can do no Good without God's help. 2. That God were Unjust, if he shew'd Mercy to some and not to others. 3. That God doth indeed afford help, but that is only to Merit. 4. That Faith, which is the beginning of justification, depends upon Mens Free-Will. St. *Augustin* opposes to these Opinions St. *Paul's* Doctrine in the Epistle to the *Romans*; from which he concludes, That all Men are in the State of Perdition, and that God gives his Grace, and sheweth Mercy to whom he pleaseth; He oweth it to none, and they that receive it not, cannot accuse him of Injustice, since they are condemned either for Original Sin, or for those which they have added besides; That he grants not this Grace to Merit, since there are no Merits previous to Grace; That he hardeneth the Heart, not by inspiring Malice, but by withdrawing his Grace. These are the Maxims laid down by St. *Augustin* in this Letter, and which he confirms by the Example of Children dying either before or after Baptism, as it pleaseth God; and by what St. *Paul* saith in the Epistle to the *Romans*, of *Jacob's* Predestination, and *Esau's* Reprobation.

The 19th. is a Note of S. *Jerom's* to St. *Augustin*, wherein he calls him Happy, because he was hated by Hereticks for refusing them; and had in Veneration by Catholicks, for defending the Doctrine of the Church.

In the 196th. to *Allicius*, St. *Augustin* having proved, That it is not lawful for Christians to observe the Jewish Laws and Ceremonies, treats of the Usefulness and Effects of the Law, and of the Necessity of Grace against the *Pelagians*. *Donatus* was Primate of *Numidia* when this Letter was written; he was in that Station in the Council of *Carthage* in 418, and the *Pelagians* were Condemned already.

The 197th. Letter is directed to *Hefychius* Bishop of *Salona*. St. *Augustin* endeavoureth to undeceive that Bishop, who fancied that the End of the World was at hand, showing, That that time is unknown to Men. He doth not believe it to be very near, because the Gospel had not yet been Preached throughout the whole Earth. Towards the latter end, he disapproves the fanciful Opinion of a certain Man, whom St. *Jerom* in his Commentary upon the Prophet *Daniel*, had accused of rashness, for affirming, That *Daniel's* Weeks related to the last, and not to the first coming of Jesus Christ.

Hefychius returns this Answer to St. *Augustin* in the 198th. Letter. That though none knoweth either the Day or the Hour of the last Judgment, yet we may know whether it be far off, by the Signs, which Jesus Christ told us should precede his appearing; but however, it is an act of Piety to look for it, as near at hand. He answereth what St. *Augustin* had said, That the Gospel had not having been Preached all the Earth over, it was not likely that the Day of Judgment should happen so soon. He answers it, I say, by shewing that the Apostle St. *Paul* had look'd upon that Prophecy as already fulfilled; and at last approveth of their Opinion, who believed that the Weeks spoken of by *Daniel*, were not yet fulfilled. One of the Reasons this Bishop grounded his Opinion upon, is that Jesus Christ foretelleth the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the End of the World at once: And he assures him, That the Son of Man will be at hand, when *Jerusalem* is destroy'd.

St. *Augustin* having received this Letter, writes back to *Hefychius* the 199th. Letter; wherein, after a long Discourse upon this Principle of Morality, That without enquiring when Christ shall come, we ought rather be ready to receive him when he cometh: He saith, That no place of Scripture doth mark the time of the Last Judgment, nor teaches whether it be near or far off. He refutes the Inferences which *Hefychius* had drawn from some Passages of Scripture; and shews, That *Daniel's* Weeks cannot be understood of Christ's last coming: And at last he distinguisheth in the Prophecies in the 24th. Ch. of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, and in the 13th. Ch. of St. *Mark*, what concerns the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, from that which relates to the End of the World; and clears the Circumstances of those Predictions. Finally, he concludes, That we should have a care not to be mistaken upon that Question. That none is mistaken, but when he thinks he knows, and affirms what he knows not. He represents the Disposition of three sorts of Persons who wait for the Appearance of Jesus Christ; One believeth, That he will shortly come; The other thinks, That it will be a great while first; And the third confesses, That he doth not know whether he will come sooner or later. He saith thereupon, That the Notion of his coming quickly, is more according to our Wishes; but it is most dangerous if we should be deceived. He on the contrary, who believes, That Jesus Christ will not come so soon, but yet believeth, hope, and desireth his coming, cannot be deceived, but his Error will turn to his Comfort: As for the Third, who owneth that he knows nothing of it, he wishes for what the first promiseth, and is ready to bear patiently what the other puts him in fear of, and asserts

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Nothing, is out of danger of being deceived. Experience hath taught us, That the Condition of the last is best, and to be embraced of all Men, until the Day of Judgment comes. These three Letters in all probability belong to the Year 418, or 419.

St. *Augustin* wrote the 200th. Letter to Count *Valerius*, about his Books of *Concupiscence* and *Marrimony*, which he sent unto him after he had finished them in 418.

The 201st. is an Order from the Emperors *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, directed to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, whereby they enjoin him, to let all the Bishops know, That they must subscribe the Condemnation of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, whom they had expelled out of *Rome*; and that as many as through impious obstinacy should refuse to do so, should be deprived of their Dignities, Banished for ever out of their Cities, and Excluded from the Communion of the Church. This Letter is dated the 8th. of June 419. At the latter end it is observed, That another like this was directed to St. *Augustin*, which shews, That the respect which the Emperors paid to the Dignity of the Church of *Carthage*, they paid likewise to the Merit and high Reputation of St. *Augustin*.

The 202d. is a Letter of St. *Jerom's* to *Ashius* and St. *Augustin*, expressing his joy for their Victory over *Pelagius* and *Celestius*; and excusing himself for not having yet refuted the Books of one *Anianus*, a *Pelagian*. It is the same *Anianus* who translated some of St. *Chrysostom's* Homilies, and dedicated them to *Orontius*, a *Pelagian* Bishop, condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*. *Bede* mentions a Letter of this Author directed to *Evangelus*, where he gives to those of St. *Augustin's* Party the name of *Traducians*.

By the 203d. Letter, St. *Augustin* exhorteth *Largus* to despise the Goods of this Life, whereof he knew the Vanity by his own Experience, and to profit by the Mischiefs that happened to him. This *Largus* was yet Proconul in *Africa* in 419. This Letter seems to have been written in 420, after his being recalled.

In the 204th. to *Dulcinius*, St. *Augustin* shews, That he had already fully answered the *Demianist*, and laments the fury of those Wretches that murdered themselves, when they could do the Catholicks no further harm. Upon this occasion he treateth of Murder, and shews, That it is not lawful for a Man to kill himself, nor any other that was desirous of Death; He Answers the Case of *Raxius*, which is well told in the *Maccabees*, and was looked upon as a noble and generous Action, but not approved by him as Wise and Vertuous. This Letter was written in *Gaudenius's* time, and compos'd in 420.

The 205th. Letter to *Consentius*, contains the Explication of some Difficulties about the Nature of glorified Bodies. *Consentius* had asked St. *Augustin*, whether our Saviour's Body, hath now Flesh and Bones, with the same parts and features which he had upon Earth. St. *Augustin* resolveth this question, saying, That Christ's Body is altogether such in Heaven as it was upon Earth, when he left it to ascend into Heaven, and that it appeareth by the Gospel, that he had Hands and Feet, Flesh and Bones, as well after as before the Resurrection: That no mention is made of his Blood, and it is not convenient to engage too far in those Matters, for fear of entering upon other very hard Questions, such as these: If there is Blood, is not there also Phlegm, Choler, or Melancholy, since the mixture of these four Humours make up the Temper of Humane Bodies: Yet St. *Augustin* denieth not but that these Humours may be in glorified Bodies; but that we ought to have a care of believing them alterable and corruptible; whereupon he undertakes to shew by the Testimony of St. *Paul*, that glorified Bodies shall be incorruptible and freed from all corporeal and earthly qualities. *Consentius* had asked likewise, whether those that had been baptized and died without Penance for Sins committed after Baptism, should obtain Remission of them in a certain time. St. *Augustin* remits him to his Treatise of *Faith and Good Works*, where he had handled that Question. Lastly, *Consentius* desired to know, Whether God's breathing upon *Adam* was his Soul. St. *Augustin* answers, That it was either his Soul, or that which produced it; but we must be sure not to believe that the Soul is any part of God, *Consentius* to whom this Letter is written, is the same to whom St. *Augustin* dedicated his Treatise of *Lying*, compos'd in 420. It is probable, that, if this Letter be of the same time, it was written after his Book of *Faith and Good Works*, which was made in 419.

The 206th. is a Letter of Recommendation to Count *Valerius* in the behalf of Bishop *Felix*.

The next, is that which St. *Augustin* writ to Bishop *Claudian*, when he sent him his Books against *Julianus*, published after St. *Jerom's* Death in 421.

In the 208th. St. *Augustin* exhorts the Virgin *Felicia*, newly returned to the Church from the *Demianist's* Party, and scandalized by some Bishops disorders; to continue always in the bosom of the Catholic Church, notwithstanding all those Scandals where she was afflicted. And this gave occasion to his Discourse of *Good and Evil Passions*. It is thought, that the occasion of this Letter, was the Scandal given by *Antimius* Bishop of *Ussada*, mentioned in the following Letter, supposed to have been written in the end of the Year 422. but that is uncertain.

It is equally uncertain that the next Letter to Pope *Celestine* is written by St. *Augustin*; some Critics doubt it, 1. Because the Style of this Letter is not, as they pretend, perfectly like that of the other Letters of St. *Augustin*. 2. Because it is found but in one only Manuscript of the *Vatican* Library, which is not above 200 Years old. 3. Because St. *Augustin* seems to speak there after a low manner, and unworthy of his wonted Courage. 4. Because it seemeth not to agree with the Opinions of St. *Augustin*, nor of the other *Africans*, about Appeals. 5. Because *Celestine*

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Life could not threaten men to send Clerks into Africa, to see his judgments executed, as he doth in this Letter; because Affairs in Africa were then in great Disorder; and the Emperors had not much Authority in those Provinces that were usurped by a Tyrant; yet it must be confessed, that this Letter agrees exceeding well to the Customs and Manners of the African Church in St. *Augustin's* time, and has a Character of Sincerity. However, If this Letter be truly St. *Augustin's*, he writ it in the beginning of *Caelestin's* Pontificate, since he begins it with congratulating his Promotion, which was compassed without Injuries or Division. He speaks afterwards of *Antonius* his Bishop, whom he had ordained Bishop of *Fassula*, a Town in the Diocess of *Hippo*, where no Bishop had been before. This Man was brought up in St. *Augustin's* Monastery, and looked upon by him as a Man of great Probity; but seeing himself exalted to such a Dignity, he gave way to his Passions, lived disorderly, and greatly vexed the People that were under his Jurisdiction: being accused before the Provincial Council, he could not be convicted of the Sin of Uncleanness that was laid to his Charge; but it appeared that he had oppressed and tyrannized over the People intolerably: Thus the Judges finding not sufficient cause utterly to deprive him, and being without unwilling his Fault should pass without Punishment; left him the quality of Bishop, upon condition that he should not perform the Functions thereof, nor have any Authority over a People whom he had used so unjustly.

To hinder the Execution of this Judgment, *Antonius* appealed to the Pope, who pretended a Right to receive Appeals from the Judgments of the African Bishops, though they contested his Right. This happened at a time, when they had bound themselves to see the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, which the Pope had alleged, as the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, executed with this Privilege, till they were assured that they were actually made by the Council of *Nice*. *Antonius* therefore obtained of *Boniface* a Letter, enjoining that he should be restored, if he had truly stated his Case. He returned triumphing with that Letter. But the African Bishops regarded it not: And being threatened, that the Civil Authority should be made use of to make them observe the Pope's Orders, St. *Augustin* took upon himself to write this Letter to *Caelestin*, wherein he intreateth him by the Blood of Jesus Christ, and by St. *Peter's* Memory, who forbade the Pastors of the Church to exercise Dominion; not to suffer things to go to that extremity, telling him, That his Heart was so set upon that Business, That he would renounce his Bishoprick, if *Antonius* was restored at *Fassula*. He was not restored; and we learn by the 224th. Letter, That his Diocess was immediately dependant upon St. *Augustin*, though afterwards we meet with a Bishop of that place.

Antonius flattered himself with these hopes, either that they would have degraded him from the Episcopal Dignity, or have left him in the Bishoprick. St. *Augustin* affirms on the contrary, That there are Examples of Judgments given, or approved by the Holy Apostolic See, whereby Bishops were Punished, without being absolutely degraded: He citeth three of the latest; That of *Priscus* Bishop of the Province of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, who was suffered to continue in his Bishoprick, being only barr'd from the Metropolitan Dignity, to which his Seniority might have promoted him in his turn; That of *Victor*, Bishop of the same Province, who was likewise excluded the right of Primacy, and with whom no other Bishop did communicate in his Diocess; And that of Bishop *Laurentius*, with whom they proceeded as they had done with *Antonius* of *Fassula*. St. *Augustin* might have alleged besides, those Canons which allow to Bishops the Rank and Honour of their Dignity, and yet deprive them both of the Function and Jurisdiction.

In the 210th Letter St. *Augustin* instructeth *Felician* and *Rusticus* how the Evils of this Life are to be endured, and gives them Rules for brotherly Correction. It is probable, that the occasion of Writing upon this Subject, was the Diffention which happened among the Virgins consecrated to God, spoken of in the following Letter, about their Superior, whom the Nuns designed to change. St. *Augustin* having reproved them for it, and exhorted them to Peace and Obedience, prescribeth them a most wife and prudent Rule of Life. This Letter was written after the Death of St. *Augustin's* Sister, who governed that Monastery at the time when most of the *Donatists* were re-united, in 424.

The 212th. is a Letter of Recommendation to *Quintianus*, in the behalf of an holy Widow named *Galla*, and of her Daughter *Simpliciola*, who carried about with them the Reliques of the Martyr St. *Stephen*.

After this Letter, comes the AG made at *Hippo*, upon the 14th. of September, 426. in the Church of Peace: whereby St. *Augustin* chuseth *Heracleus* the Priest to be his Successor and Co-adjutor, yet without admitting him into Bishop's Orders; and the People approve his Choice with their Acclamations.

The Occasion of the 214th. Letter is this: St. *Augustin* having been informed by two Brethren of the Monastery at *Adrumetum*, that there had been some Disputes among the Monks of that Convent, about Grace and Free-Will; because, some willing to establish the Doctrine of Grace, went so far as to deny Free-Will: whereas the others acknowledging Free-Will, did confess notwithstanding, that it was assisted by the help of the Grace of Jesus Christ; approves of the latter Opinion; affirming, That he taught no other Doctrine, in his Letter to Saint *Sixtus*.

He again handleth the same Matter in the next Letter, directed to *Valentinus*, Abbot of the Monastery at *Adrumetum*, and to the Brethren of the same Monastery. He joined

to this Letter his Book of *Grace and Free-Will*, which he sent at the same time to instruct them.

Valentinus answered St. *Augustin* in the 216th. Letter: wherein, after he had thank'd him for his Letters, he gives him an Account how that Disturbance happened in his Monastery, by the Imprudence of five or six that were offended at those Discourses of St. *Augustin*, which *Florus* had brought from *Uzala* to their Convent. That *Erosius*, Bishop of *Uzala*, not being able to satisfy them, they came to him: That this Visit had produced a good Effect, seeing it brought to their Monastery such holy Instructions as his were, and had confirmed them in their Belief touching *Grace and Free-Will*. These Letters are of the Year 426.

The 217th. Letter of St. *Augustin* is written to *Vitalis*, to undeceive him of those Notions which he had then taken up; namely, That the Beginning of Faith was not a Gift of God, but the mere Product of Man's Will. St. *Augustin* refutes this Opinion, by the Prayers of the Church; by St. *Cyprian's* Testimony, in his Book of *The Lord's Prayer*; and by several other Passages of Scripture. Afterwards he explains the difference betwixt the *Law and Grace*; proving, That the True Grace of Jesus Christ, doth not consist in Natural Helps, or in External Graces. At last he propounds Twelve Articles; wherein he comprehends whatsoever he thinks necessary to be believed concerning Grace. The Twelve Articles are these:

- " I. We know, That before Men were born into this World, they had no other wherein they did either Good or Evil. . . . But descending from *Adam* according to the Flesh, they partake, by their Birth, of the Poyson of that ancient Death which he became subject to by his Sin; and that they are not delivered from Eternal Death, except they are regenerated in Jesus Christ through his Grace.
- " II. We know, That the Grace of God is not given upon the account of any Merit, either to Infants, or to Men that are come to the Age of Reason.
- " III. We know, That Grace is an Assistance afforded for every Action, to those that have attained to the Age of Reason.
- " IV. We know, That it is not given to all Men; and that those to whom it is given, receive it, without having deserved it by their Works, or by their Will; which appears particularly in Infants.
- " V. We know, That it is out of God's mere Mercy, that it is given to those to whom it is given.
- " VI. We know, That it is by a just Judgment of God, that it is not given to those to whom it is not given.
- " VII. We know, That we shall all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Jesus Christ, that every one may receive either Reward or Punishment according to what he shall have done in the Body, and not according to what he should have done had he lived longer.
- " VIII. We know, That Infants shall not receive Recompence or Punishment, but according to what they shall have done in the Body; that is, whilst they were in the Body; that is, according as some have been regenerate, and others not.
- " IX. We know, That Eternal Happiness is ensured to all those that die in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is imputed to them of what they might have done, had they been alive.
- " X. We know, That as many as Believe in God, Believe willingly, and by an Action of their free Will.
- " XI. We know, That we ought to pray unto God for those that Believe not, that they would Believe.
- " XII. We know, That whensoever any of these embraces the Faith, we are to give God Thanks sincerely, and from the bottom of our Hearts, as being an Effect of his Mercy, and that when we do it as we are wont to do, we perform a Duty incumbent upon us.

These are the Twelve fundamental Points of St. *Augustin's* Doctrine of Grace; to the which he restrains the Faith of the Catholick Church about that Matter. He applieth them likewise to his particular Dispute with *Vitalis*, to know whether Grace goes before, or only followeth the Will; that is, Whether Grace be given us, because we will have it? as *Vitalis* affirms: Or, Whether the Will it self is not a thing which God worketh in us by his Grace? as St. *Augustin* pretends that it followeth upon the Twelve Principles which he lays down. To shew this, the rest of this Letter is taken up; wherein he concludes, That the Beginning of Faith, Conversion, and a good Mind, comes from God, and not from Free-Will. This Letter, in all probability, is one of the last of St. *Augustin's* Works concerning Grace.

In the 218th. Letter St. *Augustin* exhorts one *Palatinus* to persevere and to proceed in Piety, and not to trust to his own Strength. This likewise is one of the last of St. *Augustin's* Letters.

The 219th. is a Letter written in the Names of *Aurelius*, St. *Augustin*, and *Florentius*, Bishops in *Africa*, to *Proculus* and *Cilinnius*, Bishops in *Gaul*, concerning *Leporius* the Monk; who having been expelled out of the Diocess of *Marcellus*, because of his Errors about the Incarnation, made a Retraction of them in *Africa*; which was drawn up by St. *Augustin*, and sent to the Gallican Bishops with this Letter; whereby they entreat the Bishops to whom they

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they write, to receive him, being he had condemned those Errors for which they had expelled him. This Letter was written after the Books of *Corruption and Grace*.

The 22nd Letter is directed to Count *Basilius*, who being married again after the death of his former Wife, was engaged in worldly Business, and had committed very considerable Faults. St. *Augustin* directs him by this Letter, to *Contend*, if he could persuade his Wife to *confess* to him, and to make use of his Authority, only to do good. This Letter is full of excellent Instructions for Men of the World.

Reverendissimus, a Disciple of *Cyprian*, desired St. *Augustin*, by the 23rd Letter, to draw up a Catalogue of Heretics. St. *Augustin* excuses himself from doing it, in the 23rd. The *Duo*, can having again urged it by the 24th, he promises him in the 24th. to do it: when he is at leisure. These Letters were written after his Book of *Retractations*, in 418.

The 25th Letter is St. *Proper's*, whereby he gives St. *Augustin* notice, That several Christians of *Algeria* having seen his Works against the *Pelagians*, had believed, That what he taught concerning the Vocation of the Elect, was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers; and that they were more averse to his Notions, when they had read his Book of *Corruption and Grace*. Then he relateth their Opinions, and faith, (1.) "That they indeed acknowledge

that all Men have sinned in *Adam*; and that our Salvation is not the Product of our Works, but of Grace, that works the same by the means of Regeneration: But they hold, That the Propitiation made by the Blood of Jesus Christ, is offered to all Men without Exception; so that as many as will embrace the Faith, and be Baptized, may obtain Salvation.

(2.) That before the Creation, God, by his Fore-knowledge, did know those that should Believe, and who with the succour of that Grace enabling them to preserve that Faith which they had once embraced, should maintain the same unto the end; and that he had predestinated them to his Eternal Kingdom, foreseeing that after he had freely called them, they would make themselves worthy of his Election, and end their Life holily. (3.) That God calls all Men to the Faith, and to good Works, by his Instructions; and that Salvation is the Reward of those that are willing to do good. (4.) That whatsoever is said of the Decree of God's Will, touching the Call of Men, whereby it is said that the Elect have been separated from the Reprobate, is fit for nothing but to inspire Men with Despondency, Idleness, Negligence and Lukewarmness; because it seems to no purpose to work, if the Reprobate cannot be saved, nor the Elect be damned. (5.) That thereby all Vertues are destroyed.

(6.) That this Doctrine doth establish, under the Name of Predestination, a fatal and unavoidable Necessity, or forceth Men to say that Mankind were created of different Natures. (7.) That what is alleged out of the Epistle to the *Romans*, to prove, That Grace doth prevent the Merits of the Elect, was never understood in this sense by any Ecclesiastical Author. (8.) That some reduce that Grace which prevents our Merits, to the natural Faculties of Free-Will, and of Reason; by the good use whereof we arrive to that Grace which makes us to be regenerated in Jesus Christ. (9.) That God hath indeed resolved to communicate his Grace only to those that are Regenerate; but that all are called to partake of that saving Gift, whether it be by the Natural Law, or by the Preaching of the Gospel. (10.) That Men are as much disposed to Good as Evil: That the Spirit and the Will may equally turn to Evil; and, That Obedience or Disobedience to God's Command, wholly depends upon our Liberty.

(11.) That Infants dying before the Use of Reason, are either saved or damned, according to what God foresees that they would have been, had they come to the Age of Ailing and Deserving. (12.) That the same is to be said of the Nations which God hath not enlightened with the Light that is necessary to Salvation". These are most of the Points of the *Semipelagian* Doctrine, and of the Objections which they made against that of St. *Augustin*.

St. *Proper* intreateth him by this Letter to refute these Persons Opinions, and to clear the Difficulties propounded by them, telling him, That *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, a considerable Man, and much addicted to the Study of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Matters; and who did much admire and approve St. *Augustin's* Doctrine in all other things, could not relish his Principles about the Decree of the Vocation of the Elect.

This is not that *Hilary*, who had been St. *Augustin's* Disciple, who writ at the same time with *Proper* to St. *Augustin* upon the same Subject.

This Letter is the 226th. therein he gives a more particular Account than St. *Proper* had done, of those Points of St. *Augustin's* Doctrine, that disturbed the Priests of *Marjilles*, of the Objections which they made, and of their Answers to those Passages of Scripture that were quoted by St. *Augustin*; which may be all reduced to these four Propositions. 1. That Man may believe, and desire to be healed, by the strength of his own Free-Will. 2. That when he is gone so far, God never denieth him his Grace. 3. That Election and Reprobation are Consequences of God's Preference, whereby he sees the Good or the Evil which Men shall do, or should have done if they had lived. 4. That Grace is not effectual of it self, and what help soever God affords to those that are Predestinated; it is still in their own Power either to make use of, or to reject it. Both these Letters were written in 429. after *Hilary's* promotion to the Bishoprick of *Arles*. St. *Augustin* answered them by his Books of the *Predestination of the Saints*, and of the Gift of Perseverance.

The 227th. to the holy old Man *Appian*, is written upon the Conversion of two Pagans who had been baptized at *Caesar*: The Name of the one, was *Gabinianus*; the other was a Physician called

called *Discorius*, for whom God had wrought several Miracles, related by St. *Augustin* in this Letter. It is here placed among those that were written in 429. but the Date of it is St. *Augustin*. Tome II.

The Date of the next to *Honoratus* is certain by *Possidius's* Testimony, who quotes it in the Life of St. *Augustin*; and affirms, That he writ it about the latter end of his Life; when the *Vandals* were almost Masters of *Africa*. He examines the Question in this Letter, Whether Priests, Clerks, and Bishops, may fly and forsake their Flocks in time of Persecution? St. *Augustin* affirms, That there are but two Occasions upon which they are permitted to do so. 1. If the Persecutors designed Mischief to some particular Pastors by name, because then it is profitable, even for the Good of the Church, for them to flee, and leave the others quiet. 2. When the Ministers of Jesus Christ meet with none that have need of their Ministry. In all other Cases, Pastors are obliged to watch over the Flock which Christ hath committed to them; neither can they forsake it without a Crime. This St. *Augustin* excellently proves in this Letter, and in terms dictated by the Fire of his fervent Charity, and with Reasons supported by a Zeal altogether Divine. He represents the desolation of a Town which is like to be taken; and the Necessity of the presence of Christ's Ministers. "In such occasions, faith he, What flocking

is there to the Church of Persons of all Ages and Sexes; whereof, some require Baptism, others Reconciliation, others to be put under Penance, and all crave comfort. If then no Ministers are to be found, What misfortune is that for such as go out of this Life, being Unregenerate, or not loosed? What Grief is it to their Kindred, if they be Faithful, that they cannot hope to see them with them in everlasting rest? What Crys, what Lamentations, nay, what Imprecations from some, to see themselves without Ministers, and without Sacraments? If on the contrary, Ministers have proved Faithful, in not forsaking their People; they are helpful to all the World, according to the Abilities which it hath pleased God to endue them with; Some are baptized, others are reconciled; none is deprived of the Communion of the Lord's Body. All are comforted, fortified, and exhorted to implore by fervent Prayers the Assistance of the Mercy of God. This Passage is very remarkable, since it shews what was the Church's Opinion at all times concerning the Necessity of Sacraments.

St. *Augustin* handleth two other Questions upon the same Subject: The First, Whether it be lawful for Pastors to flee in such Calamities, that they may preserve themselves for the Service of the Church in more peaceable times. He faith, That they may do it if there be other Ministers, to supply their places, and who are necessary to the Church. The Second, if it happens that the Persecution were only against the Pastors, in this case they may flee; and whether it be better, That the Church should want them by their going away, or be deprived of them by their Death? St. *Augustin* answers, That this Supposition is very extraordinary; That it seldom happens, that they aim only at Church-men; That in this case they might hide themselves. It is to be presumed, That as all the Laity shall not perish, so some of the Clergy may escape: That it were to be wished, that in such occasions some should fly, and others remain; in that it would be a fine thing, if among Ministers there should be a Dispute, who should stay behind, that the Church might not be forsaken. That to decide this Difference, it should be convenient to cast Lots, that none might go about to free himself from the necessity of staying, under pretence of being more necessary for the Church than others.

He concludes with these words, *We do what Jesus Christ, either Permits or Commands, if we withdraw when there are other Ministers to serve the Church. But when by our flight Christ's Sheep are deprived of the Food that is to sustain the life of their Souls, then we are hirelings.*

The 228th Letter is directed to Count *Darius*, who was sent into *Africa* to treat of Peace. St. *Augustin* wishes him Joy of that Employ. The Count gives him Thanks by the 230th Letter, and prayeth him to send him his Book of *Confessions*. This Saint fatishes him by the 231st Letter, wherein he treateth occasionally of the love of Praise. He faith thereupon, 1. That Men ought not to desire Praises for that which is not praise-worthy in them. 2. That they should not propose to themselves as the end of their good Actions, to get Commendations from Men. 3. Yet they may desire the Praises of Men, for the sake of those very Men, because the Praises given to them, are profitable for others. 4. That such as find not in themselves those Vertues for which they are commended, ought to be ashamed that they are not what they are thought to be, and what they should be indeed; and this may make them desire to become such. 5. That on the contrary, if there be in them something of that which is commended, they are to give God thanks for it, and be glad to see that others have an esteem for Vertue. Towards the end of the Letter, he speaks of Prosperity and Adversity. *The Careless*, faith he, of this World are more dangerous than its Persecutions, unless we look upon the Rest which we may enjoy here, as a means to make us lead a quiet and a peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty. This the Apostle commands us to ask of God: for if the heart be not full of Charity and Piety, rest and ease from the troubles of Life is but Perdition: and serves only as an Instrument or Provocation to Lust. If therefore we desire to lead a quiet Life, let it be only upon this account, that we may the better practise both Piety and Charity. These Letters are supposed to have been written about the latter end of St. *Augustin's* Life.

The Fourth Classe.

THE Last Classe of St. *Augustin's* Epistles, containeth those whose Date is not well known.

The First of these is the 232d. Letter, in answer to the Inhabitants of *Madura*, whereof the greater Part were yet Idolaters. He exhorts them to embrace the Christian Religion; and to endure them to it, he mentions the dreadfulness of the Last Judgment, which he proves shall infallibly come, because the other Prophecies are fulfilled: He also saith something concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, and that of the Incarnation. This Letter was probably written some time after the Edict Published by *Honorius* in the Year 399, against the Temples.

The 233d. Letter, is a Challenge from St. *Augustin* to a Philosopher, one *Longinianus*, to oblige him to give an Account in Writing after what manner he believed, that God was to be worshipped; and what he thought of Jesus Christ.

Longinianus answers St. *Augustin* in the 234th. Letter; and saith, according to *Plato's* Principles, That the way to come to God, is to live Well, and to get the Favour of the inferior Gods by Propitiatory Sacrifices, that we may come to the Supreme Creatour. As for Jesus Christ, he answereth, That he can say nothing of him, because he knew him not.

St. *Augustin* desireth *Longinianus* to explain himself about what he had said, That the Way to come to God was to live Well, and to purifie our Selves by Expiations and Sacrifices; he asketh him, Whether it be the same Thing, or Two different Things. This is in the 235th Letter.

By the 236th. he gives *Deuterius* notice, That he had degraded, and expelled a Deacon, one *Victorinus*, convicted of being a *Manichee*, though he was but a Hearer among them, and not one of those they call Elect. He speaks of the difference which they made betwixt those Two sorts of Persons; and he speaks of their principal Errors.

In the 237th. Letter, he opposes the Dreams of the *Manichees*, and *Priscillianists*, concerning the Apocryphal Books; and ridicules the phantastical Interpretations, which made of the Canonical Books.

The 238th. is a Relation of a Conference that St. *Augustin* had about the Mystery of the Trinity, with an *Arian*, called *Palcenius*. The Three following Letters directed to this *Arian*, carry on the same Dispute.

The 242d. is also written to *Elpidius*, an *Arian*, to whom he sheweth, That the Son of God is equal to his Father.

In the 243d. St. *Augustin* exhorts *Letus*, who having quitted the World, was tempted to return to it: He exhorts him, I say, to persevere in his former Resolution; and not to suffer his tenderness for his Relations, to weaken his Courage. He shews, in this Letter, That the renouncing of all Things to follow Christ, ought to proceed so far, as to leave Father and Mother, to serve God.

The 244th. is a Letter of Consolation to *Chrysinus*, for a Loss which he had sustained.

In the 245th. to *Possidius*, St. *Augustin* speaks, with great moderation, of Women's Dresses: He thinks, That fine Cloaths ought not to be forbidden to Married Women, who are obliged to please their Husbands; but he would not have them Paint, or Wash, to make them appear fairer, or fresher, because it is not probable, that their Husbands should desire to be thus deceived; for the true Ornament of Christians, of both Sexes, is neither deceitful Painting, nor Gold, nor precious Stuffs, but Purity of Manners. Lastly, he prohibits those Superstitious Dressings, which they used to render a kind of Homage to *Demons*. He tells *Possidius*, That he would not advise him to ordain a Man that had been Baptized among the *Donatists*.

The 246th. Letter to *Lampadius*, is against those who accuse Fate for the Faults which they commit themselves.

By the 247th. Letter, St. *Augustin* reproves one *Romulus*, a Rich Man, that would make his Debtors to pay twice; pretending, That they had paid his Receiver in his Wrong.

The 248th. to *Sebastianus*, is concerning that Sorrow which affects the Righteous, because of the impiety of the Wicked.

In the 249th. St. *Augustin* comforteth *Resitutus* the Deacon, who could hardly bear with the Disorders of ill Christians; and instructs him to keep Peace with the Wicked.

The 250th. Letter is very considerable. There St. *Augustin* resolveth a very nice Question: Whether a whole Family, or Community, may be Excommunicated for the Sin of one Member. It is directed to a young Bishop, called *Auxilius*, who had Excommunicated one *Claudianus*, with his whole Family, because he came to the Church to demand certain Persons who had taken Sanctuary there, after he had, by a false Oath, profaned the Sanctity of the Gospel. He asks that Bishop, What Reason he could have for so doing; and how the Son can be Excommunicated for the Father's Sin, the Wife for her Husband's, and the Servant for his

his Master's, yea the Children that are yet unborn: Excommunication being not a Punishment which falls upon the Body, but an Effect of the Power given to Christ's Ministers, to bind and to loose, which properly concerns the Soul. St. *Augustin* confesses, That this Bishop might ground his Proceeding upon the Example of some great Bishops, who had Anathematized whole Families for one particular Person's Sin. But he affirms, That they could hardly justify their Action, and that he never durst do it himself. Yet he addeth, rather in Jest, than Earnest, that he is ready to hear his Reasons, "Your Youth (*saith he*) and the shortness of the "time that you have been Bishop, will not hinder me from hearing your Reasons. I am ready "to learn of you, how young soever you be; though the Grey Hairs that I wear, and all the "Experience I may have got by those many Years that I have been Bishop, give me some small "Authority over you. After that, he Aggravates the Injustice of that Presence which might prove the Loss of a Soul for want of Baptism, through the Impossibility to which the Sentence of Excommunication reduced those that were Excommunicated, from having recourse to the Sacraments. Wherefore he exhortheth *Auxilius* to revoke a Sentence, wherein Anger had a greater share than Justice; and so much the rather, because he, against whom it was pronounced, had no ways defended it.

In the next Letter, St. *Augustin* sendeth Word to *Claudianus*, That he will propose that Question in a Council; that he was much concerned at *Auxilius's* Behaviour, especially because it might happen, that some might die without Baptism; that he will also cause to be examined there, if need be, this Question; Whether those ought not to be Excommunicated who deal unfaithfully with their Securities; and that, if it should be requisite, he would write to the See of *Rome* about it, that so what was to be done in such Occasions, might be settled with general Consent. But he sticks not to affirm, "That an unjust Excommunication is of great "or Prejudice to him that pronounces it, than to him against whom it is pronounced; for "asmuch as the Holy Ghost, who dwelleth in the Saints, never puts any to Pain who deserves "it not: For if Charity is neither rash, nor hasty, What shall we say of him that diffuseth it "into our Hearts?

The 251st. Letter was written by St. *Augustin* to *Pancarius*, concerning one *Secundinus* a Priest, that was accused before him. He tells *Pancarius*, That he will receive the Accusations of *Catholics*, but not of *Hereticks*; and prays him not to suffer any Disorder to be committed in that Priest's House.

The Four following Letters were written about a Virgin that was an Orphan, who was committed to the Church's Trust. St. *Augustin* declares, in these Letters, That he takes all the Care of her that may be; and that he will not marry her, without her consent, to a *Catholic*; and that he was looking out for an advantageous Match for her.

The 256th. is an Answer of St. *Augustin* to *Christinus*, who desired, That he would write to him, to exhort him to give himself to God.

The 257th. is a Letter of Complement to *Orantius*.

In the 258th. he Congratulates *Martianus* for being a *Catechumen*, exhorting him speedily to receive Baptism.

The 259th. was written to reclaim a very lewd Man, one *Cornelius*, from his evil Way; and advieth him to imitate his Wife, who lately deceased; upon whom St. *Augustin* promisieth to write a Panegyrick, if he will follow her Vertue.

By the next, *Audax* desireth St. *Augustin* to write longer than he used to do, and concludes with Four Verses in his Commendation. St. *Augustin* excuseth himself for his great Business, advising him to read his Works, and to come and see him. That's the Subject of the 261st. Letter.

In the 262d. St. *Augustin* reproves one *Ecdicia*, a Lady, severely; who (unknown to her Husband, whom she had brought to consent to live in Continence with her) had distributed his whole Estate to the Poor, and put on a Widow's Habit. He enjoys her to make her Husband Satisfaction; who, out of Anger for his Wife's Behaviour, lived disorderly. This Letter is full of excellent Instructions for married Wives, teaching them not to give their Husbands any occasion of Discontent, by indiscreet Devotion.

The 263d. is a Letter of Consolation to *Sapida*; who having wrought a Garment for her Brother *Timothy*, and he dying, desired, for her Comfort, that St. *Augustin* would wear it. St. *Augustin* thanks her; but wishes her to seek in the Scripture some more solid Consolations.

In the 264th. he comforteth a Lady called *Maxima*, who beheld with Grief, and Disturbance, her Country infected with Errors.

The 265th. to *Selenciana*, is a Refutation of the Enthusiastical Notions of a certain *Novatian*, concerning Baptism, and St. *Peter's* Repentance. He affirmeth, in the First place, That St. *Peter* was Baptized as well as the other Apostles: That it is an Error to say, That he had not received the Baptism of Water before his Sin, though he had not yet received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost; yea, he thinks it probable, That the Apostles were Baptized by Christ himself. He saith, Secondly. That when it is said, that St. *Peter* did Penance, we are not to think that he did as they do in the Church, who are properly called Penitents. Thirdly, he distinguishes Two sorts of Penance, that which goeth before Baptism, and that which cometh after; when after Baptism Men have committed any of those Sins, for which they ought to be Excommunicated

communicated, and cut off from the Altar, after which they are reconciled if they deserve it; And this sort is the Penance of those to whom is properly given in the Church the Name of Penitents. Besides these two sorts, They admit also a daily Penance of those very Faithful, that live in Piety and Humility; whereby they Petition, and obtain the forgiveness of light, but Customary Sins, which Humane Frailty makes us fall into; and which, saith he, we ought to expiate continually, lest we be overwhelmed with their Number.

In the 266th. Letter, St. *Augustin* offers to *Florentina*, a Virgin, to explain all the Difficulties which she should desire to have cleared.

The 267th. is a Pious Letter to *Fabiola*; wherein he rejoiceth, because she bore the Exile of this Life with difficulty.

St. *Augustin* having borrowed a Sum of Money to pay the Debt of one *Falcianus*, who retired into the Church, being pursued by his Creditors; intreateth his People in the 268th. Letter, to make a Gathering, that he might repay that Summ.

By the 269th. St. *Augustin* intreateth Bishop *Nobilis* to excuse him, because he could not be present at the Consecration of a new Church; to which that Bishop had invited him.

The last, is a Letter directed to St. *Augustin*, but the Author of it is not known. By it, he that wrote it, complaineth to St. *Augustin*. That he had not met him with Bishop *Severus* in the City of *Leger*, where he hoped to find him.

To these Letters, we ought to add the Fragment of a Letter of St. *Augustin* to *Maximus*, which the *Benedictines* have taken out of *Primasius* his Commentary upon the *Revelations*, and placed at the latter end of the Second Tome in their Edition. This Fragment contains several Rules concerning the degrees of Christian Perfection.

It is manifest by these Extracts from St. *Augustin*'s Letters, That they are an inexhaustible Spring of Principles, Rules, Precepts and Maxims upon the Articles of our Faith, and the Discipline of the Church upon Christian Morals, and the Government of Life: For which Reason, I insisted the longer upon them, and drew the Extracts at large, there being hardly one that deserves not particular Attention, and where there is not some fine stroke to be taken notice of. I intend to discourse more briefly of the rest of this Father's Works.

The Addition of Spurious Pieces annexed to this Volume, is not very large.

There are at first Thirteen Letters or Notes under the Names of St. *Augustin* to *Boniface*, and of *Boniface* to St. *Augustin*; containing several Passages taken out of St. *Augustin*'s Genuine Letters, and several things may be observed, which do not agree with the History of that time: They are composed by one who had a mind to exercise his Pen with that Fiction.

We need not speak here of *Pelagius* his Letter to *Demetrias*, which is after these to *Boniface*.

The two next, whereof the one is entituled, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Letter to St. Augustin concerning the Vertues of St. Jerom*: And the other, *St. Augustin's Answer to St. Cyril about St. Jerom's Miracles*; discover their Imposture by their very Title; as is observed, in another place; since St. *Cyril of Jerusalem* died long before St. *Jerom*.

Lastly, St. *Augustin*'s Dispute with *Pascetius*, that was formerly placed among the Letters, Number 178. is very rightly placed by the *Benedictines* among the Spurious Books. It is certain by the 238th. Letter, That St. *Augustin* had a Conference with *Pascetius*; but nothing like that which is mentioned in this Letter. For he observes, 1. That he could not obtain, that what was said on both sides, should be committed to Writing, but every thing is written in this Conference and inserted into the Publick Acts. In the former, no body Presided; in this, there is a Judge called *Laurentius*. That whereof St. *Augustin* speaks, was held at *Carthage*; This is supposed to have been at *Hippo*. Both *Possidius* and St. *Augustin* mention one Conference with *Pascetius*; but this supposeth that they had had a Dispute before. The Character of both the Persons introduced speaking in this, is nothing like either St. *Augustin*'s or *Pascetius*'s. This is but a cold Dispute, and there is little said to the purpose. The Answers made for St. *Augustin* are weak, and the Objections attributed to *Pascetius*, have nothing of that Fire and Rage which *Possidius* taxeth him with. The Style of those Answers, supposed to be St. *Augustin*'s, comes not near that of this Saint, either in his Letters or in his Conferences. There are terms and manners of Expression, which he never used, and which do not belong to that time. In a word, This Treatise is found in no Manuscripts annexed to St. *Augustin*'s Works or Letters. These Reasons sufficiently prove, That this Work is not a Conference which St. *Augustin* really had with *Pascetius*, but a Dialogue composed by some other Author. Now we know none to whom it may be more properly ascribed, than to *Pelagius Tapsensis*, who composed several Dialogues of that sort under the Names of several great Men.

The

The THIRD TOME.

THE Third Tome of the New Edition of St. *Augustin*, containeth his Treatises upon the Holy Scripture, which in the former Editions were dispersed in other Volumes.

The *Benedictines* have placed the Books of *Christian Doctrine* first, which may serve in stead of a Preface to St. *Augustin*'s Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture; because they contain such Precepts and Rules as he thought were to be observed, both for the understanding and the explaining of the Scriptures: He began this Work soon after he was Consecrated, about the Year 397; but he stop'd at the 36th. Chapter of the Third Book; and afterwards added the rest of this Book with the Fourth in 426. as he says himself in his *Retractions*; where he makes two Remarks upon that Work. 1. That it is not certain, as he affirmed, That the *Wisdom of Solomon* was written by *Iesus* the Son of *Syrach*, the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*. 2. That when he saith, That the Old Testament containeth 44 Books, he used that word in the sense of the Church; though St. *Paul* seems to understand by the Old Testament no more than the Law given upon Mount *Sinai*; He confesseth likewise, That he committed a Fault of memory, in quoting one of St. *Ambrase*'s Books for another.

In the Preface to this Work, he answereth three sorts of Persons who might find fault with it; Some, because they did not understand it; Others, because they could not make use of the Precepts and Rules which he gives to understand, and to expound the Scripture; and the last, because they understand and expound the Holy Scripture without making use of his Rules, only by the light of the Holy Ghost. He tells the First and Second, That it is not his fault if they want Understanding or Light. And the Third, That they ought not to judge of others by themselves, since God hath not granted the same Gifts to all Men: and that we should tempt him, if we neglected those Humane means which God affords us to understand the Holy Scripture, under pretence that he can give us that knowledge, without either Study or Labour.

The design of this Book is, as we have observed, to give Rules and Precepts, both to Understand and to Explain the Holy Scripture. These two divide the whole Work. He treateth in the Three first Books of the Understanding of the Scripture; and in the last, of the way to Expound it, and make it intelligible to others.

The First Book contains loose Reflections and general Principles. He observes at first, That all Knowledge is either of Signs or of Things; and that Things are expressed by Signs. He distinguisheth two sorts of Things; some which we may enjoy, and others which we are only to use. The three Persons of the Divinity, are the only Thing we are to enjoy. They are that ineffable God, whom we look upon as the Supreme Being, as the immutable Wisdom to be preferred before all Things; to know him, we must Purifie our Minds: And to teach us this, the Wisdom of God was incarnate; it is that which Cures Man of his Distempers, Weaknesses, and Blindness. He confirmed our Faith by his Resurrection and Ascension; and he increases and upholdeth it by the Hope of Reward, the Fear of Punishment, and by the Expectation of the Last Judgment. He hath established a Church, to which he hath granted necessary Gifts and Graces to lead Men to their Heavenly Country. He gave it Keys to bind Sinners, and to loose them that are Penitent. As for created Beings, we are not permitted to enjoy them; that is to say, to esteem them as our Ultimate End; but we may use them, and they ought to be loved with respect to God. Thus we are to love both our Selves and our Neighbour. The Scripture commands us not to love our Selves; we are but too prone to this naturally, but it enjoins us to love our Neighbour. The whole Law centers in this twofold Charity, which makes us love God above all things, and our Neighbour as our selves. Our Charity towards our Neighbour ought to be regulated: We must not love Sinners as Sinners, but as Men; and though we are more strictly obliged to succour those that are near to us, whether by Kindred or Friendship, yet we ought to love all Men alike, because they are our Neighbours; even Angels are to be comprehended under this general Name. St. *Augustin* having laid down these Principles, saith, That the double Precept of Charity, is to be a Rule for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. That any fence that hath no relation to Charity, is not certainly the true fence; but on the contrary, every fence which hath respect to it, is useful; though not always conformable to the Writer's intention; and yet we should endeavour not to depart from their particular meanings. He saith, in the last place, That the understanding of the Scripture is comprised in Faith, Hope, and Charity; So that a Christian who is endued with these three Vertues, hath no absolute need of the Scripture for himself; but only for the Instruction of others: Yea, That several Persons live very Christian Lives in their Solitude without the help of the Sacred Books. He concludes from all that he hath said in this Book, That whosoever is thoroughly perswaded, that the Scripture is that Charity which proceedeth out of a pure Heart, of a good Conscience and Faith unfeigned, may without fear betake himself to the reading of the Holy Scripture.

In the Second Book, he comes to the Knowledge of Signs; and having given the Definition, and Divisions of them, he observes, That Words hold the First place among Signs. He shows how the Sound of Words is formed, and how the variety of Tongues was introduced into the VVorld. He supposeth that the Scripture is not plain every where; and that there is need of

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Application

Application to understand it; that the most Skillful meet with Difficulties; that the Allegories and Figures, there to be met with, sometimes render it dark; but commonly what is obscure in one place, is cleared in another; and so the Holy Ghost feeds the Hungry with what is clear, and prevents their being nauseated by exercising them with what is obscure. He sheweth, at last, by what Degrees we may attain to the perfect Knowledge of the VVildom, contained in the Holy Scripture. These Degrees are, The Fear of God, Piety, Knowledge, Contrite Conscience, and Purity of Heart.

[* By these Words our Author means, That St. *Augustin's* Canon of S.S. was the same with that now received in the Church of Rome: But that does not appear from St. *Augustin's* Words; for of those Books which the Church of England condemns as Apocryphal, he names none but Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees. By the Book of Esdras, he does not mean those which we call by that name, but the Books of *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*, which he mentions nowhere else, and which were never disputed in the Church; and it is uncertain, whether he owned those Additions to the Book of *Ezra*, that are now received in their Church of Rome.]

for Manners, and Rules of Faith, and at last, he furnisheth them with the means to arrive to the understanding of hard and obscure Passages. The First is the Knowledge of that Language, wherein those Books were written. The Second is to consult and compare the several Translations, whereof some serve to explain the rest. Among the Translations, he prefers the Vulgar Latin, as being more literal, and clearer: And among the Greek Versions, he adheres to the *Septuagint*, to which he ascribes much Authority. He doth not decide, Whether the Seventy composed it separately, every one in his Cell by God's Inspiration, or by conferring together. But he affirms, That however it was composed, it ought to be followed, and preferred even before the Hebrew Text, because it is not credible, that they made this alteration, without a secret Assistance of the Holy Spirit, for the good of the Church. As to the Books of the New Testament, he saith, That, without doubt, the Latin Translation is to be Corrected by the Greek Copies.

The Third Thing which St. *Augustin* looks upon as necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, is the Knowledge of Things signified; as the Nature of Animals, Plants, Herbs, and of other Things which are made use of in Comparisons and Figures in Holy Scripture. He lays great weight upon the Knowledge of Numbers, and Music, which he pretends to be of great use: And he would not have Profane Sciences neglected; provided, that such as are False, and Superstitious, be laid aside; and particularly, judicial Astrology, and Magick. He reckoneth Painting, and Mythology, among those Things whose Knowledge is Superfluous; but he shews the usefulness of History, Mechanics, Logic, Rhetoric, and other Sciences, provided that a good Use be made of them, that Men depend not too much upon them, nor be lifted up because of them, but that both Charity, and Humility, be preferred as the Two Keys, without which the Holy Scripture cannot be understood.

The Third Book lays down Rules to clear those Difficulties that arise from the different Senses, in which a Discourse may be taken; as for instance, when the Parts of a Discourse are distinguished by Points, and Comma's, which variously placed, alter the Sense. St. *Augustin* would have Men refer themselves, in such cases, to the Rule of Faith, and reject that Distinction which makes an Heretical Sense: That if both Senses be Catholic, that is to be followed, which agreeth best with the connexion of the Discourse; and last of all, if both agree with the Text, then we may follow that which seems most probable. He applies the same Rules to determine the pronunciation, and signification of undetermined Terms: At last he desireth, that Men should consult the original Text.

There is much more difficulty, when the Words are taken in a Metaphorical, and Figurative Sense; then we must have a care how we understand them in a Proper, and Natural Sense. The Jews were for a long time, Slaves to this literal Meaning. The Gentiles likewise were Slaves to unprofitable Ceremonies. But Christians deliver the Jews, by discovering to them the Truths that were hid under the Letter, and they set the Gentiles at Liberty, by utterly rejecting their profane Ceremonies. Themselves are charged but with a small Number of Signs easily practised, whose Signification is very Majestic, and their Observation very Pure. Christ himself instituted them, and the Apostles taught the Church the Knowledge of them: Such are the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Celebration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

After this, St. *Augustin* goes to the necessary Rules, whereby we may distinguish the proper Sense from the Figurative. The First, and most general is, That whatsoever cannot be made to agree, either with Purity of Manners, or with the Truth of Faith, when its understood according

according to the Letter, must necessarily have a Figurative Sense. But we are not to judge of what may be Pure, or True, according to the Prejudices, either of Custom, or Opinion; but only by the Rules of Faith, and Charity, because the Holy Scripture teacheth nothing but Charity, and condemns nothing but Lust.

Neither must those Opinions, and Actions, be taken in a Figurative Sense, which seem to imply a kind of Cruelty, which in Scripture, is ascribed either to God, or to Righteous Men, when they are made use of against the Lusts of carnal Men. But a Word, or an Action which is absolutely unjust, and that cannot be excused by any Circumstance, when it is attributed to God, or to those whose Sanctity is commended in Scripture, must necessarily be expounded by a Figure. This Rule takes place in Things that are expressed in the Form of a Command. If the Letter forbids a Crime, and enjoins a good Thing, there is no Figure; but, on the contrary, if it seems to command a Crime, and forbid a Virtue, it is a Figure. It often happeneth, that such as are in a more perfect State, do understand Figuratively, what is said of a State less Perfect; but let those Men consider, that there are Precepts for all Men in general, and some that relate to each State in particular. He adds, That we should not believe, that since the Coming of Jesus Christ, those Things can be observed, which were either permitted, or prescribed only for the time of the Old Law, though at that time, they were to be taken in their proper Sense. He instructeth in the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, because they lived Holily in Marriage, with a prospect of having Children; and he confidently preferreth that State, before that of such Men, who having but one Wife, abuse Matrimony to satisfy their brutish Lust.

Finally, it must be confessed, That when the Scripture mentions great Men's Faults, we may not only seek there for a Figurative Sense, but also for Instruction in the Historical Sense, because their Fall teaches the Holyest Men, not to be lifted up through Presumption.

St. *Augustin* addeth, besides the following Observations, that the same Figurative Expression sometimes signifies Two different Things, and sometimes contrary Things. That a dark Place of Scripture ought to be explained by those that are clearer; and that Reasonings may likewise be used to clear it: But it is safer to have recourse to other Passages of Scripture; and that the same Passage may have several Significations equally good. He concludes with the Seven Rules of *Tychonius*, the *Donatist*; but they are very far from the good Sense, and the Usefulness of St. *Augustin's*: They discover great Subtlety; but it is very difficult to apply them.

In the last Book of *Christian Doctrine*, St. *Augustin* shows how to Expound the Holy Scripture for the benefit of others. He says at first, That they were not to expect Rhetorical Rules upon that Subject from him; which though they are not useless, yet since they may be found in other places, they ought not to be introduced into this Work; He enlargeth however upon the Qualifications of a Christian Orator. He shews, That it were an Error to think, that Truth cannot make use of Rhetorical Ornaments to refute Error; so that he would have Christians study to speak Eloquently. He adviseth young Men to learn the Precepts and Rules of Art; but as for Men in Years, his Opinion is, That they should only read Books that are well written, and frame their Discourses after their Pattern, without regarding the Precepts of Art, which are of little use. The Design of a Preacher who expounds the Holy Scripture, who sets forth God's Word, who defends the Faith, and opposes Errors, should be to teach that which is Good, and to persuade others to depart from that which is Evil; to bring over those of contrary Opinions, to quicken the Sloathful, to instruct the Ignorant, to soften, and convert hardened Sinners.

When the Question is only how to instruct the Ignorant, it is enough to declare the Doctrine of the Church; but if Gain-sayers are to be persuaded, it must be established by solid Arguments: And lastly, If Men's Hearts are to be moved, there is need of Prayers, Reproaches, Threatnings, Exhortations, and other Figures proper to affect them. Such as want Eloquence to excel in these Things, ought to make up their Discourses with Passages, and Expressions out of Holy Scripture. He proves by several Examples, That there is much Eloquence in the Holy Writings; yet he would not have a Preacher imitate that Obscurity which is to be met with in some Passages of the Holy Scripture, but charges him, above all things, to be clear; not to content himself to please with agreeable Notions, but to inform by solid Instructions. As the Matter which a Preacher treateth of is high, so he ought never to lose his Gravity, though he may alter his Style according to the variety of Subjects. St. *Augustin* produces Examples, both out of the Holy Scripture, and out of the Fathers, of Three kinds of Eloquence; shewing, at the same time, upon what Occasions, and to what Subjects they are to be apply'd. Lastly, Having laid down several useful Rules to compleat a Preacher, he adviseth him, above all, to prepare himself by Prayer, and to be sure that his Life be answerable to his Sermons. He blames not those who Preach Sermons composed by others, when they cannot make Sermons themselves.

After this Treatise of *Christian Doctrine*, follows St. *Augustin's* Writings upon the Holy Scripture.

The First is his imperfect Book upon *Genesis*. It is the First, not only according to the Order of the Books of the Holy Scripture, but also according to that of its Composition. St. *Augustin* wrote

St. Au-
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Tome III.

written in *Africa* in the Year 393. before he was Bishop. He designed to prove against the *Adventurers*, That the History of *Genesis*, taken literally, was no ridiculous thing, as they pretended; But he considered, That being not well instructed in those Matters, he found this Undertaking to be above his strength; which obliged him to stop in the way, even before he had finished the First Book, which remained imperfect. He was once resolved utterly to suppress it; but he thought it more convenient to leave it as a monument of his First Enquiries upon the Holy Scripture, and he added some Periods to it. He begins this Book with an Account of the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Trinity, and the Incarnation. He adds against the *Manichees*, That Sin is none of God's Creatures; but that it consists in the Abuse of Free-Will. Afterwards he distinguishes Four Senses of the Scripture: The Historical, which takes place when a Relation is made of Matters of Fact, as they happen'd: The Allegorical, which explains what is spoken by Figures: The Analogical, when the Old and New Testament are compared together; and their Agreement is justified: And the Etiological, whereby Reasons are given of the Actions and Discourses that are related in the Holy Scripture.

This being supposed, he undertakes to Explain the History of the Creation, set forth in the beginning of *Genesis*. He frames Difficulties upon every Word, and makes several Objections to himself; but often answers them not; or if he doth, his Answers are not commonly very just, nor sufficient to satisfy the least scrupulous. This Work endeth at Man's Creation.

He pursues very near the same Method in the Twelve following Books upon *Genesis*, which he writ, when he was Bishop: They were begun in 401. and completed in 415. He explains the Text of *Genesis* from the beginning, to that place where it is said that *Adam* was driven out of Paradise. He examines the Words, and starts an infinite number of Questions: some he answers, but most are left unresolved. He often gives Mythical and Moral Solutions, which are not very literal. He discourses likewise by the bye, of several common places, concerning the Nature both of Angels, and of the Soul; the Fall of Angels, and that of Man; concerning the Mysteries of the Number Six; concerning Hell and Paradise, Visions, and several other Subjects which he meets with in his way.

The Seven Books of the Ways of Speaking, in the seven first Books of the Bible, which follow this Work we have now spoken of, is a Critical Treatise; wherein *St. Augustin* explaineth several VVays of Speaking that are peculiar to these Books, and which ordinarily are not met with in others. This VVork is of the Year 419.

In making these Remarks upon the VVays of Speech, in these Seven First Books of the Bible, he finds several Difficulties about the things themselves, which he collecteth in the Form of Questions, which he proposeth to himself; whereof he gives a Solution in few words, though without going to the depth. This is both the Subject and the Method of the Seven following Books: where he takes a short view of the principal Difficulties that he met with in the *Pentateuch*, in the Book of *Joshua*, and in that of *Judges*. This is a very curious and useful VVork: There he does not recede from the literal Sense, as in his other Treatises, but makes very learned and judicious Remarks, which serve very much to clear the Text of the Bible.

The Notes upon *Job* are a very imperfect VVork. *St. Augustin* had writ them in the Margin of a Copy of the Book of *Job*; from which some body took them, and compiled them into a Book by themselves: which makes him say, That he knew not whether it was to be called his VVork or theirs who had thus collected and reduced them. He findeth there much Obscurity, proceeding from their great Brevity, and because they added some Notes to those words of the Text to which they do not refer. In one word: He found so many Faults in that VVork, that he had suppressed it, had he not known that there were several Copies of it abroad. This is the Account which he gives of it in the 13th. Chapter of the Second Book of his *Retractions*. Yet this Treatise is not so contemptible; it is a kind of Paraphrase, or literal Explication of the Book of *Job*, which explains it, and discovers such Notions as may be further improved.

The Looking-glass taken out of the Scripture, is neither a Commentary, nor a particular VVork upon the Scripture, but barely a Collection of Passages out of the Old and New Testament, containing Precepts and Instructions for Manners. *Possidius* affirms, That *St. Augustin* wrote a Book of this Nature, and *Cassiodorus* recommends the reading of it. It is not certain whether this is that which *St. Augustin* wrote. The Preface is in his Style, but in the Body of the Book the Scriptures are cited according to *St. Jerome's* Translation. Perhaps the Text used by *St. Augustin* was changed, and the more common Version was put in the room of it: For I can hardly believe that *St. Augustin* would quit his Old Translation, to make a constant use of *St. Jerome's*. Father *Vignier* hath also published *A Looking-glass taken out of Scripture*, attributed to *St. Augustin*: But this relates to Doctrine, more than to Manners; which doth not agree with what *Possidius* saith of *St. Augustin's*.

These are all *St. Augustin's* Treatises upon the Old Testament, which make up the First Part of the *Third Tome*. The Second contains Treatises upon the New Testament, and begins with a Harmony betwixt the Four Gospels divided into Four Books.

In the First, having spoken of the Number, Authority, and of the Style of the Gospels, he refresheth those who refuse to give Credit to the Gospel, because it was not written by Jesus Christ himself, but by his Disciples, whom they suppose to have receded from their Master's Doctrine,

Doctrine, that so they might persuade the VVorld that he was God, and thereby destroy the Worship of the Gods. He observes, That Two of the Four Evangelists were Apostles, *St. Matthew* and *St. John*; and Two were not, *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*; that so none might say, that there was a difference betwixt those who had seen with their Eyes Christ's Actions, and those who wrote them upon the Relation of those who had seen them. He addeth, That other Men's VVorks, who undertook to write the History of Christ, were not received by the Church as Canonical; because the Authors of these Histories were not to be believed, having stufft their Works with false Relations, and Errors, contrary to the Rule of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith, and so found Doctrine. He believes, That the Four Gospels were composed in the same Order as we see them, in at present: That *St. Matthew's* Gospel was written in Hebrew, and the others in Greek: That each Evangelist hath observed a particular Order, yet without obliging himself not to speak any thing that had been spoken by another: That *St. Matthew* designed particularly to give an Account of Christ's Royal Descent, and to represent him according to that Humane Life which he led among Men: That *St. Mark* did little else but abridge *St. Matthew*: That *St. Luke* apply'd himself to set forth Christ's Priesthood; which is the reason why he doth not reckon his Genealogy from King *David*, by *Solomon*, as *St. Matthew* doth, but by *Nathan*: and for the same reason, he takes notice, That the Virgin *Mary* was a Kin to *Elizabeth*, who was of the Sacerdotal Race, and Wife to *Zacharias* the Priest. Lastly, That *St. John* taketh his Subject above Christ's Humane Actions, to speak of his Divinity, and to discover the Equality of the Word with his Father: So that it may be said, that the Three First Evangelists are more for the Active Life, and *St. John* for Contemplation. After this, *St. Augustin* makes Application of the Four Beasts in the Revelations to the Four Evangelists; and having made these Remarks, he answereth those who found fault that Christ had written nothing. He proposes to them the Examples of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and of the wisest Heathen, who left to their Disciples the care of committing to Writing both their Doctrine and their Instructions. He shews, That Christ cannot be said to have written Magical Books, or that he approved the Worship of False Deities. He particularly enlargeth upon this last Head, shewing, That the Apostle's Doctrine, touching the Worshipping of One only God, is conformable to that of the Prophets, who fore-told, That the *Messiah* should preach the same upon Earth, and that it should be published and received throughout the VVorld. The Three other Books, are a Harmony of the Evangelists. In the Second and Third, he followeth the Text of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, and compareth the three other Gospels with that. In the last, he takes notice of what the three other Evangelists have peculiar to themselves. He doth not only compare the Text of the Evangelists, but makes them agree together, and resolves the seeming Difficulties and Contrarieties that are betwixt them, as to the Order and Manner of their relating both of the Words and Actions of Jesus Christ. This Work was very difficult and laborious, and it was finished by *St. Augustin* with great exactness. It was composed about the Year 440.

After this Treatise, we find in this Volume the two Books of *St. Augustin*, upon the Sermon of Christ in the Mount, written about the Year 393. They contain Moral Reflections, with Instructions and Precepts contained in Christ's Sermon, recorded by *St. Matthew* in the 5th. 6th. and 7th. Chapters of his Gospel. *St. Augustin* likewise clears the Difficulties that he meets with in the Letter of the Text. Among the Passages of this Treatise which he reviseth in his *Retractions*, there are Two of Consequence: The former, is, about the Divorce allow'd by Jesus Christ, in case of Fornication. He had extended what is said of Fornication, to all those Crimes that set us at a distance from God. Here he retracteth this Opinion, and confesseth, That this Notion is not very certain. He saith also, That it is a very hard Question, VVhether a Man may Marry another VVife, having been Divorced from a former? The Second Point of any importance, taken notice of in his *Retractions*, is, touching an Expression he had used when he spake of Jesus Christ: He had called him *Homo Dominicus*: He disapproves that Term, though he had read it in Ecclesiastical VVriters. He retracteth likewise what he had said, That the Sin unto Death, was Envy against our Brother: with some other Explications that were not very just. However, the Treatise itself is very instructive, and very useful: It contains several Moral Precepts, which may be of very great Use. In the Second Book, he explains the Lord's Prayer.

Both the Books of Questions upon some Passages of *St. Matthew's* and *St. Luke's* Gospels, were composed by *St. Augustin* with great precipitation, to satisfy the Requests of a Person that read the Gospel. Most of his Answers are either Mythical or Moral Explications. He places this Book in his *Retractions*, among those which he writ about the Year 400. and takes notice of some Faults of Inadvertency. The First Book is upon *St. Matthew's* Gospel. The Second, upon that of *St. Luke*. He makes no mention of the Seventeen following Questions upon *St. Matthew's* Gospel, neither are they mentioned in the best Editions of the Catalogue of *St. Augustin's* VVorks, made by *Possidius*: which gives us reason to doubt whether they are *St. Augustin's*, though *Rhabanus* hath quoted them under his Name, and though they are written in a Style very much like his.

The 124 Treatises upon *St. John's* Gospel are of a very different Nature from the former; they are Homilies preached by *St. Augustin* to his People, wherein he followeth the Text of *St. John*, and draws important Instructions from it upon the principal Points both of Doctrine and Morality. He attacks three sorts of Hereticks principally; the *Arians*, the *Donatists*, and the

Pelagians.

Palms. He maintains against the First the Divinity and Consubstantiality of the VVord. He returns the Reasons alleged by the Second to justify their Separation, and earnestly exhorts them to unite themselves with the Church; and proves against the last, the necessity of Church's Grace, and the free Proclamation of the Elect. These are the principal Subjects treated of in these Homilies, which he preached after the *Pelagian* Heretic broke out, before the Destruction of the *Donatist* Schism. Some time after they had found St. *Steven's* Body, as he affirms in the 12th Sermon; which makes us conjecture that they are the Sermons which he preached to his People in the Years 416 and 417. For he began with them about the end of VVinter, towards *February*, in the Year 426. as appears by the beginning of the Sixth: He continued them in *Leins*, as it is observed in the 10th and 11th. They were interrupted during *Easter* Holy-days. After the Holy-days he undertook the Exposition of St. *John's* Epistle, and then profecuted his Gospel. He had got but to the 27th Homily, about the Feast of St. *Lawrence*, and so could not finish these Sermons before the next Year.

St. *Augustin's* Ten Homilies upon St. *John's* Epistle, interrupted, as we said just now, the course of those which he composed upon the Gospel. He gives notice of it himself in his Preface; where he observes, That having been obliged by the Solemnity of those Festivals, wherein particular Lessons are yearly recited, to interrupt the course of his Explications upon St. *John's* Gospel: before he returned to it, he thought it convenient to Expound, during those seven or eight Days, the Epistle of the same Evangelist, that was most agreeable to that joyful Time, because it speaks of nothing but Charity. St. *Augustin*, in his Homilies, makes excellent Reflections upon this Virtue. He observes, That Fear brings in Charity, but that Charity drives away Fear. He distinguisheth two sorts of Fear; that which is conceived by a dread of Punishment, which goes before Charity; and that which he calleth a Chaste Fear, which consists in the Fear of Loving Charity. He explaineth these two sorts of Fear, by the different Dispositions of two VVomen, whereof the one loveth her Husband, and the other hateth him, though both Fear him. There are other excellent Instructions in these Homilies of St. *Augustin*, concerning the Love of God and our Neighbour. He speaks also occasionally, concerning Grace and the Church: "And expounds these words of Christ to St. *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, of the Faith whereof St. Peter* had immediately before made Profession."

St. *Augustin* composed at *Carthage*, in 394, his Exposition of several Passages of the Epistle to the *Romans*, in Answer to the Difficulties that were proposed to him. He had not then perfectly found his System of Grace, which made him let slip some Explications different from some which he hath given since: And this very thing gave Occasion for his Remarks upon this Book, in his *Retractions*, where he corrects what he had said, whereby some might be made to believe, That the Beginning of Faith cometh from Man, and not from the Grace of Jesus Christ.

He undertook also at the same time a larger Commentary upon this whole Epistle; which would have been prodigiously large, since the single Exposition of the Salvation with which St. *Paul* begins the Epistle, makes up a whole Book. True it is, that he makes there a Digression of several Pages, upon an incidental Question concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost, which he thinks to be final Impenitency; but both the Extent and the Difficulty of that Work made him give it over: however, he left that Book, and intitled it, *The Beginning of an Exposition upon the Epistle to the Romans*.

At the same time likewise he made a continued Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*; wherein he contents himself with clearing the whole Text, with Explications and Reflections, without departing from his Subject by long Digressions.

The Addition at the latter end of this Volume; containeth several Discourses upon the Scripture, which are none of St. *Augustin's*.

The First is intitled, *Of the Miracles of the Holy Scripture, contained in the Old and New Testament*. One needs only read one or two Periods of this VVork, to be convinced that it is not St. *Augustin's*; so different is the Style thereof from that of this Father: The Author thereof seems to have been either an Englishman or an Irishman. He speaks of the Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea upon the Coasts of the British Islands; and to express the same, he makes use of Terms that were usual in *Bede's* time, he fixes the time where he lived in the 4th. Chapter of the 2d. Book; and speaking of those Islands, he shews, That he wrote after the Year 660. This VVork is divided into Three Books: The First contains the Miracles related in the Historical Books of the Old Testament. The Second, Those that are contained in the Books of the Prophets, and the Last, Those that are mentioned in the New Testament. It is ill written, and of very little use.

The small Discourse of the Benedictions of the Patriarch *Jacob*, belongs not to St. *Augustin* but is a Fragment of *Alcuin's* Questions upon *Genesis*; who took part of it from the Questions upon *Genesis*, and part from the Morals of St. *Gregory*. This very Book is found in the 3d. Book of the Commentary upon *Genesis*, attributed to St. *Eucherius*, Bishop of *Lyons*.

VVe have observed already, speaking of the VVorks of *Hilary* the Deacon, in the *Second Volume* of this *Bibliotheca*, that the Questions upon the Old and the New Testament, are not St. *Augustin's*; and the Conjectures, for which they were ascribed to *Hilary* the Deacon, were there let down: He that desires more Arguments to prove, That they are not St. *Augustin's*, should read the First Part of the *Benedictines* Preface to this Treatise. It remains only, That

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we take notice with them, That in all probability these Questions are not at all written by the same Author. In some Manuscripts there are only the 127 Questions, which were published at St. *Au-* gustin; others have 151. but in these, there are not all those that are in the first Manuscript; and among the rest the 44th. and the 115th. which afforded Conjectures concerning the Age and the Country of their Author. This makes it difficult to affirm any thing certainly concerning the Author of these Questions.

The Explication of the *Apocalypse*, which is the last Book that is added to this Volume of St. *Augustin*, is a Collection of Notes upon the *Revelations*, taken out of the Commentaries of *Viktorinus*, *Primasius*, and *Bede*, and disposed into the Form of Homilies. Those that thought that this was the Commentary of *Tychonius* the *Donatist*, upon the *Revelations*, did not take notice that it was so far from containing things favourable to the *Donatist* Sect; That on the contrary, it refutes their Errors, and particularly that of Rebaptization, in the Sixth Homily upon the *Revelations*, Ver. 11. Neither do we find here, those Explications which *Bede* mentions as written by *Tychonius*; nor the long Dissertation, to prove, That the Angels spoken of in the *Revelations*, are those Churches which *Tychonius* had inserted into his Commentary; as St. *Augustin* observes in the Thirtieth Chapter of the Third Book of *Christian Doctrine*.

The FOURTH TOME.

THE Fourth Tome of St. *Augustin's* Works contains This Father's Explications upon the *Tome IV.* *Palms*; which make too large a Book, to be comprised in one Volume with his other Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. He composed them not in that order wherein we find them, but some at one time, and others at another; and not all after the same manner. Some are Commentaries written in his Study, and the others, which make by far the greater number, are Discourses made to his People. *Cassiodore* observes, That in his time they were divided into Fifteen Decads; this division is not observed at present; and it is not likely that St. *Augustin* made it. St. *Augustin* understanding no Hebrew, followed the Latin Translations made from the Greek Version of the *Septuagint*, to the Text whereof he often refers. In some of these Explications, and particularly, in those that were not written to the People, as the Thirteen first, he only makes Allegorical Notes upon the Text of the *Palms*; but in the rest, he is either very diffuse, and enlargeth much upon Reflections that are not very solid, or else he goeth from his Subject by long Digressions. He professes to explain the Letter, but his literal sense is almost always Spiritual or Moral. If he clears any term, or insists upon the Signification of any word, it is always to extract an Allegory, or something Moral from it. He brings all to Jesus Christ, to the Mysteries of our Religion, and to the Church. The Recompences and Blessings mentioned in the *Palms*, are always in his opinion, Spiritual Recompences and Eternal Blessings. He often gives several senses of the same place, and very frequently makes a digression against the Schism, or the Heresies of his own time; He is full of useless Allusions, ill-grounded Subtilties, and improbable Allegories. His very Moral Thoughts are seldom such as might have been naturally inferred from the Scripture Text; but ordinarily such far-fetch'd Notions as could never fall into the Mind of any Man that should read the Text.

Yet here and there one may meet with lively and fervent Exhortations, which raised his People; and profitable Instructions upon the most important Truths of Religion. So that though this Work cannot pass for a good Commentary upon the *Palms*, yet it may be looked upon as a wonderful Collection of Christian and Moral Notions; and if it be of no great use for those that enquire after the literal sense of the Scripture; yet it will prove very Profitable to Preachers, who desire to fit their Minds with necessary Thoughts and Rules to help them to discharge well that part of their Ministry.

The FIFTH TOME.

MOST of St. *Augustin's* Sermons being Homilies upon the Scripture, they are with a great Tome V. deal of Reason brought in to make up this Volume, which follows immediately after St. *Augustin's* Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. They had hitherto been in great confusion, because new Collections of them were still Printed, as new Sermons were discovered. There was a great number of Supposititious or Doubtful ones among the True; most Editions were full of faults, so that it was necessary; that Persons so exact, learned, and versed in such Matters as these *Benedictines* are, should undertake to set them in order, to distinguish St. *Augustin's* from those that are Supposititious, and to Correct the Text, from the best and ancientest Manuscripts. This they have performed most happily in the Fifth Tome, which containeth all St. *Augustin's* Sermons, placed in very good order, and divided into five Classes. The First containeth 183 Sermons upon several Passages both of the Old and New Testament.

The Second is made up of 88 Sermons upon the great Festivals of the Year. In the Third are 69 upon the Festivals of the Saints.

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The Fourth comprehendeth 23 upon various Subjects, as, The Love of God, Fear, Penance, Contempt of the World, Behaviour of the Clergy, Peace and Concord, Resurrection from the Dead, &c.

The last Classis is composed of such Sermons as cannot be certainly affirm'd to be St. *Augustin's*, though there is no certainty that they are none of his; among these, there are some of which we have more reason to doubt, which are Printed in a smaller Character; there are not above 31 of them.

They have also added at the latter end, Fragments of some other Sermons of St. *Augustin's*, which are taken out of the Collections of *Eusebius*, *Bede*, *Florus*, and *John* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*: Another Fragment, of the Sermon upon the Ascension, and a Sermon of *Heraclius*, a Disciple of St. *Augustin's*.

The Addition contains 317 Spurious Sermons, divided into four Classes, according to the order observed in the true ones; At the Head of each, is a very exact Critick; Several of them are referred to *Celsarius* their true Author; Some are found to belong to *Rhabanus*, and some others are taken out of *Origen's* Homilies, or out of the Works of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Ambrase*, St. *Maximus*, St. *Leo*, *Fauslin*, St. *Gregory*, *Alcuinus*, and *Ivo Carnutesis*.

St. *Augustin's* Sermons are written neither Artificially nor Methodically. They are not regular Orations composed of all their Parts; They are familiar Discourses, spoken without much Preparation; Most of them are very short, and made up of concise Sentences and Phrases; He doth not go to the depth of Points either of Doctrine or Morality, as the Greek Fathers do, but contents himself to speak of them succinctly, and in few words. Interrogations, Antitheses, and Quibbles, are almost all the Figures that he beautifies his Discourse withal; He doth not assert the Truth strongly, nor inculcate it Pathetically; but barely proposes it with agreeable Expressions, and impresses it with some pleasant Thoughts. This kind of Eloquence is much inferior to that of the Greek Orators, but it may be that it relished best with the Men of St. *Augustin's* Age, and agreed with the Genius of the *Africans*; who not only admired his Sermons, but were moved by them. It would not be so now, and I question whether a Sermon of St. *Augustin's* preached in our Pulpits would draw many Auditors: Yet it must be confessed, That few Latin Preachers are to be compared with him; and that if he be much inferior to the St. *Basil*, or the St. *Chrysostom*, he is much above the St. *Maximus*, the St. *Chrysologus*, and several other Latins that came after him. I shall not enter into particulars upon his Sermons, which were both a tedious and an endless Work.

The SIXTH TOME.

Tome VI. THE Sixth Tome of St. *Augustin's* Works contains his Dogmatical Books, upon several Points both of Morality, and Discipline: He begins with some small Treatises, containing Answers to several Questions upon various Subjects.

The First, is a Collection of Answers to 83 Questions, which he resolved, after his return into *Africa*, about the Year 388. and which he Collected after he was a Bishop. These are the Resolutions contained in those 83 Questions, with most of the Principles from whence they are taken:

- I. The Soul is not of its self, nor by its self; since it is not essentially the Truth.
- II. God did not make Man like himself. He is not good by Nature, but by Will; therefore he must be free.
- III. If a Wife Man's Advice never makes another man worse than he was before, Is it credible, That God should make Men more wicked?
- IV. What then may be the Cause of Man's Wickedness? We must seek for it, either in himself, or in others, or in nothing: Consider it well, and you will find, That the Will of Man is the Cause of his Depravation.
- V. Animals have no Knowledge, and therefore cannot be Happy.
- VI. All Corporeal and Spiritual Beings, have a Perfection which makes their Essence: Evil hath none; therefore it is no Being.
- VII. Sometimes we confound the Soul with the Spirit, and sometimes we distinguish them: when the Actions of Man that are common to him with Beasts, are attributed to his Soul, the Spirit cannot be meant by that term; for Beasts have no Reason: and Reason is a necessary Adjunct of a Spirit.
- VIII. The Soul hath no other Motion besides its Will and its Actions; It makes the Body change its place, but changes not her self.
- IX. Our Senses only acquaint us with those Things that are in a perpetual change; Therefore they cannot give us the Knowledge of Eternal and Immoveable Truth.
- X. Whatsoever hath any Perfection cometh from God: Bodies have; Therefore God is the Author of them.
- XI. Jesus Christ was Man; but he is Born of a Virgin: Who can doubt then of his being come to save both Sexes?

XII. God

XII. God may be present, indeed; yet a defiled Soul cannot see him: This Notion is not St. *Augustin's*, but an Heathen's called *Fornicus*; who was afterwards Baptized, and died a Christian; as St. *Augustin* assures us in his *Retractions*.

XIII. Man can tame and dress a Beast; but do we find that Beasts can do the same to Man? XIV. If Christ's Body had been but a Phantome, Christ had deceived us; but he is not capable of so doing.

XV. The Spirit of Man comprehends it self; and knows no infinite Perfection in it self; wherefore it is finite.

XVI. The Time past, is no more; The Future is not yet; Every thing is present with God.

XVII. There should be three Causes of a Creature; That which gives it a Being; That which gives it such a sort of Being; and that which gives it a Love to its Being: Therefore the Cause of it is a Trinity. This Argument is not the most convincing.

XVIII. In Eternity, there is neither time past nor to come, all is present.

XIX. God is no where, and comprehends all things, without being the place of any thing; for he could not be in a place, nor be a place, without being Corporeal.

XX. Since God is the Author of Being, he cannot be the Author of what tends to nothing. Evil tends to nothing; therefore God is not the Author of Evil.

XXI. The only reason why we need any thing, is a defect in our selves; God therefore needs nothing.

XXII. Man is wise, because he partaketh of wisdom; but God is wise through Wisdom it self. It is the same in all other Perfections.

XXIII. If any thing should happen in the World by chance, then there would be no longer Prudence; but there is a necessity of Prudence: for all Beings are perfect, but can no further be so, than as they participate of the Goodness and Perfection of God. God and Man are the Authors of all that is done in the VWorld. Good and Evil depend upon our own VVills.

XXIV. It was the part of VVidom to show that the most shameful Death is not to be feared: And that's one of the Reasons for which Christ endured such a one.

XXV. There are Sins of Weakness, Ignorance and Malice; Weakness is contrary to the Strength of God, Ignorance to his VVidom, and Malice to his Goodness: Thus whosoever knows what God's Strength and VVidom are, may know which are Venial Sins: And whosoever knows God's Goodness, knoweth also what those Sins are which deserve to be punished both in this VVorld and in the next. This well understood, ought to be a Rule whereby to judge what sort of Sinners should be obliged to do Publick Penance, though they confess their Sins; Yet this Rule is very general and very equivocal.

XXVI. God makes use of the VVicked both to punish and to help. Afflictions are an Exercise to the Righteous, and a Punishment to the VVicked. Rest and Peace corrupt the VVicked, and sanctifie the Righteous. God makes use of Men to accomplish the designs of his Providence, though they know it not. VVe act our selves when we follow God's Commandments; but in all other things God guides us by the Springs of his Providence; and we have no share in the Events.

XXVII. VVe should not ask why God would create the VVorld, that were to seek after a Cause of that which is the Cause of all things.

XXVIII. VVhen it is said, *Seek those things that are above*; the meaning is, those things that are great and sublime by their excellency.

XXIX. Man may make use of all things, but he ought only to enjoy God; and the use which he makes of all things, ought to have a Relation to God. Whosoever uses the Creatures otherwise, abuses them.

XXX. This Question is not St. *Augustin's*; it is a definition of Virtue out of *Tully*.

XXXI. Whosoever conceiveth a thing, conceives it as it is; and he who conceives it not as it is, doth not conceive it at all: There are no different degrees of Conception.

XXXII. We are afraid of losing what we love; and we are afraid that we shall not obtain what we desire: If we desire to be without fear, How can we fear that we shall not be freed from fear?

XXXIII. Men should not desire precisely to be free from fear, because rash and stupid Men are without fear: we should have a reason why we are not afraid.

XXXIV. VVe ought to love what we possess, No man can know and love Happiness, without being happy: Happiness therefore is an eternal love and knowledge of a good thing which cannot be taken away from us.

XXXV. To preserve and increase Charity, we must oppose and lessen Lust. This is to be brought by impressing a Dread of God's judgments, to destroy the habit of Sin: After that, we ought to discover both the Beauty and Excellency of Virtue, to manifest the difference betwixt the Old and the New Man; to propose Christ's Life as an Example; to make use of his Exhortations, Instructions, and Promises; to consider the vast number of those that followed and imitated him; to set forth the Virtues both of Saints and of Martyrs, as Patterns; and at last, to oppose Pride and Ambition, and to inspire the fear and the love of God.

I omit the following Questions, because they are obscure, and contain nothing remarkable.

The XLVth. Is against Judicial Atrology.

The XLVith. Is concerning *Plato's Idea*.

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The XLVIIIth. is expressed in these terms. We believe Three sorts of Things. The First, Are such Things as are believed, and not conceived, as History. The Second, Are both believed and conceived at the same time; as the reasonings of Men. The Third, Are Things believed but which are conceived by none but those that have Pure Hearts.

In the LI. Question, He explains in what sense it is said, That Man was created after God's Image and Similitude: And in the LII. he proves, That what is said in *Genesis*, That it repented God to have made Man, is not to be understood literally.

In the LIII. He justifies the Command which God gave the *Jews* to borrow of the *Egyptians* rich Vessels to carry them away *say* laying, That God made use of them to Punish the *Egyptians*: But that from thence it cannot be inferred, That Men may deceive, because the People of *Israel* was not capable of Evangelical Perfection.

The Resolutions of the following Questions, are Mythical and Moral Explications of several Passages both of the Old and of the New Testament.

The LXXX. Is against the Error of the *Apollinarianists*.

The two Books of Questions directed to *Simplicianus* Bishop of *Milan*, who succeeded *St. Ambrose* in the Year 337. are the first which *St. Augustin* writ, after he was made a Bishop. In the first, he discourses upon two Passages of the Epistle to the *Romans*, upon what is said, *Ch. 7.* of the man, who being under the Law, doth not what the Law requireth: And upon what is written in the 9th. Chapter, of *Jacob's* being call'd, and *Esa's* being rejected. He proves in this First Book with great strength, the Necessity of Grace to every Good Work, even in that of the Gift of Perseverance, That he began then to see clearly into those Matters which he had not taken right in his former Books. Yet he understands the first Passage in the *Annals* of a man under the Law, who is yet without Grace; whereas he believed afterwards, that it was rather to be understood of that man, who being Spiritual in his Superior part, finds himself carnal, by the desires and motions of the Inferior.

The Second Book contains the Resolution of Five Questions, about particular Passages in the Old Testament. The First is, of what Spirit that which is said in the First Book of *Kings*, of the Spirit of God entered into *Saul*, is to be understood. Whether it was the Holy Ghost, or the Evil Spirit, wherewith he was possessed afterwards? After several Reflections and Digressions, filled at first with the Spirit of God for a time, and afterwards was possessed with an evil Spirit, *Yea*, he thinks, That *Saul* had a Spirit of Prophecy at the time when he persecuted *David*, and he proves, That this Gift of the Holy Ghost may be found in Wicked Men.

The Second Question is upon those words attributed to God in the First Book of *Kings*, *Ch. 15.* *It repenteth me that I have set up Saul*. How God's Repenting can agree with his Precedence: that of Men is; it is only an Alteration of Will. This Question puts him upon discouraging of God's Knowledge.

The Third Question is about the Story of the Witch of *Endor*. *St. Augustin* does not decide whether it was the Soul of *Samuel*, or a Phantome that appeared to *Saul*; he thinks the latter to be more probable.

Both the other Questions are about two Passages in the Books of *Kings*, which have not much difficulty.

The last is concerning the Spirit of Error, whereby God permitted King *Ahab* to be deceived.

Dulcitius, a Tribune in *Africa*, having proposed Eight Questions to *St. Augustin*, about some Matters which he had already treated of, he Collected in this Book, which he sent in Answer to his Questions, what he had said in his other Works.

The First Question was, Whether the Baptized that die in Sin, shall at any time be delivered from Damnation? *St. Augustin* answereth, No; and expounds a Passage of *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. Ch. 3. v. 11.* where he speaks of the Fire which is to Purifie the Faithful, by consuming by Fire, that Affliction in this Life which Purifies the Faithful from light Sins. He adds, That fore they are cleansed from such light Sins: But he affirms, That none can believe without Impiety, that this can be apply'd to such as die with the guilt of those Sins that exclude Men from the Kingdom of God. This Answer is taken out of his Book of Faith.

The Second Question of Works, hath great relation to the former. It was demanded, Whether the Oblations and Prayers that are made for the Dead avail them any thing? *St. Augustin* Answers what he had said already in his Book concerning the Care that ought to be taken of the Dead, That the Oblations and Prayers are profitable to those who deserved in their Lifetime, "That in all that time, between Death and the last Resurrection, the Souls shall be detained in secret and hidden places, where they shall either enjoy Rest, or suffer Pain, according as they have deserved, when they were in the World: That Souls in that Condition, are refreshed by the Piety of the Living: when the Sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them, or Alms

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are given in the Church in their behalf. But, saith he, That availeth only them, who in their Life-time deserved by their Actions, that these things should be available to them, when they are out of the World. . . . Thus when the Sacrifices of the Altar are offered, or Alms given for all the Dead that were baptized, they become Thanksgivings for them that were extremely good; They are Intercessions for those that were not great Sinners: And if these things do not ease those that were very wicked, yet they Administer Comfort to the Living.

The Third Question is, Whether all Men shall Die before the Day of Judgment? *St. Augustin* answereth, no; according to what he had said before in the 193d. Letter to *Mercator*; He confesses, That this is a difficult Question.

The other Five Questions are upon some hard Passages of Scripture; He repeats those Explications which he had given in his other Books. This Book was Composed after the *Enchiridion* that was written in 421. and before the Book of *Retractations* written in 427. Which shews, That it must necessarily belong to the Years between; yet the Date of *Easter* of the Year wherein this Book was written, which is at the beginning, should regularly fall in the Year 430, or 419. wherefore there must have been a Mistake in the Cypher.

The final Treatise concerning the belief of these things which are not conceived, is placed again in this Volume, among the Treatises that are really *St. Augustin's*; though the *Lowain* Doctors after *Erasmus*, had put it among the Spurious Books. *St. Augustin* does not mention it in his *Retractations*; but he doth in the 231st. Letter to Count *Darius*; and it is written in his Style, and is very worthy of him. He shews there, That many things are believed, though they are not seen. He particularly urges the Example of Friendship, and good Wives which are believed without being seen. Whence he concludes, That if that Faith is taken away, which makes us believe things that we see not, Society would be utterly overthrow. He confesseth, That to believe a thing, we ought to have some Marks that such thing is: But he affirms, That we believe not in Jesus Christ, without sufficient Proofs of his Authority; That the Church alone is a constant and visible Proof of the Truth of his Doctrine; since we see that accomplished which Christ and the Prophets foretold. That none can doubt of the Truth of the Prophetical Books, since the Jews, who were the Christians great Enemies, preserved them; who also are unquestionable Witnesses of their Antiquity. He concludes this Discourse with a short Exhortation to the New Christians, to keep the Faith of the Church inviolable. What is said in the 10th. Chapter concerning the demolishing of the Temples, shews, That this Treatise was Written, and Composed after *Emperius* his Law, that was dated in 399.

It has been observed already, That *St. Augustin* being yet but a Priest, expounded the Creed in a Council of *African* Bishops assembled at *Hippo*. This Discourse which he afterwards put in Writing, as he declares in his *Retractations*, contains an exact Exposition of the Articles of the Creed. We have it here entitled, *Of Faith and the Creed*.

In the Book of Faith and Good Works, *St. Augustin* refutes several Errors which he had read in some Books that had been sent to him. There it was affirmed, 1. That all were to be admitted to Baptism who desired to be baptized, without any Examination. 2. That it was sufficient to instruct them in the Articles of Faith, though they were not taught the Rules of Manners till after they had received the Sacrament. 3. That what Crime soever a baptized Christian might commit, and in what Condition soever he might die, yet he should be infallibly saved, after he had passed through the Fire. *St. Augustin* declares against the first Proposition, That though the Wicked are to be tolerated in the Church, yet Correction was not to be neglected, nor the Discipline of the Church suffered to relax. He confesses however, That Sinners ought to be reproved with Meekness and Charity. Against the Second Proposition, he teacheth, That Sinners who persevered in their Wickedness, were by no means to be admitted to Baptism: Showing, That the Holy Scripture requireth Repentance before Baptism; That *St. John* gave Precepts concerning Manners to those which he baptized; and that this is the Temper of the Church, which appointed the Times and Ceremonies observed by the *Catechumens*, for no other end, but to be sure, that they are well-disposed to receive the Sacrament of Baptism. Lastly of all, *St. Augustin* proves against the Third Error, That whosoever dieth in the State of Mortal Sin, without Repentance, is eternally Damned: And he Answers the place of *St. Paul*, that was alleged to prove the contrary. This Treatise was Composed in 413. after the Book of the Spirit and the Letter. *Governius* supposeth, That *St. Jerom* is the Person whom *St. Augustin* disputes with in this Book. But he cannot suspect that Father as guilty of either the first or the second Error: And it is altogether unlikely that it should be *St. Jerom*, whom *St. Augustin* refuteth concerning the third.

The *Enchiridion*, or Treatise of Faith, Hope, and Charity, was written at the Request of *Laurentius*, a great Lord of *Rome*, and Brother to *Dulcitius*; who had desired *St. Augustin*, to send him a small Book, containing an Abridgment of the Christian Religion. To satisfy him, *St. Augustin* dedicated to him this Book; wherein he reduceth all Religion to the Vertues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, because a Man knoweth all that is comprised in Religion, when he knows what is to be Believed, what is to be Hoped for, and what is to be Loved. He explains what is to be Believed, by keeping to the Method of the Creed, refuting the Errors, and Heresies that are contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, without naming their Authors. He layeth down also most excellent Maxims, such as these: That Faith does not stop at a curious Inquiry after Natural Things; That Errors of Right are more dangerous than Errors of Fact;

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fast; That all Extreme are to be avoided; and that there are some Things, which it signifies little whether they are known or not. He enlargeth much upon Original Sin; upon the Fall of Man; and Argues in proof, the Necessity of a Mediator; of Baptism; and Grace; upon the Distinction of Venial and Mortal Sins; upon the Eternity, and the Inequality of the Pains of the Damned; upon the Extent of the VVill of God to save Men; upon Free-Will; and upon the State of Souls till the Day of Judgment. Having thus explained what concerns Faith, he comes to Hope; and he saith, (Like Christians ought to Hope in God alone; and that what-ever we Hope for, is comprehended in the Lord's Prayer, upon which he makes some Reflections. Lastly, he treateth of Charity; without which he pretends, that no Man can be righteous. To which he refers all the Commandments of God, and Advice of the Gospel. This Book was written after St. Jerome's Death, who dyed in 420. as is plain by the 87th Chapter, where St. Augustin speaks of him as one dead.

The Book, intitled, *The Confession of a Christian*; has much the same Design with the foregoing. St. Augustin composed it soon after he was a Bishop, in a plain Style, that it might be the more proper to instruct the Doctrine, and Precepts of Christian Religion into those Christians who were not Skillful in the Latin Tongue. He exhorts them, at first, to fight against the Devil: Then he shews, That Man gets the Victory over him, when they overcome their Passions, and bring their Bodies under Subjection; which is only done by submitting to God, to whom every Creature ought to be subject, either Willingly, or out of Necessity. He adds, That in this Combat, Man is armed with Faith, and with the Affurances which Christ merited for us by his Death. At last, he runs through the Articles of the Creed, and refutes the contrary Heresies.

This Book of *Instruction for those that have no Knowledge of our Religion*, was written at the Request of a Deacon of Carthage, who desired of St. Augustin, Rules, and a Method to Catechize his People acceptably, and usefully. The Father comforts him at the beginning, upon his being, very often, not pleas'd with his own Discourses, since it sometimes happens, that a Discourse which displeases the speaker, is very acceptable to the Hearers. He adviseth him to teach them cheerfully, and not to be tired with it; and then furnishes him with Rules how to instruct them right in their Religion. He saith, in the first place, That perfect Instruction should begin at the Creation of the World, and end with the present Age of the Church: For, for this, there is no need of learning by heart; or reciting all the Books of the Bible; one needs only chuse the best, the most admirable, and most diverting Passages. He layeth down in the second place, his usual Rule. That every thing ought to be referred to Charity. That Care must be taken, that the Auditor may believe what is spoken; Hope what he Believes, and Love what he Hopes for. And he would have him inspired with a wholesome Fear of God's Judgments, and kept from all prospects of temporal Interest, and Advantages that he might have by being a Christian. He observes, That the same Method is not to be followed with the Learned, as with the Ignorant; and he lays down very prudent Rules how they are to be dealt withal. He sheweth what Things commonly tire the Hearers; and he gives excellent Remedies how they may be avoided; and at last, makes Two instructive Speeches, one pretty long, the other shorter, both compos'd with a great deal of Art, to serve for an Example, or Pattern of such Instructions as ought to be given. This Treatise shews, That to instruct Men well in Religion, is an harder Task than most Men imagine; and that the Method, formerly us'd, was nobler, and larger, than that which is now observ'd. This Book is of the Year 400, or thereabouts.

Though St. Augustin does not mention his Treatise of Continency in the Review of his Works, yet he owns it in the 269d. Epistle; and *Possidius* reckons it among his VVorks. This Book is a Discourse upon these VVords of the 14th. Psalm. *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, and keep the Doors of my Lips. O let not my Heart be inclined to any evil Thing; let me not be occupied in ungodly Works, with the Men that work Wickedness.* He shews, That true Continency consists in suppressing one's Passions; and he recommends the Necessity of Grace to overcome them. He speaks against the Proud who excuse their Sins, and particularly against the *Manichees*, who charged their Sins upon an evil Nature that was in them. This Sermon is thought to be of the Year 395, or thereabouts.

Both the following Treatises are written against the Error of *Jovinian*. This Enemy of Virginity had drawn aside several Roman Virgins from their Design of continuing so, and persuaded them to marry; saying to them, *Are you better than Sathana, or Anna, or so many other Holy Women?* Though *Jovinian's* Opinion was rejected at Rome, yet this *Heretic's* Difficulties gave out, That none could refuse him without condemning Marriage. To undeceive those that were of this Opinion, St. Augustin writ a Book, intitled, *Of the Advantage of Matrimony*, before he undertook to speak of the Excellency of Virginity. Wherein he saith first, That the Union between the Husband and the Wife, is the most Ancient, and the most Natural. After that, he examineth a Question, rather Curious, than Useful, namely, How Men could have had Children, had they persisted in the State of Innocence. He observes a Four-fold Advantage in Marriage: The Society of both Sexes, the Procreation of Children, the good Life of Lust, which is regulated by a Prospect of having Children, and the Fidelity which Husband and Wife preserve towards each other. He saith, That every Union between a Woman and a Man, is not Marriage. He doth not think, That this Name is to be given to that Union, whose

whose aim was only to satiate their brutish Passion, if they endeavour'd to prevent their having Children. He declares, That Man guilty of Adultery, who should abuse a Virgin, when St. Augustin has a Design of marrying another: As for the Young Woman, he judgeth her guilty of Sin, but not of Adultery, if she is true to that Man, and Designs not to marry when he leaveth her: Nay, he prefers her before several married VVomen, who abuse Matrimony by their Intemperance. He doth not excuse from venial Sin, either the Man, or the VVoman, who have another Prospect in Marriage, than the begetting of Children. In a word, he distinguishes Three Things in Marriage: The Fidelity which married Persons owe one to the other, which is of natural Right; the Procreation of Children, which ought to be the end of Marriage; and the Sacrament, or mysterious Signification, which makes it indissoluble: For which Reason he determines, That though humane Laws permit a Man to marry again, when he is divorced from a former Wife, yet it is not Lawful for Christians, to whom St. Paul forbids it. He concludes, That Marriage is of it self a good Thing, but one of those good Things which we should not look after, but in order to a greater Good, or to avoid a great Evil. That before Christ, the most Continent might marry to multiply that People from whom the *Messiah*, was to be born; but now, as many as are able to contain, do well not to marry. That for this Reason, Men were permitted formerly to have several Wives, and never Women to have several Husbands, but now no Man is to have more than one Wife. That the Gospel-Purity is so great in this Point, That a Deacon was not to be ordained, who had ever had more than one Wife. He approves their Opinion, who understand this Maxim in its whole Extent, and without Restriction, as St. Jerome doth by excepting those who contracted a former Marriage before Baptism: For, saith he, Baptism doth indeed remit Sins; but here the Question is not concerning a Sin. And as a young Woman that hath been defiled when she was a *Catechumen*, cannot be consecrated as a Virgin after Baptism, even so it hath been thought reasonable, that the Man who hath had more than one Wife, whether before, or after Baptism, should be looked upon as wanting one necessary Qualification for Orders.

In answer to *Jovinian's* Objection, he distinguishes the Habit from the Action of Vertue: This being Premis'd, he saith, That the old Patriarchs had an Habit of Continency, but did not practise it, because it was not convenient to do it in their time; and so, when the Question is put to a Man that is not married, Are you more perfect than *Abraham*? he ought to answer, No; but Virginity is more perfect than conjugal Chastity: Now *Abraham* was endu'd with both these Vertues; for he had the Habit of Continency, and exercis'd conjugal Chastity. He adds, That Persons are to be distinguished from Vertues: One Person may have one Vertue in a higher Degree than another, and yet be less Holy, because he hath not other Vertues in the same Degree. Thus a disobedient Virgin is less to be esteem'd than a married Woman, with the Vertue of Obedience. Last of all, he exhorts Virgins not to be lifted up, because of the Excellency of their Condition, but to be constant in Humility.

The Book of *Holy Virginity*, came out presently after that of *the Advantage of Matrimony*. St. Augustin shews there, That Virginity is one of the most excellent Gifts of God, and that Humility is necessary to preserve it. He exalteth the Excellency of Virgins consecrated to God, by the Example of the Virginity of the Mother of God, who, according to him, had made a Vow of Continency before the Angel appeared to her. He refutes those that condemn Matrimony, and those that compare it with Celibacy. He does not think that Virginity is of Command, but of Advice: It should not be chosen as a thing necessary to Salvation, but as a state of greater Perfection. And this he proves by several Passages of Scripture, and explains a Passage of St. Paul, from which some concluded, that he recommended Virginity merely upon account of the Advantage of this present Life. He asserts also, That Virgins shall have a particular Reward in Heaven. At last, he exhorts them to Humility; proposing several convincing Reasons, and powerful Motives, to inspire them with it. Then he recommends to them, above all things, the Love of their Divine Spouse, and speaks of him in a very moving manner: "Behold (saith he to them) the Beauty of your Spouse! Think that he is Equal with his Father, and yet he was willing to submit himself to his Mother: He is a King in Heaven, and a Slave upon Earth: He is the Creator of all things, and yet he ranked himself among the Creatures. Consider both the Greatness and the Beauty of that which the Proud look upon with Contempt: Behold with the Eyes of Faith the Wounds which he received upon the Cross, the Blood of the dying God, who is the Price of our Redemption, and the Cause of our Salvation. . . He seeketh only the inward Beauty of your Soul: He gave you the power to become his Daughters: He desires not the Handfomness of the Body, but Purity of Manners. None can deceive him, nor make him be jealous of you; and you may love him without fear of ever displeasing him upon account of false Suspensions." Both this and the foregoing Books were written in the Year 401.

They did well to join unto this the Book that treats of *the Advantages of Widowhood*, which *Erasmus* and others had inconsiderately rejected, as a Work that was none of St. Augustin's. St. Augustin, indeed, takes no notice of it in his *Retractions*; but that's not to be wonder'd at, because it is only a Letter to *Juliana*, which *Possidius* put into his Catalogue. * [Who this Philo is, I don't know; it seems to be a Fault of the Press: *Philo Carpianus*, mention'd in the last Volume, dy'd several Years before St. Augustin wrote this Letter to *Juliana*.]

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gustin's are quoted. This Book is an Instruction for Widows. He asserts there, That Widowhood is to be preferred before Marriage: Yet he doth not condemn Second Marriages, nor Third and Fourth; but only says, That's a great Crime to Marry after the Vow of Virginity; though he judges those Marriages to be good and valid, and blames those who look upon them as adulterous. The Practice of the Church at that time was, To put them under Penance who Married after vowing Virginity; but their Marriages were not yet declared void, as is plain by the Sixteenth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, and by several other Testimonies of the Ancients. The rest of this Letter is full of Instructions to *Juliana*, and her Daughter *Demetria*, who had already made Profession of Virginity, as it is observed in the 19th. Chapter: And of this small Treatise is of the Year 414. He bids them beware of the *Pelagian Errors*.

In both the Books *Of Marriages* which cannot be excused from *Adultery*, St. *Augustin* handleth this nice and Difficult Question, Whether it be lawful either for the Man or the Woman to Marry after Divorce on the Account of Fornication? *Pollentius*, to whom these Books are directed, believed, That the Exception of the Case of Adultery, which we find in *St. Matthew's Gospel*, was no less to be understood of a Permission to Marry again, than of a Separation of Bodies: so that a Husband might not only leave his adulterous Wife, but also take another when he was divorced from the first. St. *Augustin* affirms on the contrary, That a Woman thus divorced, ought never to Marry again, no more than the Husband who caused her to be divorced. This whole Dispute depends upon the Sense of that Passage in *St. Matthew*, which excepteth the cause of Fornication; and upon that of *St. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. which faith, That the Bond of Matrimony is indissoluble but by the Husband's Death; and that if the Wife is married to another while he liveth, she committeth Adultery. St. *Augustin* enlarges much upon the Sense of these two Passages. He endeavours to make the first to agree with his Opinion, which he groundeth especially upon the second. He answereth *Pollentius's* Arguments, and uses several Reasonings, upon the Matter. He confesses in his *Retractions*, That he had not yet cleared that Point, but that there are some considerable Difficulties besides, though he had given Light enough to resolve them.

He further explaineth in the 1st. Book, another Passage in the same Epistle of *St. Paul*, concerning the Dissolution of Marriage between Infidels. *Pollentius* held, That *St. Paul* absolutely forbids Believing Husbands to put away their Unbelieving Wives: Whereas St. *Augustin* affirms, That it is only an Advice that he gives them, Not to use the liberty they have to separate. He concludes this Book with another Question concerning the Catechumens, who fall into such Distresses as take away their Speech and Knowledge, VWhether they should be Baptized or no? He faith, That they ought to be Baptized; though he doth not condemn those very Catechumens may be Baptized, who are known to be in a habit of Sin, and who ought not to be admitted to Baptism at another time. He adds, That Penitents are to be dealt withal after the same manner, and they should not be suffered to Die before they are reconciled. In the 2d. Book, he treateth more at large than in the First, *Of the Indissolubility of Marriages*, and examines several Questions upon that Subject. He concludes with an Exhortation to Husbands that have left their Wives, to live in Contineny; alleging the Example of Church-men, who abstain so religiously, though they often were forced to take that Profession upon them against their Wills. The rank which St. *Augustin* sets these two Books in, in his *Retractions*, shews that he composed them in the Year 419.

The two next Books are concerning *Lying*. There St. *Augustin* handleth this Question, which was very famous in his time, *Whether a Lie may be used upon some Occasions?* He confesseth in the 1st. Book, entituled, *Of Lying*, and written in 395. That this is a perplexing Question, often disturbing Consciences; and that there seem to be some Occasions, when in Civility; and sometimes, out of Charity, officious Lies may be lawful. He says that he will forthwith examine the Question; that he may find out some Light in so obscure a Matter; and that at last he will declare for the Truth; being persuaded, That though he were mistaken in so doing, yet his Mistake would prove less dangerous; because Error can never do less mischief, than when Men are deceived by a great Love of the Truth, and by opposing Falshood with too much Zeal.

After this Preface, he defines what *Lying* is. He confesses, That Ironies are not Lies; That every Untruth which a Man may speak, is not a Lie, if Men believe that what they say is True: and, That to Lie, is to speak what we do not think, with a design to deceive. VWhereupon he examines this subtle Question, VWhether a Man speaking what he knoweth to be false, because he is sure that he to whom he speaks will not believe it, tells a Lie? And on the other side, VWhether a Man that speaketh a Truth, with a design to deceive him whom he speaks to, because he knows that he will not believe him, is free from Lying? St. *Augustin* faith, That neither of these can be taxed with Lying; because the one design'd to persuade the Truth, by telling an Untruth; and the other spake the Truth, to persuade a Falshity: but neither can be excused from Imprudence and Rashness. Then he comes to the Question which he proposed to himself, VWhether a Man might Lie upon some Occasions? Those that held the Affirmative, alleged several Examples of Lies, which seem to be both approved and commended in the Old Testament, and added a Reason from Common Sense. Should any one (said they) see to your House for shelter, and it is in your power to save him from Death, by telling a Lie,

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would you see him unjustly murdered, rather than tell a Lie? If a sick Man asketh you a Question about something that he must not know; yea, supposing that he will be the worse if you give him no Answer; would you then utter a Truth that might occasion Death? or *St. Augustin* will you keep silence, when you may ease him by telling a charitable Lie? St. *Augustin* opposes to these Reasons those Passages of Holy Scripture which forbid Lying without restriction, and then answereth the Examples out of the Old Testament; That the Righteous who seem to have Layed, did not intend that what they said should be understood in the usual sense, but that by a Prophetical Spirit they meant to discover those things that were signified by those Figures; as for other Persons which are not in the number of the Righteous, the Holy Scripture never approves their Actions, but by comparing it with a greater Evil. He affirms, That there is no Example of Lying in the New Testament, and endeavours to answer the Inferences which they pretend to draw from the Instances of the Dispute betwixt *St. Peter* and *St. Barnabas*, and betwixt *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as well as from the Circumcising of *Timothy*. Lastly, That he might put an End to all the Reasons alleged from Necessity or Advantage, he maintains, That we must never do Evil, what Advantage soever we may get by it: That so the whole Question is, Whether Lying be Evil or no? And not, Whether it is sometimes Profitable? VVhence he concludes, That no Lie is to be told, either to preserve our Chastity or our Life, or for the Good of others, or for any other reason whatsoever; not for the Eternal Salvation of our Neighbour, because that Sin cannot be imputed to a Man, which he cannot prevent but by committing himself another Sin. To explain what he had said more at large, he reckons up Eight sorts of Lies; and having laid this down for a Rule: That we must depend altogether upon Gospel-Precepts, he enlargeth upon those that make against Lying.

The Second Book *against Lying*, is written upon the same Principles, but long after the First; for St. *Augustin* wrote it in 420, at the Request of *Consentius*, who asked him, Whether it was not lawful to make use of Lies, to discover the *Priscillianists*, who concealed their Error by Lying, and horrid Execrations? St. *Augustin* condemns not only the Practice of the *Priscillianists*, but also the Zeal of the *Catholics*, who made use of Lies to discover the Men of that Sect. He positively condemns the *Catholics's* Action, who feigned themselves *Priscillianists*, more than that of the *Priscillianists*, who feigned themselves *Catholics*. From hence he takes an opportunity to enter upon the general Question concerning Lying; and he affirms, That it is never allowed upon any Pretence whatsoever; because whatsoever is Sin in its own Nature, can never be rectified by any good Intention. He shews, by the Examples of *David*, and *Laz*, that we are not always to imitate the Actions of Righteous Men. He executeth *Abraham*, and *Isaac* from Lying. As for *Jacob's* Action, he faith, it was no Lie, but a Mystery: That there is no Example of any Lie in the New Testament, because Tropes, Parables, and Figures, cannot be called Lies, no more than what is said of Jesus Christ; that in his Discourse with the Pilgrims, who went to *Emmaus*, he made as though he would have gone further; that we are no more to imitate *Thamar's* Lie, than *Juda's* Fornication; that God rewarded not the Lie of the Egyptian Midwives, but their Compassion towards the Israelites Children. The same must be said of *Rahab's* Action. In one word; These Examples of Lies taken out of the Old Testament, are no Lies, or if they be, they cannot be excused. Lastly, Whatsoever Pretence they may have, Men are never permitted to betray the Truth for any Advantage, how great soever it may be, because they are never allowed to sin. And indeed, as St. *Augustin* observes once again, It is a very dangerous thing to allow Lying upon some occasions, because this Maxim may be stretched too far, and upon the same Principles, Perjury, and Blasphemy may in time be allowed.

St. *Augustin* confesses, in his *Retractions*, that both these Treatises are very intricate; and that he had a Design himself to suppress them.

The Book *Of the Business of Monks*, is an excellent Satyr against some Monks, who thought themselves exempted from working with their Hands, because Christ hath said, That we should take no care for the Morrow, and so contented themselves with Praying, Reading, and Singing. St. *Augustin* opposes to them both the Example, and the Authority of *St. Paul*, who plainly says, *That whosoever will not Work, ought not to Eat*. He refutes the false Distinctions which they made to shift it off. He proves, That the true Sense of that Passage of the Gospel which they quoted, did not exempt Men from Working, but only banished the Ingratitude of worldly Men; that to labour with ones Hands is not inconsistent with Prayer; that it is so far from being unworthy of the Monastical State, that it is part of it: For, faith he, if a Rich Man makes himself a Monk, what can there be more perfect, than having quitted great Estates, to be obliged to Labour to get Necessaries. And if this new Convert be Poor, and of mean Condition, would not that be a criminal Nicety, to desire to live more at Ease in a Monastery, than he did before in the World? Afterwards he draws the Picture of those idle Monks, whom he calls Hypocrites in Monastical Habits, with whom the Devil hath overspread the World. They travel (saith he) from Province to Province, without any Mission; they have no fixed Habitation, and abide in no place; they continually alter their Situation: Some carry Relicks about, (if they be Relicks,) and make an Advantage of them: Others take much upon them, by reason of their Habit and Profession: Some say they are going to see their Kindred; who, as they have heard, dwell in such a Country: But they all beg, and take it ill if you give them not, either

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to supply the Wants of such a Poverty as enricheth them, or to Recompence a seeming and counterfeit Honesty. EXIGUNT AUT. SUMPTUS LUCROSE EGESTATIS AUT. SIMULATA PRETIUM SANCITATIS. Lastly, St. *Augustin* compares his own Condition with that of the Monks; affirming, That he would chuse the Life of a Regular Monastery, to work at certain hours with his Hands, and to have others for Prayer and pious Reading, rather than to be subject to the Fatigues of Office, and to be continually entangled with the secular Business of other Men. Towards the latter end, he laughs at the fancy of those Monks who would never cut their Hair. Nothing is more pleasing than the Answer which they made to that Passage of the Apostle, where he forbids Men to let their Hair grow. This (said they) is spoken for Ordinary Men, but not for those that have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven. St. *Augustin* makes Sport with that ridiculous Notion of the Monks; showing them, That they are Men as well as others. This Book is in the *Retractions*, among those that were written about the Year 400.

The next Book is concerning the *Predictions of Demons*; wherein St. *Augustin* explains how they may Imagine and Foretell things, and how they often Mistake: shewing at the same time, That Religion permits us not to Consult with them. He supposes that *Demons* have very subtle Bodies. This small Treatise was composed in an *Easter-Week*, of some of the Years betwixt 406, and 411.

The Book of the Care which they ought to have of the Dead, was written to answer that Question which St. *Paulinus*, Bishop of *Nola*, had proposed to St. *Augustin* in the Year 421. namely, Whether a dead Man was any thing the better for being buried in the Church of some holy Martyr. To this Question is added another, *To what purpose are the Church's Prayers for the Dead, seeing that according to the Apostle's Maxim, All Men shall be judged according to what they have done in this Life?* St. *Augustin* answereth, That the Book of *Maccabees* establishes the Custom of Praying for the Dead; and, That though nothing of it were found in the Old Testament, yet the Custom of the Church is sufficient to authorize that Practice, which is done in the Administration of the Eucharist. He is persuaded, That the Honour of Burial doth neither Good nor Hurt to the Soul of the dead Person; but yet that this Duty is to be paid to the Dead, as a Testimony of the Respect which is due to the Memory of pious Persons: That to be buried in a Martyrs Church, doth nothing of it self; but it serves to put the Faithful in mind of Praying for the Dead, because the Devotion for the Martyr increaseth the Fervency of Prayer. But that commonly the Care of decent Burial proceeds from the Respect which Men have for the Body: That Martyrs had Reason to lay aside that Care: That the Scripture commends those that are careful to bury the Dead, because it is a Token of their Tenderness and Affection towards their Brethren. St. *Augustin* speaks afterwards concerning Apparitions of the Dead, by Dreams or otherwise; and having mention'd several Examples, he examineth how they come to pass. He thinks it more rational, to attribute them to the working of Angels, who form those Ideas in the Imagination, than to the Souls of the Dead. He does not believe that they are present, or that they take any notice at that time of the things that are done, but that they are acquainted with them afterwards, either by Angels, or by the Souls of those that are dead; or last of all, by the Inspiration of God. And by this last means, he believes that the Martyrs come to know the Necessities of the Faithful, and to hear their Prayers. He does not question but Martyrs help the Living; but he knows not whether they do it by themselves, or whether God doth it by Angels, at their Request. He confesseth, That we cannot know by which of these means, or whether by both, the Martyrs work Miracles.

He concludes, That of all that is done for the Dead, nothing availeth them where they are but the Offering of the Eucharist, Prayers and Almsdeeds: That these things are not useful to all, but only to such as deserved in their life-time, to reap Benefit by them after their death: That however, these things are performed for all Christians that were Baptized, because we cannot distinguish who shall be the better for it or not: That it is better that they should be superfluous to some, than that they should be wanting to others: That these Duties are with Reason more exactly performed for our Friends and Kindred, that we may receive the same Assistance from our other Relations: That the Decency of Burial availeth nothing to the Salvation of the Dead, but it is a Duty of Humanity which is not to be neglected.

The *Discourse of Patience*, is one of those that St. *Augustin* mentions in the 231st Letter. He treateth there of that Virtue rather Dogmatically than Pathetically. He takes notice at first, That God's Patience is of another nature from that of Men, because he cannot suffer. Then he distinguishes True Patience, which is a Virtue, from the Counterfeit, which is a Vice. Ambitious Men, Covetous, Luxurious Men, and Robbers, endure patiently extremity of Pain and Misery; yet want the Virtue of Patience, because they suffer upon an ill account. None but such as suffer for a good Cause, can be said to be truly Patient. But if wicked Men endure all things for the Goods of this World, What ought not the Righteous to suffer for Eternal Life? Then he proposes the Examples both of *Job* and of the Martyrs; to the which he opposes the Impatience of the *Donatists*, who killed themselves, that they might be accounted Martyrs; shewing, That Self-Murder is a greater Sin than Murdering of another; "For (saith he) a Parricide is more guilty than a Man-slayer, because he kills a Person that is nearer to him than other Men: By the same reason, he must be thought the greater Sinner who kills himself; because none are so near to us as our selves." Lastly, He maintains, That True Patience is not from

from our own strength, but from God's help; because true Patience is grounded upon Charity, which is the Gift of God. This puts St. *Augustin* upon discoursing of Grace, and proving that it is not given to our Merits; but that it prevents them, and goeth before Faith it self, which is the beginning of all good Works. This short Discourse was written about the Year 418.

Of the Four following Sermons upon the Creed, there is none but the first which comes near St. *Augustin*'s Stile, as it is observed in the Preface. It contains a clear and succinct Explication of the Articles of the Creed. He saith upon the Article of the Church, That there is but one only true Catholick Church, which opposes all Heresies, and can never be overcome. Upon the Article of the Forgiveness of Sins, he distinguisheth two sorts of Sins, Light and Great Sins; Baptism remitteth both. After Baptism, Light Sins, from which no man can be absolutely free, are remitted by the Lord's Prayer: But great Sins, as Adultery, and other Enormous Crimes, cannot be remitted but by an humbling Penance. In this Creed we find the Article of Everlasting Life, which gives Grounds of suspicion, that this Discourse is none of St. *Augustin*'s; because this Article is not in the Book of Faith, and the Creed, which is certainly his.

The *Benedictines* have Reason to Print the Three other Sermons upon the same Subject, in a small Character, and to observe as they do, that they are written in a very different Stile from St. *Augustin*'s; yet they believe them to be ancient, and written by some Disciple of St. *Augustin*, during the *Vandals* Persecution against the Catholicks, which is mentioned in the Second Sermon.

They likewise put into the same rank Three other Sermons, which they believe to belong to the same Author; The Sermon of the Fourth Day of the Week, Or, Of the Dressing of the Lord's Vineyards; A Discourse concerning the Flood, and the Sermon of the Time of the Barbarians' Persecution; which they have also Printed in a small Character.

They have left the Sermon of the New Song under St. *Augustin*'s Name; but they lay in the Preface, That they doubted whether it was his. They might have passed the same Censure of the Sermon of Discipline, and that of the Usefulness of Fasting; which I cannot find to be any more than the others of St. *Augustin*'s Stile: Nay, I scarce believe, That the Sermon of the taking of the City of Rome, which is the last in this Volume, is truly St. *Augustin*'s; yet every man is left to judge as he pleases, that shall read it.

The Treatises which you find in the Supplement, are certainly none of St. *Augustin*'s: The *Benedictines* have made an exact Critick of them in their Prefaces, and have Collected all that could be said or guess'd at concerning their Authors.

The first is a Collection of One and twenty Questions, gather'd without any Order by a very Ignorant Author. Most of them are about Philosophical Matters, and composed of Extracts out of several of St. *Augustin*'s Books.

The Sixty five following Questions and Answers, which are found in some Manuscripts under *Origen*'s and St. *Augustin*'s Names, are in a better order than the former, and concerning more Theological Matters; but they are Extracts out of several Passages: The first Twelve are taken out of a Treatise falsely attributed to St. *Augustin*, Concerning the Trinity and Unity of God. Most of them that follow, are Extracts out of St. *Eucherius*. Some are out of St. *Augustin*'s Treatise upon Genesis. They end with a Citation of a Passage of St. *Augustin* against those who desire to be Bishops, that they might Command, taken out of the 19th. Chapter of the 19th. Book of the City of God; which is quoted as of a Father ancients than himself: One of the Fathers, saith he, hath said very elegantly, against those that desire to Command: Let those, saith he, who would Command rather than Serve others, know, that they are not Bishops.

The Book of Faith to Peter, belongs to St. *Fulgentius*, to whom it is ascribed in a Manuscript of Corby, above One thousand Years old, as well as in another later. It is cited under his Name by *Ratramnus*, in his Treatise of the Body and Blood of Christ. Both *Isidore*, and *Honorius* of Autun, do likewise mention a Treatise of St. *Fulgentius*, containing the Rule of Faith; which is not different from this.

The Book of the Spirit and Soul, which is a Collection of Passages from several Authors, is attributed to *Hugo de S. Victore* by *Trithemius*, and by *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, and Printed among this Author's Works. Yet the great number of Extracts taken out of the very Works of *Hugo de S. Victore* makes it questionable, whether it be his. St. *Thomas* ascribes it to a Cistercian Monk. The *Benedictines* believe that it was written by *Alcherus*, a Friend of *Isaac*'s, Abbot of *Sella*, to whom this Man directed a Letter of the Soul. In the *Bibliotheca Cisterciensis*, it is attributed to *Isaac*, and it is observed that he publish'd it under *Alcherus*'s Name; but it is not likely that Abbot *Isaac* would insert a part of his own Letter into this Treatise.

The Treatise of Friendship is an Epitome, or rather an Extract out of the Treatise of *Alfredus Rivallensis*, which is found among that Author's Works.

The Book of the Substance of Love, is made up of two small Treatises among the Works of *Hugo de S. Victore*. That of the Love of God, is a Collection of Passages of this same Author's, out of St. *Bernard*, and St. *Anselm*. *Vincentius Bellovacensis* cites it under Peter Comestor's Name.

The Soliloquies that are here, are not those of St. *Augustin*, which are in the first Volume of his Works: These are made up out of Passages of the Soliloquies and Confessions of St. *Augustin*, and the Books of *Hugo de S. Victore*. There is the first Chapter of the Fourth Lateran Council held in the Year 1198.

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It is proved in the Preface to the Book of Meditations, that they cannot be St. Augustin's. Many of them are attributed to St. Anselm; but the Benedictines have prov'd, That they are rather written by John Abbot of Felcamp, who lived in the time of the Emperor Henry III. to whose Widow he directs a Letter, published by Father Adailon in the first Volume of his *Analetha*, from another Manuscript of the Abby of St. Arnoul of Metz, where this Treatise of Meditations is mentioned, part whereof is found in the same Manuscript.

The following Treatise of the *Contrition of the Heart*, is taken out of the Meditations attributed to St. Anselm.

The Manual is Compofed likewise of Extracts out of St. Anselm's Works, and St. Bernard's, Hugo's de S. Victore, and Alcuin's; there are also some Passages of St. Augustin, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory, and of Isidore of Seville. Part of this Book is in the next Book, entituled the *Looking-Glass*: Another part of it is the Extract of a Prayer which is in the Manuscript of Corby, which containeth the Works of Abbot John.

The *Looking-Glass* makes a part of the Confession of Faith, which Chiffletius published under Alcuin's Name: yet it is Compofed of Passages out of Alcuin's own Works.

The next Book is entituled, *The Looking-Glass of a Sinner*. The Author citeth a Sentence of Odo Cluniacensis, in Commendation of St. Martin. He useth the term of Prebend, and he hath taken some places out of the Prayer of Hugo de S. Victore, out of the Book of the Spirit and Soul already mentioned, and out of the Book of Conscience, ascribed to St. Bernard. The Book of the *threefold Habitation* is of the same nature; and there are the same Notions. It is very likely that all these Treatises of Piety belong to the same Author.

The Book intituled, *The Ladder of Paradise*, attributed to St. Bernard, and intituled in his Works, *The Ladder of the Cloister*; or, a Treatise how to Pray; is written by Guigo [or Guido] Carthusianus, as appears by the Letter that serves for a Preface, taken out of the Manuscript of the Carthusian House in Cullen.

Honorius of Autun, in his Book of *Luminaries*, mentions a Book which he had written, intituled, *Of the Knowledge of Life*; or, *Of the true Life*. This here bears the same Title, and has the Style and Genius of this Author; as is proved in the Preface.

The Book of a *Christian Life*, was formerly restored by Holstenius, to one *Falsidius*, a Brittain, who is the true Author of it; as we learn not only by the ancient Manuscript belonging to the Monastery of Mount-Cassin, by which Holstenius Printed it at Rome, in 1633, but also by the Authority of Gemadus, who ascribes it to him, and who observes that this Author was a Brittain.

In this Book there are several Footsteps of Pelagius's Errors; he lived much about the same time.

The Book of *Wholsome Instructions*, is here restored upon the Credit of an ancient Manuscript, in the Library of M. Colbert, to Paulinus Patriarch of Aquileia, who lived about the latter end of the Ninth Century.

The Author of the Book, *Of the Twelve Abuses of the Age*, is not known; it is as wrongfully attributed to St. Augustin as to St. Cyprian: only it is observed in the Preface, That this Book is quoted by Jonas Bishop of Orleans, who was antecedent than Hincmar, who writ a Book bearing the same Title, different from that mentioned by Floardardus: Pamelius found a Manuscript, having in the Margin the Name of Evarard, instead of St. Augustin; but this Evarard is not known.

They did not Print the two Treatises of the *Seven deadly Sins*, and of the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, which F. Vignier published under St. Augustin's Name, in the First Part of his Supplement, because they are amongst the VWorks of Hugo de S. Victore.

The Treatise of the *Conflict betwixt Virtues and Vices* was first ascribed to St. Augustin, then to St. Leo, then to St. Ambrose, and at last to Isidore of Seville: but here it is restored to its true Author Ambrosius Autpertus, a Benedictine Monk [of the Monastery of St. Vincent] upon the *Vulturnus* near Benevento. This Treatise is mentioned in his Life, which is in the *Acts* of the Benedictines, Age III. at the Year 778. The Style of this Treatise is very like that of this Author's Commentary upon the Revelations.

Of the same Nature is the Book of *Sobriety and Charity*, and the Author of it is unknown. These Drunkenness is particularly reprov'd. This Book is well enough written, and seemeth to me to be ancient.

The Benedictines prove in their Preface to the Book of *true and false Repentance*, That this Book has not St. Augustin's Style, though it hath been cited under his Name by Gratian, by the Master of the Sentences, Petrus Blesensis, and several others.

The Treatise of *Zwischrist*, is likewise among the VWorks of Alcuin's and Rabanus. Rupertus cites it without naming the Author. The Manuscripts attribute it to Alcuin's, and it agrees well enough with his other Writings. It contains several Circumstances relating to Anti-Christ, and the End of the World, which he describeth with as much Confidence as if he had learned it by Revelation.

After this Treatise comes a Prayer, or rather an Imprecation out of several Verses of the Psalmist. It is intituled in a Manuscript of the King's Library, *The Psalm of Pope John*, made at V ienna. John the XXXIId. is thought to be the Man meant by that Title.

* [This seems to be a mistake of the Preface to this Paulinus, or as it is in the French Paulus, was Contemporary with Charlethe Great, ascribed at the Council of Frangfort, and dy'd, according to Dr. Cave, in the Year 804.]

The following Treatise upon the *Magnificat*, is a Fragment of the Treatise of Hugo de S. Victore, upon this Hymn.

That of the *Virgin's Assumption*, is a Sermon of some Author of the Twelfth Century, or thereabouts; which teacheth that the Blessed Virgin is in Heaven, both Soul and Body.

Both the Discourses concerning *Visiting the Sick*, contain useful Rules to teach Priests how they should behave themselves towards Sick Persons; but they are very late. Both the Discourses of the Comfort for the Dead, are of the same Nature, and it may be of the same Author.

The Treatise of *Christian Behaviour* is a Collection of Notions taken out of St. Elai or Eligius Bishop of Noyon, and Cæsarius. The Discourse upon the Creed, is likewise a Collection of Remarks drawn out of Rufinus, Cæsarius, St. Gregory, Ivo Carnuntensis, and others. The Sermon upon *Easter-Eve*, about the Paschal-Lamb, and that upon the * 41st Sermon, are among the Books lately attributed to St. Jerom.

The three Sermons to the Novices, concerning *Unction*, *Baptism*, and *washing of the Feet*, are not like St. Augustin's Writings, though they are attributed to him in very ancient Manuscripts.

The Treatise of the *Creation of the first Man*, is inserted entire into the Book of the Spirit and the Soul. It is among St. Ambrose's VWorks, entituled a Treatise of the Dignity of the first Man; and among Alcuin's it is intituled, *Thoughts of the Blessed Albinus a Levite, upon these words of Genesis, Let us make Man after our own Image*.

The Sermon of the *Vanity of this present Age*, is inserted into the Treatise of *Christian Behaviour*, and the Author of the Sermon upon the contempt of the World is not known. That about the Advancement of Discipline belongs to Valerianus Cemelienfis: It is not known who was the Author of the three Sermons of Obedience, Humility, Prayer, Alms, and that of the Generality of Alms-deeds. The small Discourse of the Twelve Prayers spoken of in the 21st. Chapter of the Revelations, belongs to perhaps to Amatus a Monk, of Mount-Cassin, or rather an Extract of Bede's Commentary upon that Passage in the Revelations.

Finally, The Sermons to the Brethren that live in the Wilderness, are the Work of some Modern Monk, who was so imprudent as to publish them under St. Augustin's Name, though it be as clear as the day, that they are not of this Father. Baronius observes, That they were Compos'd by an Impostor, and that they are full of Fables, Falsities, and Lies. Bellarmine saith, That the Style of them is Childish, Courte, and Barbarous. There are several Passages out of St. Augustin, Cæsarius and St. Gregory. It is probable, that the Author was a Flemming.

THE SEVENTH TOME.

THE Seventh Volume contains St. Augustin's great Work of the *City of God*. He undertook

it about the Year 413. after the taking of Rome by Alaric King of the Goths, to refute the Heathens who attributed that Misfortune to the Christian Religion. This VWork held him several Years, by reason of many intervening Business which he could not put off; so that he did not finish it before the Year 426. It is divided into Two and twenty Books, whereof the first Five refute those who believe that the worship of the Gods is necessary for the good of the VWorld; and affirmed, That all the Mischiefs lately happened, proceeded from no other cause, but the abolishing of that Religion. The next Five are against those who confessing that the same Calamities have been in all Ages; yet pretend that the worship of the Heathen Divinities was profitable to a future Life. Thus the Ten first Books are to Answer both those Chimerical Opinions, which are contrary to the Christian Religion. But left they should reproach him with having refused the Opinions of others, without establishing the Christian Religion, the other part of this VWork is allotted to that purpose, and it consists of Twelve Books, though he sometimes establisheth our belief in the former Ten, and so in the Twelve others he sometimes correcteth the Errors of our Adversaries. In the Four first of these Twelve, he describes, The Original of the two Cities; the one of God, and the other of the VWorld. In the Four next, their Progress; And in the Four last, their Ends: And so, though all the 22. Books do equally treat of both Cities, yet this VWork has its Name from the better, and they are commonly called, *The Books of the City of God*. This is the Account which St. Augustin gives, both of the Subject and of the Occasion of these Books in his *Retractions*. Let us now examine more particularly what is most remarkable in each Book; for it is a VWork made up of a great variety of very learned and very curious things.

In the First Book, he shews, That instead of imputing to the Christians, the Desolation and the taking of Rome, the Heathen ought rather to ascribe to the special favour of Jesus Christ, That the Barbarians, only out of reverence to his Name, spared all those that had retired into the Churches. He pretends, That there are no Examples in the VVars of the Heathen, to shew That the Enemies who spoiled a Town taken by Storm, spared those who took Sanctuary in the Temples of their Gods. This puts St. Augustin upon asking, why this Favour of God was extended to those Ungodly Men that fled into the Churches, who feigned themselves to be Christians; and why the good were involved in the same Mischiefs with the wicked. He confesses, That both the Good and the Evil Things of this VWorld are common both to Good and Evil Men;

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* [What this Book is upon the 41st. Sermon thou'd be, I cannot tell; it is false Printed in all probability, but the Author of the Sermon upon the contempt of the World is not known. That about the Advancement of Discipline belongs to Valerianus Cemelienfis: It is not known who was the Author of the three Sermons of Obedience, Humility, Prayer, Alms, and that of the Generality of Alms-deeds. The small Discourse of the Twelve Prayers spoken of in the 21st. Chapter of the Revelations, belongs to perhaps to Amatus a Monk, of Mount-Cassin, or rather an Extract of Bede's Commentary upon that Passage in the Revelations. Finally, The Sermons to the Brethren that live in the Wilderness, are the Work of some Modern Monk, who was so imprudent as to publish them under St. Augustin's Name, though it be as clear as the day, that they are not of this Father. Baronius observes, That they were Compos'd by an Impostor, and that they are full of Fables, Falsities, and Lies. Bellarmine saith, That the Style of them is Childish, Courte, and Barbarous. There are several Passages out of St. Augustin, Cæsarius and St. Gregory. It is probable, that the Author was a Flemming.]

Tome VII.

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Tome VII.

Men; but the difference consists in the Life which they make of them. He observes, That perhaps good Men probably are punished with the wicked, because they took no care to reprove and to correct them; and that however, good Men lose nothing by losing the good things of this World; That a Christian ought to be easily comforted for want of Burial, seeing that this doth him neither good nor hurt: And he comforteth the Virgins that had been ravished in that disorder; shewing, That they lost neither the Chastity of the Soul, nor the Purity of the Body: He executeth those that killed themselves, rather than endure that dishonour. But he shews at the same time, That this Action so much admired by the Heathen, is contrary both to Reason, and to the Laws of Nature; and that it is never lawful to kill our selves upon any account whatsoever. He answers the Examples of some holy Women who threw themselves into the River, to escape the Violence of those that would have ravish'd them. He saith, That they might have been induced to that, by the Spirit of God, as *Sampson* was. He concludes with a Description of the Depravation of the *Romans*, and the Disorders of their Manners, at that time.

In the Second Book he affirms, That the corruption of Manners, which is the greatest of Mischiefs, was always reigning in *Rome*; and that the Gods they Worshipped, were so far from prescribing them Laws, for the Reformation of their Manners, that on the contrary, they encouraged them to Vice, by their Examples, and by the Ceremonies that were used in their Worship.

In the Third Book he goes back as far as the Siege of *Troy*, and then takes a view of the principal Events which happened to the People of *Rome*, to convince the most Stubborn, That their Gods preserved them not from the same Disasters and Calamities, which the Heathen now imputed to the Christian Religion.

In the Fourth Book he shews, That the encrease of the Roman Empire can be attributed neither to all the Divinities which they adored, nor to any one in particular: That however, no Empire is to be called Happy, which is encreased only by War, as the Roman Empire was; That great Empires, without Justice, were but great Robberies; and that the true God alone, is the sole Dispenser of the Kingdoms of the Earth.

He prosecuteth the same subject in the Fifth Book; and proves, in the beginning, That the greatness of Empires depends not upon Chance, nor upon a particular Conjunction of the Stars: Which gives him occasion to speak of Destiny, and to refuse judicial Astrology at large. He acknowledges a Destiny, if by this Term is meant a series, and concatenation of all Causes, which God foresees from all Eternity; but he advises Men rather not to use that word which may have an ill Sense. He endeavours to make God's Fore-knowledge, and the infallibility of those Events, which he foresees, to agree with Man's Free-Will. Then from this Disposition of Things, he comes to enquire into the Causes of the Roman Victories, and he meets with none more probable than their Honesty. He confesses, That God rewarded their moral Vertues with those sorts of Recompences; adding, That thereby God made the Inhabitants of the eternal City, to know what Recompence they were to expect for their Christian Vertues. Since the counterfeit Vertues of the Heathen were so well rewarded, that he set this Example before their Eyes, to teach them how much they ought to be in love with their Heavenly Country for an immortal Life, since the Inhabitants of an Earthly Country were so much in love with it, for an humane, and a mortal Glory; and how hard they were to Labour for that Heavenly Country, since the Romans had taken such great Pains for their Earthly One. "He examineth afterwards, wherein consists the true Happiness of Christian Kings, and Princes: And he shews, That they are not Happy for having reigned long, for dying in Peace, and leaving their Children successors of their Crowns, nor for the Victories which they obtained, because such Advantages are common to them with ungodly Kings: But that Christian Princes are said to be Happy, when they set up Justice, when in the midst of the Praises that are given them, and the Honours that are pay'd unto them, they are not swell'd with Pride, when they submit their Power to the Sovereign Power of God, and use it to make his Worship to flourish. When they fear, love, and worship God; when they prefer, before this which they now enjoy, that wherein they are not afraid to meet with any Competitors; when they are slow to Punish, and ready to Forgive; when they punish only for the good of the Publick, and not to satisfy their Revenge; and when they forgive purely that Men may be Corrected, and not that Crimes may be Countenanced; when being obliged to use Severity, they temper it with some Actions of Meekness, or Clemency; when they are so much the more temperate in their Pleasures, by how much they have a greater Liberty to exceed; when they affect to Command their Passions, rather than all the Nations of the World, and they do all these Things, not out of Vain-Glory, but to obtain eternal Happiness; and, in short, when they are careful to offer unto God, for their Sins, the Sacrifice of Humility, Mercy, and Prayer. These, saith *St. Augustine*, are the Christian Princes whom we call Happy: Happy even in this World by Experience, and really Happy, when what we look for, shall come. Finally, he proposes the Examples of some Christian Emperors, and particularly of *Constantine*, and *Theodosius*, whose Greatness, and Prosperities, he extols and sets forth.

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In the Sixth Book, *St. Augustine* proves by the Authority of *Varro*, that, the fabulous Divinity of the Heathen is ridiculous; he makes the same Conclusion concerning their civil Theology, and grounds what he saith of it upon *Seneca's* Authority.

He goes on in the Seventh, to discover the Falseness of the Heathen civil Theology; shewing, That their chiefest Divinities, or false Gods, do not deserve to be called Gods; and that the Christian's God alone governs the World.

The Eighth Book refutes the natural Theology of their Philosophers: He prefers the *Platonists* before all other Philosophers, and owns that they knew the True God; shewing withal, that they were deceiv'd by honouring *Dæmons*, as subaltern Deities, and Mediators betwixt God, and Men: He shews, "That the Christians never committed this Mistake; and that "they are so far from adoring the *Dæmons*, which are evil Spirits, that they do not worship the "Angels, nor the Holy Martyrs; that they do indeed Honour, and Reverence them as the "Servants of God, but that they did not build Temples for them, nor consecrate Priests, nor "offer Sacrifices unto them. For, saith he, who among Christians ever saw a Priest before an "Altar, consecrated to God, upon the Body of a Martyr, say in his Prayer, *Peter, Paul, or "Cyrian*, I offer you this Sacrifice? It is offered to God, though it be upon the Monuments of Martyrs; and these Ceremonies were appointed to be performed upon their Monuments, for no other end, but to give the True God Thanks for the Victories which they had obtained, and at the same time, to stir up Christians to imitate their Courage, and to make themselves worthy to have a share in their Crowns, and Rewards: So that all the Acts of Piety, and Religion, which are done at the Tombs of the Holy Martyrs, are Honours pay'd to their Memory, and not Sacrifices offered to them as Divinities.

But so far as they own two sorts of *Dæmons*, some good, and some bad, *St. Augustine* examines that Distinction in the next Book, where he shews by the Principles both of *Apollinus*, and of the Chief of Heathenish Authors, that all *Dæmons* are Evil. Whence he concludes, That they cannot be Mediators between God, and Men. He doth not believe, That Angels deserve that Title, affirming, That it belongeth to none but Jesus Christ alone.

In the Tenth Book he treateth at large of Angel Worship: He saith, That they are Creatures, whose Felicity is all in God; that they worship God, and their Desire is, that all Men would worship him; that they require of us, neither Adoration, nor Sacrifices; and that God doth not expect from us Sacrifices, like those of the Heathen, but a Sacrifice of Union, such as the Church celebrates in the Eucharist, and which the Faithful know: That the Miracles which were wrought by the interposition of Angels, (not of *Dæmons*, whose Prodiges are nothing but illusions.) These Miracles, I say, were wrought by God's Power, to make himself known unto Men: That the invisible God becomes visible by the ministry of his Angels, whom he made use of to deliver his Law to the World: That it is so true, that no Sacrifice is to be offered to any but God; that Jesus Christ, as Man, would be made a Sacrifice himself, and not receive one from any Body else: That God alone can purify Men of their Sins, as the *Platonists* themselves acknowledge, that so it was necessary that God should be made Man to be a true Mediator: That the just Men, under the old Law, were not Saved, but by Faith in this Mediator: That Pride alone keeps the *Platonists* from owning the Incarnation: That the Soul is not Co-eternal with God, as they imagine: And Lastly, That the Means of delivering, the Soul which they sought after to so little purpose, is nothing but the Christian Religion.

In the 11th Book, *St. Augustine* finds the Original of both Cities, in the diversity of Angels; which gives him occasion to treat of the Creation of the visible World, which was immediately preceded by that of the invisible, that is of the Angels whom he created all in a State of Righteousness, from which some are fallen through their own fault. He makes some digressions to speak of the Trinity, and of several Circumstances of the Creation of the VWorld.

Having proved in the 12th. That the difference of good, and evil Angels doth not proceed from their Nature, but from their VWill, because God created nothing but what was both Good, and Perfect. He comes to discourse of Mankind; and proves, That Men are not from Eternity, but that God created Man in time: And he mentions something, concerning the Fall of the First Man, whereof he speaks more at large in the 13th. Book, where he shews, That the death, both of Body and Soul, was the Consequence, and the Punishment of *Adam's* Fall. There one may meet with several curious Notions concerning Death; and several Reflections upon the Resurrection, and the Quality of glorified Bodies. He goes on in the 14th. Book, to speak of the Fall of the First Man, and of the lamentable Consequences that attended it, and particularly of irregular Desires, and shameful Passions. He enquires, Whether the First Man was subject to Passions, and how he could Sin, being free from them. Lastly, He asketh several Questions, rather nice, than necessary, how Men should have had Children in the Earthly Paradise, had they continued in the State of Innocence.

The Fifteenth Book is the first of those wherein he examineth the Progress of both the Cities: He finds the History of it in the Old Testament, where he shews who were the Citizens of both those Cities. This Book prosecutes this History from the Creation, to the Flood. On the one side, we see *Abel*, and *Noah*, and on the other *Cain*, and *Eve*: And both these Cities may be taken notice of in the Marriages of the Sons of God, with the Daughters of

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Men. The Church is represented by *Noah's Ark*. There are in this Book curious Allegories; and several Reflections upon the History of *Genesis*. Amongst other Things, he examines the length of the Lives of the First Patriarchs; and the Difference between the Translation of the *Sepтуагинт*, and the Hebrew Text, about the Number of the Generations.

In the 16th. Book he carries on the History of both Cities, from *Noah to Abraham*, and from *Abraham to the Kings of Israel*. He doth not find that the Scripture takes notice of any that served God from *Noah to Abraham*. He speaks of the Posterity of the Children of *Noah*, of the Confounding of Languages, of the Antiquity of the Hebrew Tongue, and of the Multiplication of Mankind. He questions whether there be *Antipodes*. In the rest of the Book he clears the History of *Abraham*, and of his Posterity, which is explained with relation to the City of God.

In the 17th. taking a View of the History both of the Kings and of the Prophets, he relates and expounds the Prophecies which are in the Books of *Kings*, in the *Psalms*, and in the Books of *Solomon*, which relate to Christ or his Church.

Now as he had quitted the History of the City of the World, when he was come to *Abraham*, so he resumeth it in the beginning of the 18th. Book; which contains an Abridgment of the History of the Principal Monarchies in the VWorld, the times whereof he makes to agree with the History of the Bible; and he omits not to speak of the Fabulous Histories, and of the Metamorphoses. Afterwards, he quotes the *Sibylline Oracles*; but he insinuates most upon the Predictions of the Prophets, which he produces in all their Particulars. He speaks also of the Books of the *Maccabees*: and having made some Reflections upon the Authority of the History of the Canonical Books, and of the Translation of the LXX. he describeth in few words the Fall of the Jewish Empire; and so he comes to the Nativity of Jesus Christ, the Dispersion of the Jews, the Settlement of the Church, the Persecutions and Heresies which immediately followed. St. *Augustin* makes very ingenious Reflections upon all these Articles; and concludes this Book, by shewing, That the End of the VWorld is Unknown; and he refutes a false Prediction which the Heathens published, That the Christian Religion should last Three hundred sixty five Years.

The 19th. Book treateth of the End of both Cities: Each one aims at the chiefest Good; but the Inhabitants of the Terrestrial know so little of it, that their Philosophers, the Wiser among them, could never agree wherein it consisted. *Varro* reckoneth Two hundred eighty eight different Opinions of Philosophers about it. The Christian Religion discovers the Falsity of all those Opinions, by letting Man know, That he cannot be Happy in this Life, but only in Hope; because he cannot enjoy here Peace and perfect Tranquility.

The 20th. Book contains a Description of the Last Judgment, of the Renewing of the World, of the Resurrection, and of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*.

The 21st. treateth of the End of the Earthly City, and represents the Horror of the Torments of Demons and Damned Men, and of the Eternal Fire of Hell. St. *Augustin* refutes the vain Reasons of those that doubt of it; and the Fancy of some, who affirmed, That those Torments should have an End, and that Men should be kept from them by the Intercession of the Saints, by the Use of Sacraments, and by Almshouses.

The Last Book is, concerning the Happiness which the Saints shall enjoy to Eternity. The main End which St. *Augustin* aims at there, is, To prove the Probability of Man's Resurrection. His chief Reason is grounded upon Christ's Resurrection; attested by such credible Witnesses, that none can rationally doubt of it, the truth thereof having been confirmed by so many Miracles. But because Unbelievers demanded why Miracles were not still wrought, St. *Augustin* mentions several that were done in his time, which he pretends to be very certain, and very well attested. He speaks again of the Condition of Glorified Bodies, and Crowns his Work with an excellent Pourtraiture of the Happiness of the Saints. "How great (saith he) will be that Felicity that shall be disturbed with no Evil, and where no other Business shall be followed but singing the Praises of God, who shall be all in all? ... There will be found True Glory, where there is neither Error nor Flattery. There is True Honour; since it is refused to none that deserve it, and it is not given to any that deserve it not; yea, where no Unworthy Person shall pretend to it, because there shall be none there but such as are Worthy. There will be True Peace, where a Man shall suffer nothing either from himself, or from other Men. He that is the Author of Vertue, shall himself be the Reward of it; because there is nothing better than He. He shall be the End of our Desires, whom we shall see to be without End, whom we shall Love without Disgust, and Praise without Weariness. This Employment will be common to all Men, as well as Eternal Life; but it is impossible to know what degree of Glory shall be proportionable to each Man's Merit; and yet it is certain, that there is a great difference betwixt the Happiness of the one and of the other. But one of the great Advantages of that City, will be, That none shall envy those whom he shall see to be Above him. ... Every one shall enjoy a Happiness, some greater, and others less; but every one shall have this Gift, Not to desire a greater than what he has. And we are not to imagine that Men shall be there without Free-Will, because they cannot take pleasure in Sin. For he will be so much the more Free, who shall be delivered from the Pleasure of Sinning, so as to take an unalterable Pleasure in not Sinning any more. ... Wherefore, all the Inhabitants of this divine City shall have a Will perfectly

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"Free, exempt from all Evil, fill'd with all manner of Good, enjoying without intermission the Delights of an Immortal Joy, without remembrance either of his Faults or of his Miseries, otherwise than to bless their Deliverer for the fame.

They have left out in this Edition the Commentaries both of *Ludovicus Vives*, and of *Leonardus Cognatus*; which exceeded the Text of St. *Augustin* by much, and which served but little to understand it, though otherwise full of Learning and Erudition.

These Books of St. *Augustin* are very pleasant, for the surprising variety of the things which he hath brought in to serve his purpose, so as all to tend to the same end. Their Learning is generally admired; yet they contain nothing but what is taken out of *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Seneca*, and other profane Authors, whose Works were common enough in those days; and one may say, that there is nothing very curious or elaborate; and in some places he is not exact, and he does not directly resolve most of the Difficulties which he proposes both upon the Text, and upon the History of the Books of the Bible. He discusses very useless Questions, and sometimes makes use of Reasons too weak to persuade those that would doubt of what he intends to prove: yet for all that, this is a most excellent Book: What I most admire in it, is, the Management of the whole Work, the judicious Reflections which he makes upon the Opinions therein related, and the great Principles of Morality which he layeth down upon Occasion.

At the latter end of this Volume there are some Letters which have some relation to what St. *Augustin* saith in the 8th. Chapter of the last Book of the Miracles that were done in his time. The First is one of *Avitus*, upon the Translation of a Letter written by *Lucianus*, concerning the Discovering of St. *Stephen's* Body. With this Translation, they have added another Tract, translated out of Greek by *Anastasijs* the Library-Keeper, about another Discovery of St. *Stephen's* Relicks at *Constantinople*. They have likewise placed their Bishop *Severus's* Letter, touching the Miracles happened in the Island *Minorca*, at the appearing of St. *Stephen's* Relicks for the Conversion of the Jews: And two Books ascribed to *Evdodius*, Bishop of *Uzala*, concerning St. *Stephen's* Miracles; which have been mentioned already.

THE EIGHTH TOME.

THE Eighth Volume of St. *Augustin's* Works, contains his Writings against Hereticks, excepting those that are against both the *Donatists* and the *Pelagians*, which make up two distinct Volumes. It begins with the small Treatise of *Heretics*, composed in the Year 428. at the Request of *Quodvultdeus*, a Deacon, to whom it is directed. Tom. VIII.

This Writing was to have had Two Parts: The First, concerning the Heresies raised from Jesus Christ's to St. *Augustin's* time. He promised to examine, in the Second, what it is that makes a Man an Heretic. This Second should naturally have been the First; because that to know the Heresies that have broken out since Jesus Christ's time, it is necessary to know what is Heresie. But St. *Augustin* finding this Question hard to be resolved, began with the other that was more easie, and never undertook the Second. Therefore this Treatise is only a very succinct Catalogue of the Names of Heretical Sects, and of their principal Errors. It beginneth with the *Symonians*, and endeth with the *Pelagians*, and containeth Eighty eight Heresies: it is by no means exact, and one shall hardly find any thing there which is not taken out of St. *Epiphanius* and *Philastrius*.

The Treatise against the *Jews*, is a Sermon in which St. *Augustin* proves by the Prophecies, That the Jewish Law was to have an End; That it was to be changed into a New Law; and, That God would reject the Jews, to call the Gentiles.

These Two short Treatises are followed by St. *Augustin's* Writings against the *Manichees*; which are set down in the first place, because those Hereticks opposed the first Principles of the Christian Religion. The First of all, is that of the *Usefulness of Faith*, which St. *Augustin* composed sometime after he was Ordained Priest, in the Year 391. to reclaim his Friend *Honoratus* from the Errors of the *Manichees*, wherein he had been engaged as well as St. *Augustin*; because those Hereticks had put him in hope, That without making use of Authority, they should discover the Truth to him by the Light of Reason, and by this one only mean bring him to the Knowledge of God, and deliver him from all sorts of Errors. St. *Augustin* having shewed the difference betwixt the Author of a Heresie, and a Person surprized with it afterwards, doth at first justify the Old Testament; shewing, That it agreeth exactly with the New, in the History, Morals and Allegories; and that the Church puts such a sense upon it, which the *Manichees* themselves cannot condemn. He overthroweth the *Manichees* Principle; proving, That we must Believe before we Know. To this end, he supposes certain Persons having no Religion, and seeking to be instructed in the True, to be like those who should enquire after a Matter to teach them Rhetoric or Philosophy. Afterwards he observes, That the only Party which these Persons are to embrace at first, is to side with those who are commonly and generally approved: That it is great Rashness in those who are incapable of themselves to judge of things, to depart from the Common Voice; to prefer the Judgment of some particular Men, before that of the Multitude. So that it is most rational, since one Party or other is to be embraced, to side with

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with the Catholick Church, especially because it forbids not those that come into her to enquire after the Truth. It faith indeed, That we ought to Believe: But it hath an Authority lo to do; for no Man can Believe, but he must be persuaded, That He in whom he believeth, is worthy of Credit; and this makes the difference betwixt a VVile and a Credulous Man. But had it not been better to give convincing Reasons of Things? No; for all Men are not capable of Reason, and some things cannot be understood without the help of a Divine Light. It is very dangerous to follow those who promise to make us comprehend all things; because they often boast of knowing what they are ignorant of, and often make us believe lo too. And very shameful is that Condition, for two Reasons: First, Because such a Person takes no more Pains to learn, being falsely persuaded of his Knowledge: And, Secondly, Because that an inconsiderate readiness to judge of a thing, is a Mark of a weak Understanding. Reason makes us apprehend things, Authority makes us believe, but Error persuades us to affirm rashly that which is false. Upon these Principles St. *Augustin* proves the Necessity of Faith, in Matters of Civil Life, as much as in Matters of VVifdom: For in the first place, the VVhole of Humane Society is grounded upon the Belief of some certain Things. As for Example: The Honour we render to our Parents, is grounded merely upon our Belief, That they are the Persons from whom we received Life. Secondly, There is no getting of VVifdom, without consulting with VVile Men. But how shall we know these VVile Men, except we trust Others? For unless we are VVile our selves, we can never know True VVifdom. VVherefore, we must Believe, to seek after Religion: For did we not believe that there is such a thing, why should we seek for it? All Hereticks own that we must believe in Jesus Christ: But what Motives have we to believe Jesus Christ's Authority? Are they not the same with those that make us believe the Church? Are they not the Miracles, the Sanctity both of the Doctrine and of the Morals, the Publishing of the Gospel, the Blood of Martyrs, and some other Proofs of this nature, which establish the Authority of the Church no less than that of Jesus Christ? Therefore St. *Augustin* concludes thus, "Why should we make any difficulty to throw our selves into the Arms of that Church which hath always maintain'd her self by the Succession of Bishops in Apostolick Sees, in spite of all the Endeavours of Hereticks condemned by her, or by Peoples Faith, or by the Decisions of Councils, or by the Authority of Miracles? It is either a matchless Impiety, or a very indelicate Arrogancy, not to acknowledge her Doctrine for a Rule of our Faith. For if the Spirit of Man cannot attain unto VVifdom, and so to Salvation, but by Faith directing our Reason; is it not to be Ungrateful, and neglect the Succour proffered by God, to resist lo weighty an Authority? And truly, if any Science, though common and easie, cannot be learned without a Teacher; it is Presumption, in the highest degree, to refuse to learn the Sence of the Sacred Books from those that understand them; and to condemn them, without hearing what they say."

After this First Book against the Foundation of the Manichean Heretic, St. *Augustin* composed the Book of *The Two Souls*, against one principal Error of those Hereticks; asserting, That there were Two souls in each Man; a Good one, of a Divine Subtance, the cause of all that is Good in us; and an Evil one, of the nature of Darknes, proper to the Flesh, which is the Principle of all disorderly Motions, and of all the Evil that we doe. St. *Augustin* proves in this Book, First, That the Soul being a Spirit and Life, is more perfect than Corporeal Light, which the Manichees believe to come from God. Secondly, That there is no Nature or Substance naturally Evil; and that Evil consists only in the Abuse of our Liberty. Some Passages in this Book attribute much to Free-Will; nay, there are some which may not agree well with the Doctrine of Grace, and of Original Sin, which St. *Augustin* correcteth in his *Retractions*.

There was at that time in Hippo a Priest, one *Fortunatus*, a Famous Manichee, who had seduced many Inhabitants of that City. The Catholics engaged St. *Augustin*, in a Conference with him. What was said on both Sides, was set down in Writing by Notaries, and that Act preserved among St. *Augustin*'s Writings. The Dispute lasted but two Days; and the Questions that were disputed about, were of Nature, and the Original of Evil. St. *Augustin* affirms, That Evil proceeds from the Abuse of Free-Will. The Manichee pretends, That there is an Evil Nature Co-eternal with God. In the first day's Conference the Manichee defended himself well enough; but he could not Antwer St. *Augustin*'s Objections next day, and was obliged to say, That he would confer about them with the Heads of his Sect. The Shame of being Confuted in that Conference, obliged him to leave Hippo. This Conference is dated the 26th. of *August*, under the Second Consulship of *Arcadius* and *Rufinus*, in the Year 392.

About that time, St. *Augustin* met with some Works of one *Adimantus*, who had been a Disciple of Manicheus, written against the Law and the Prophets; which he affirmed to contain things contrary to the Precepts of the Gospel and of the Apostles. He undertook to Answer the Objections of that Heretic, and to Justify the Agreement betwixt those Passages of the Old and New Testament which he had produced, as being contrary. This Book is of the Year 394.

St. *Augustin* having refuted the Disciple, undertakes the Master, and Answereth the Letter which he called, *The Epistle of Foundation*: shewing, That Manicheus set forth in it nothing but Falshoods and Absurdities. He lays down, at first, the Reasons for his adhering to the Church, in these Terms: "Not to speak (*sic*) of that Wisdom and Understanding which a few

"few Men apprehend in this Life, several Motives keep me in the Bosom of the Catholick Church: The general Consent of Nations and People, an Authority grounded upon Miracles, upheld by Hope, perfected with Charity, and confirmed by Antiquity; the Succession of Bishops from St. *Peter* to our time; and the Name of the Catholick Church, which is so peculiar to the True Church, that though all Hereticks call themselves Catholics, yet when you ask, in any Country whatsoever, where Catholics meet, they dare not shew the Place of their Assemblies. These are powerful Motives which keep a faithful Man within the Pale of the Church, though he be not yet arrived to a perfect understanding of the Truth. But among you Manichees, that have none of these Reasons either to invite or to keep me, I hear none but vain Promises, to make me understand the Truth clearly. I confess, That did you perform it, I ought to prefer an evident Truth, which none can doubt of, before all the Motives that make me keep to the Catholick Church. But lo long as you do only promise, and not give this Knowledge, you shall not shake that Trust which I have in the Catholick Church, which is grounded upon such powerful Reasons and Motives." He examines afterwards the Principles contained in Manicheus's Letter; and proves, That he not only fails in the Demonstration of what he affirmeth, but that he is contrary even to Reason and Common Sense. This Book is placed in the *Retractions*, among the Books composed about the Year 397.

The most considerable of all St. *Augustin*'s Works against the Manichees, is his Treatise against *Janusius*, divided into Three and thirty Disputes or Arguments; wherein he writes down the Text of this Manichee's Books, which contained most part of the Blasphemies and Impieties of those Hereticks, against both the Old and the New Testament: which St. *Augustin* strongly and solidly refutes. This Work was completed about the Year 400. and sent to St. *Jerom* in 404.

The next Book contains the Acts of a Conference which St. *Augustin* had at Hippo, in December, 404. with a Manichee, one *Felix*. The Dispute lasted three Days, but we have a Relation both of what happened in the two last Conferences. In the Conclusion of the latter, the Manichee was Converted, and Anathematized Manicheus.

In the same Year, St. *Augustin* composed a Treatise of *The Nature of Good*, against the Manichees: wherein he shews, That God is of an Immutable Nature: That he hath created all other Beings, whether Spiritual or Corporeal, which are all good in their Nature: That Evil proceedeth only from the Abuse of Free-Will: That the Manichees call Evil Good, and Good Evil.

The Book against *Secundinus*, is properly an Answer of St. *Augustin*'s to that Manichee, who had exhorted him by a Letter, never to encounter with the Manichees, of whose Opinion himself had been formerly; and he had also urged him to return to their Sect. St. *Augustin* gives him the Reasons of his Conversion, and discovers some of Manicheus's Errors.

The following Treatise is against a Heretic who was worse than the Manichees, who in a distinct Treatise asserted, That God did not make the World, nor give the Law. St. *Augustin* refuteth him, under the Name of *The Adversary of the Law and the Prophets*, in two Books bearing that Title, composed about the Year 420.

Orelius having consulted St. *Augustin*, in 415. about the Impieties of the *Priscillianists*, and some Errors of *Origen*'s Disciples, St. *Augustin* answered him in a Book directed to him, entitled, *Against the Priscillianists and Origenists*. In this final Treatise he rejects these Errors: 1. That the Soul is of a Divine Nature. 2. That the Torments both of the Demons and of Damned Men shall have an end. 3. That the Reign of Jesus Christ will not be Eternal. 4. That both Angels and Souls are Purified in this World. 5. That the Stars are Animated. 6. That Angels commit Sins.

The rest of St. *Augustin*'s Treatises contained in this Volume are against the *Arians*. The first is an Answer to a Discourse of an *Arian*, containing a great many Objections against the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost. This Discourse was made the next Year after the Conference with *Emerius*, held in 417.

Next to this Treatise, are, *The Conference with Maximinus*, and *Two Books against that Arian Bishop*. The Conference was held at Hippo, in the Year 428. whither *Maximinus* was sent by Count *Sigisvultus*. In the Conference were several Discourses on both Sides; but *Maximinus* having said many more things than St. *Augustin*, and spoken last, he brag'd that he had got the Victory: which obliged this Saint to recollect all that had been said in the Conference, and to refute *Maximinus*'s last Arguments, which he had not had time to answer.

St. *Augustin*'s Books of *The Trinity*, are rather a Dogmatical Treatise, concerning that Mytery, than Polemical Writings against Hereticks; for he insisteth not so much upon refuting their Reasons, or establishing the Doctrines of the Church, as upon subtle Reasonings, to expound and clear this Mytery. He began them in the Year 400. and finished them in 416. The first Book begins with a Preface containing very important Reflections. He observes, at first, That Men have Three false Notions of the Divinity; that some conceive of God as a Corporeal Substance, attributing to him Corporeal Properties; that others have such an Idea of him, as they have of their Souls, and of other Spirits; and so they ascribe to him the like Imperfections, as Repenting, Forgetting, and Remembering; and that others entertain such a Notion of God, as may have nothing Common with a Creature; and so they conceive none but

Chimerical Ideas of him. The Holy Scripture confends to Men's Weakness, ascribing of such Things to God, as belong properly to Bodies, or imperfect Spirits; and seldom makes use of Terms peculiar to God, because it is very difficult to know, in this Life, the Substances, or Essence of the divine Nature perfectly. But because some Persons desire to be informed about this Matter, and ask how Three divine Persons make one and the same Essence, he undertakes two things in this Work: First, To shew, That the Scripture teaches us such Doctrines, and then to raise the Mind, as far as it is capable in this Life, to the knowledge of this Mystery.

He proves the First Point in the first Seven Books.

In the First, he establishes, by Passages of Scripture, the Unity, and the Equality of the Three Divine Persons; and explains the principal Places that were urged by the *Arians*, against the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The main Rule which he makes use of, is That Jesus Christ being one only Person, made up of Two Natures, was said of the humane Nature should be distinguished from that which is spoken of the Divine.

In the Second, he confirmeth the former Rule, and layeth down another. That the Scripture speaks things of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are not spoken of the Father, to shew, That they receive their Essence from the Father: As when 'tis said, That the Son doth nothing of himself; that he receiveth Life from the Father. This, saith *St. Augustin*, doth not shew, That the Son is of a different Nature from the Father, but only, that the Son receiveth his Substance from the Father. And by this Rule, he explains the mission of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He speaks also of Apparitions; wherein he pretends, That not one single Person, but the whole Trinity, hath either spoken, or operated.

This last Question is the Subject of his Third Book; wherein he examines, Whether God, in his Apparitions, formed Creatures to make himself known unto Men by them; or, Whether these Apparitions were by the Ministry of Angels, who made use of Bodies to accomplish them. He concludes, in favour of the latter Opinion, rejecting the former, which had been held by all the Fathers before him.

The Fourth is about Christ's Incarnation, whereby God hath manifested how much he loved us. The Word was made Flesh, to deliver us from the Darkness wherein we lay, to purify our Hearts, and Minds. His Death delivered us from Two kinds of Death; from that of the Body, by restoring Immortality to us; and from that of the Soul, by washing us from our Sins. Here he makes a Digression, concerning the perfection of the Number Six, which is neither very solid, nor much to the Purpose. He discourses afterwards of the wonderful Effects of Christ's Mediation; and shews, at last, That the Humiliation of the Son of God, by his Incarnation, hinders him not from being equal with his Father, according to the Divine Nature.

In the Fifth Book, He refutes the Sophisms of Heretics against the Mystery of the Trinity. In the Sixth, He considers in what sense the Son is called the Wisdom and Power of the Father: Whether the Father be Wife of himself; or, Whether he is only the Father of Wisdom. He puts off the Decision of that Question, and treats again of the Unity and Equality of the Father, of the Son, and of the H. Ghost.

In the Seventh Book he resolves the Question proposed in the Sixth, shewing that the Father is not only the Father of Power and of Wisdom, but that he hath in himself both Power and Wisdom; and that all the Three Persons of the Trinity are Wife and Powerful by the same Power and Wisdom, because they have but one Godhead. Afterwards he explains in what sense God is said to have but one Essence and Three Persons; or, according to the Greeks, three Hypostases.

Having proved in the Eighth Book that the Three Persons together are not greater than any one alone, he enters upon the Second Part of his Work by exhorting Men to raise up themselves to the Knowledge of God, thro' Charity, wherein he finds a kind of Trinity.

In the Ninth, He endeavoureth to find a Trinity in Man, who was created after the Image of God; he findeth there a Spirit, a Knowledge of himself, and a Love wherewith he loves himself: these three Things are equal among themselves, and make but one Essence. This is according to *S. Augustin*, an Image of the Trinity. Memory, Understanding, and Will, furnish him with another, which he believes is clearer and more like. He explains it in the Tenth Book. He finds some resemblances even in the outward Man, in the inward Senses, in Knowledge and Wisdom; and these are the Subjects of the following Books.

He concludeth at last, in the Fifteenth Book, That though we have here below several Representations of the Trinity, yet we should not seek for it, but in immutable and eternal Things, and that we cannot see it in this Life, but by a Figure, and Enigmatically: And thus he pretends, That we have an Idea of the Generation of the Word, by the production of the Word of our Understanding, and an Idea of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, by the Love that proceeds from the Will. But he confesseth, That these Notions are very imperfect; and that there is an infinite Difference betwixt these Comparisons, and the Mystery of the Trinity.

The Treatise of the Five Heresies, or rather the Sermon preached against Five sorts of Enemies to the Christians, *Heathens, Jews, Manichees, Sabellians, and Arians*, which the *Learn'd* Doctors had ascribed to *St. Augustin*, though *Erasmus* doubted of it, is thrown in this Edition, amongst the supposititious Treatises. And this was done with a great deal of Reason;

for

for the Style thereof is very different from *St. Augustin's*: And the Author of that Sermon preached it, when *Arianism* was the predominant Religion in *Africa*, as appears by the 6th. and 14th. Chapters; which shew, That *St. Augustin* is not the Author of it, but some other *African* who lived at the time of the *Vandal's* Persecution. The Sermon of the Creed against the *Heathens, Jews, and Arians*, is also of the same time, and probably of the same Author.

The Sait betwixt the Church, and the Synagogue, is the Work of some Lawyer, who try'd to Exercise himself, in making the Church to condemn the Synagogue, after the same manner that a Judge condemns a Malefactor.

The Book of Faith, against the *Manichees*, is restor'd to *Eudius of Uzala*, upon the Authority of ancient Manuscripts, and the different Style.

The following Memorial, of the manner of admitting the *Manichees*, that were converted into the Church, is very Ancient; and, in all probability, it is an Order of some Council of *Africa*.

The Book of the Unity of the Trinity, is here restor'd to *Vigilius Tapsensis*, the true Author, who citeth it himself in the Preface to his Books, against *Varimadus*, to whom it is attributed in an ancient Copy.

Both the Books of the Incarnation of the Word, are taken, as it is observed, out of the Translation of *Origen's* Principles by *Rufinus*.

The Treatise of the Unity, and Trinity of God, is made up of Extracts out of several Passages of *St. Augustin's* Works, both Genuine, and Spurious.

The Book of the Essence of the Divinity, which is likewise attributed to *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Anselm*, and *Bonaventure*, is partly taken out of a Book, written by *St. Eucherius*.

The Dialogue of the Unity of the Holy Trinity, was found in Two Manuscripts, Eight Hundred Years old; in one of them it is ascribed to *St. Augustin*, yet it is clearly written in a different Style from his.

The Book of Ecclesiastical Maxims, ought to be quite expunged out of *St. Augustin's* Works, to which it hath no relation; yet it is quoted under that Holy Father's Name, by the Master of the Sentences; and it beareth his Name in several Manuscripts. *Tritheimus* ascribes it to *Alcinus*, and *Gratian* citeth it under the Name of *Paterius*: But the vulgar Opinion is, That *Gennadius* writ it, to whom it is attributed by *Algryn*, *Walafridus Strabo*, the Master of the Sentences, and *Thomas Aquinas* in several Places. It is likewise cited, under his Name, in several MSS. This Book contains an Abridgment of the principal Articles of Religion. It is evident, That the Author thereof was not of *St. Augustin's* Opinion, concerning Grace, and Free-Will. They have left out some Articles which had been inserted after the 131st. and taken out of *St. Caelestin's* Epistles to the Bishops of *Gaul*, of the Council of *Carthage*, and that of *Orange*.

The NINTH TOME.

THE Ninth Volume of *St. Augustin's* Works, containeth his Treatises against the *Donatists*. Tom. IX.

The First is a Hymn which *St. Augustin* composed in vulgar, and popular Terms, to teach the most unlearned the State of the Question betwixt the *Catholics*, and the *Donatists*, and to exhort these to a Re-union with the *Catholics*. This Writing, which consists but of Two Leaves, is proper, as *St. Augustin* himself observes, for none but very ordinary People.

In 392. he wrote a Book against *Donatus* his Epistle; and in 398. Two Books against the *Donatists*: But both these Treatises are lost.

We are therefore to begin *St. Augustin's* VWorks against the *Donatists*, from the Three Books against the Epistle of *Parmenianus*, who succeeded *Donatus* in the See of *Carthage*. There he refutes the Letter which that *Schismatick* wrote to *Tychonius*, wherein he accused the whole Church of being defiled, for communicating with Persons that were guilty of several Crimes. *St. Augustin* having proved, That *Cecilian*, and the greatest part of the others, who were accused by the *Donatists*, had been declared Innocent; addeth, That though the Crimes, wherof they accused particular Men, were proved, yet the Church would still be the true Church, tho' she had not cut them off from her Communion because she is made up of good and bad Men, and that even these may be tolerated for Peace sake. These Books were compos'd about the Year 400. We must not forget to observe, That there is in this Edition, chap. 3d. of the First Book, a very important Correction of a Passage which had much perplexed Historians. *St. Augustin* speaks there of the Roman Council which condemn'd the *Donatists*; and they made him say in the common Editions, and in most Manuscripts, that this Council consisted of Two Hundred Bishops. *Uque adeo demones sunt homines, ut ducentos iudices, apud quos vultis sententiam litigatoribus credat*: and because this was not sense, they added against the Authority of the MSS. *esse postponendo*. It being certain that *S. Augustin* speaketh in this Place of the Council of *Rome*, and that there met but 19 Bishops; they thought that 19 were to be put instead of 200. But the restoration made here upon the Credit of the Vatican Manuscript, resolves all the Difficulty, and clears the Sense, without adding any thing. Neither 19 nor 200, are mentioned

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tioned in the Text. Thus it runs, *Usque adeo demones sunt homines, ut CONTRA iudices in his litigantibus credat.* It appears at the first sight, that this is the true Sense, which all the Conjectures of the Learned could not find out. They took the *Contra*, made short with Two C.C. for the Cypher of 200, and they had writ *ducentis* instead of this Cypher at all Adventurers; and because the Text was then not Sense, the *Lorvain* Doctors added *Esse Postponenda* after *Credat*. One single Manuscript discovers presently those Mistakes, and gives the true Sense. And now let Men say, That there is no need of comparing the Authors to be published with ancient Manuscripts. But to return to our Subject.

The Seven Books Of *Baptism* were composed by St. *Augustin* at the same time. He undertakes there to refute the *Donatists*, who used St. *Cyprian's* Authority, to defend their Opinion concerning the Nullity of Baptism administered by Hereticks. He shews, That if that Saint seems to favour them in that Point, yet his Practice and Doctrine condemn'd their Separation. He refutes also the Reasons which that Saint and his Collegues urged to prove, That those were to be re-baptized, who had been baptized by Hereticks. There he handles several Questions touching the Necessity, Validity, Effect, and other Circumstances of Baptism.

After the Books Of *Baptism*, St. *Augustin* placeth a Treatise which he composed against a certain Book brought by *Centurius* from the *Donatists*. But that Discourse is lost: And so immediately after the Books of Baptism, follow Three Books against a Letter of *Petilianus* Bishop of the *Donatists* at *Cirra*. The First of these Books is written in the form of a Letter to the Church: Therein he refutes the First Part of *Petilianus's* Letter. But having received afterwards the whole Letter, he thought himself obliged to answer every Proposition by it self. While this was doing, *Petilianus* having seen the Letter that St. *Augustin* writ at first, returned an Answer; to which, St. *Augustin* oppos'd a Third Book, wherein without insulting upon *Petilianus's* reproachful Language, he discovers the weakness of the Answers that he brought in defence of his Party. The First of these Books, which is rather a Letter than a Book, was composed about the Year 400. both the others are of 402.

The next Book is likewise written against *Petilianus*, and is intituled in the Manuscripts, *A Letter from St. Augustin to the Catholics concerning the Sect of the Donatists*: And *Possidius* seems to have mention'd it under this Title, in the Third Article of his Index. It is likewise cited under this Title, and ascribed to St. *Augustin* in the Fifth Council. *Collus* 5. Yet St. *Augustin* does not mention it in his *Retractions*. It may be answered, That this Book being written in the form of a Letter, he refer'd to speak of it in the other part of his *Retractions*, which was to contain his Sermons and Letters. And yet we see that St. *Augustin* speaks of Dogmatical Treatises that were long, though compos'd in the form of Letters, in this Part; so that it is unlikely that he should have forgot to mention this, when he spoke of his other Letters against *Petilianus*. The *Benedictines* have made some other Observations upon this Treatise, which may make us doubt whether it is St. *Augustin's*, or no. They observe, That the Salutation in the beginning, *Salus qua in Christo est*, is extraordinary, and that St. *Augustin* never used it. They find improper forms of Speech, Transitions, Figures and Expressions, not very elegant, which do not agree to St. *Augustin's* Style. Nay, besides they take notice of a Point of Doctrine different from St. *Augustin's*. For the Author of this Book teaches in the 13th. Chapter, That the Separation of the Ten Tribes from *Judah*, was no Heresie; but St. *Augustin* affirms in the 25d. Epistle, and in his First Book against *Crescentius*, Chapter 31st. That the *Samaritans* made a Schism, a Sect, and an Heresie. And lastly, They have Collected some Passages of Scripture which are not of that Translation, which St. *Augustin* uses in other places. They add, That the Author of this Book, Chapter 24th. doubts whether the Water that issued out of our Saviour's Side, was a figure of Baptism; which St. *Augustin* sets down for a certain Truth in several places of his Writings.

These Objections are not unanswerable: St. *Augustin* hath not mention'd all his Works in his *Retractions*, and particularly, those that are in the form of Letters. We have already taken notice of some that he has omitted. This is found in *Possidius's* Catalogue; and the Author declares in the beginning, That he had written already against *Petilianus's* Letter; The Style, indeed, is not so Elegant as of some other of St. *Augustin's* Works; but it is no wonder, because it is a Letter that was to be seen and understood by all Mankind. For the same reason, the Hymn against the *Donatists* might be rejected, which is much flatter, and containing more barbarous Expressions. The Salutation agrees very well to the Subject, and is not unworthy of St. *Augustin*: And if he never used it in other places, it doth not follow that he should forbear it in this. When St. *Augustin* reckon'd the *Samaritans* among the Heretical Jews, he did not speak of the ancient Inhabitants of *Samar*, immediately after the division of the Tribes, but of the later *Samaritans*, who were real Hereticks among the Jews. Lastly, It is no extraordinary thing for St. *Augustin* to cite some places of Scripture in other terms than he had used in other places; or that he should doubt here of some things, whereof he speaks more affirmatively at other times.

Though these Answers should not be sufficient to remove all suspicion, yet it is certain, That this Book was written in St. *Augustin's* time; and all that can be said is, That it might have been drawn up by some of his Friends, and directed in his Name to the *Donatists*. It was written in 402. after the Second Book against *Petilianus*, and before the Third; It is a new Challenge which he sendeth to this Bishop to defend his own Party, and to shew that the true Church

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Church is on his side. He describes the Marks of the true Church, and proves, That they do not agree with the *Donatists's* Party, but with that of the Catholics; and then answereth those Passages which the *Donatists* urged for themselves, and the Accusations which they formed against the Church.

One *Crescentius*, a Grammarian, of the *Donatists's* Party, undertook to defend *Petilianus* against St. *Augustin's* first Writing. As soon as he saw his Letter, he refus'd it in three Books, and retorted upon him all his Arguments, by retorting in a Fourth Book the business of the *Maximianists*. These Books were written about the Year 406.

Here should have been placed Three other Treatises against the *Donatists*, which he mentions in his *Retractions*, but they are lost. These were, A Book of *Proofs and Testimonies against the Donatists*; A Treatise against a *Donatist*; And an Advice to the *Donatists* about the Business of the *Maximianists*.

The Book of *one Baptism*, against *Petilianus*, was written after the Conference at *Carthage*. The Principal Question treated of by St. *Augustin*, is concerning the Validity of Baptism administered by Hereticks.

St. *Augustin* being willing to Publish an Account of the Conference of *Carthage*, wrote a Breviary of what was said in the three Days Conference, in 412.

He wrote a Book likewise directed to the *Donatists*, with the same Design; wherein he makes several Reflections upon the Conference of *Carthage*, that he might perfectly undeceive that Party, and shew that they were seduc'd and deceived by their Bishops. He likewise answereth their Cavils against the Judgment of *Marcellinus*. This Book is of the Year 413.

The Treatise to *Emeritus* a *Donatist's* Bishop, who was one of the principal Defenders of that Party in the Conference at *Carthage*, is lost. St. *Augustin* had collected there the main Points, wherein they had been baffled, as he says, in the 49th. Chapter of the Second Book of his *Retractions*. After this he went to *Cesarea*, a City of *Mauritania*, where he met with *Emeritus*, before whom he Preach'd a Sermon to persuade him to reconcile himself to the Church; but not prevailing by this means, he held a Conference with him, about those things which had been done in the Conference at *Carthage*; and then press'd him so hard upon the Quarrel of the *Maximianists*, that *Emeritus* had nothing to say: This Conference was held in the presence of the Bishops, Clergy, and People, the 20th. of September 413. or 418. for the Manuscripts do not well agree about the Consul's Names.

At last, *Gaudensius* one of the Seven *Donatist's* Bishops who defended their Party in the Conference at *Carthage*, being press'd by the Threatnings of *Dulcinius*, writ two Letters, which St. *Augustin* answers in his First Book against this *Donatist's* Bishop; which is particularly to justify the severity exercis'd towards them. *Gaudensius* willing to answer something, wrote a Discourse; wherein, without meddling with the Contest betwixt them, he justified his Party, and calumniated the Church. St. *Augustin* answereth this Treatise in the Second Book. Both these Books of St. *Augustin* are of the Year 420.

There is a Sermon attributed to St. *Augustin*, concerning one *Ruficiannus*, a Sub-deacon, who was Re-baptized by the *Donatists*, and then Ordained Deacon; but this Discourse does not agree to St. *Augustin*, as it is proved in the Preface. This Volume ends with a Catalogue of St. *Augustin's* Works against the *Donatists*, which are in the other Volumes of St. *Augustin's* Works. We have not spoken particularly of the Matters handled by St. *Augustin*, in every Book against the *Donatists*; because he commonly repeateth the same Arguments, and so we should have been oblig'd to say often the same things, and for which Reason it was put off to this place; that I might give an Abridgment of his Doctrine, and a Breviary of his chief Reasons all at once.

It has been observ'd already, That the *Donatists* began their Schism by a Separation of some *African* Bishops, who accus'd *Cacilian* of several Crimes, whereof they had been convicted themselves. Though they had been condemn'd in the Council of *Rome*, in that of *Arles*, and at last by *Constantine's* Judgment, yet they remained firm to their own Opinions, and would by no means be reconciled to the Church. Their Party also was much strengthened by the great number of Bishops whom they ordain'd, almost in every Church of *Africa*, and by the Multitudes of People whom they drew after them: So that in St. *Augustin's* time, their Party was very near as strong in *Africa*, as that of the Catholics. But they held no Communion with all the other Churches in the World, which acknowledged *Cacilian*, his Successors, and those of that Party, for the true Church.

The *Donatists* in their own defence affirm'd, That *Cacilian*, *Felix* of *Apturnus*, who ordain'd him, *Milhiades* that absolv'd him, and several others of his Brethren, having been convicted of certain Crimes, ought to be depol'd and expelled out of the Church; That their Crime made them cease to be Members of the Church, which ought to be pure and without blemish; That as many as defended them and had Communicated with them, were become Accessaries to their Crime by approving it; and that so, not only the Churches of *Africa*, but even all the other Churches in the World, which held Communion with the Churches of *Cacilian's* Party, having been defiled, ceased to be Parts of the true Church of Jesus Christ, that was then reduced to the small number of those who would not partake with Peravicators; but kept themselves in the Primitive Purity. Besides this, They charg'd the Church with another great Crime, as they esteem'd it; which was, That they made Application to the Emperor's Authority to Persecute

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their Party; and that they caused several Violences to be exercised against them. Now, they persisting in the Opinion of St. Cyprian, and of the ancient Bishops of Africa; who held, That Baptism by Hereticks and Schismatics was invalid, and ought to be renew'd; a necessary Consequence of their Principles, was the Rebaptizing of the Catholics that came over to their Party.

These are the Grounds on which the Schism of the *Donatists* stood. There were two ways to deal with them; either by denying the Matter of Fact, or by opposing the Matter of Right: Those who first writ against the *Donatists*, insisted most upon the Matter of Fact; that is, The Justification of *Cæcilian*, *Felix of Aptungis*, and the rest. Neither doth St. *Augustin* omit this; for he often proves *Cæcilian's* Innocency, by the Judgments given in his behalf; First, At *Rome*, by Pope *Miltiades*, and other Bishops; Secondly, In the Council of *Arles*; and at last, By the Judgment of *Constantine*. He adds, as an absolute Justification, the consent of all the Churches in the World, which had approved and followed the Judgment of those Councils. He likewise produces the Acts that were made to justify *Felix of Aptungis*; He defends *Miltiades* and *Hosius*, against the Calumnies laid upon them. And shews at last, That the *Donatists* had no Proofs of what they alleged against the Catholic Bishops. But he doth not think this to be the main Point, and therefore he passes to the Matter of Right, and maintains, That though *Cæcilian*, and the rest of his Brethren, had been guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge; yet that was not a sufficient Ground for a Separation from the Church; and that the Church did not cease to be the Church, because it Communicated with wicked Men, since either she did not know them; or else, she bore with them to preserve Peace; which brings him to that great Question, Whether the Church here below is made up only of Saints and Righteous Men, or composed of Good and Bad. St. *Augustin* affirms, That there was always in the Church Chaff and Corn; that is, both good and wicked Men; and that such will be to the Day of Judgment, which shall divide the good from the bad; That sometimes the number of the latter exceeds that of the former; That many cannot be driven out of the Church, because they are not known, and because it is convenient to tolerate some for quietness sake, to prevent a Schism which might be occasioned by cutting off from the Communion those Persons who might draw along with them several of the Faithful; That it is great rashness to condemn all the Churches in the World, for the Crime of one or two; That the Catholic Church ought to be diffused over the whole Earth, and not confined to a small part of the World, as in a Corner of Africa. Here St. *Augustin* triumphs over his Adversaries, proving by Prophecies, and other Passages both of the Old and New Testament, That the Catholic Church was to have a considerable Extent.

These are properly the main Points in Controversy betwixt the Church and the *Donatists*; but there are other Secondary Questions.

The First, is concerning the Persecutions, which the *Donatists* imputed to the Church as a Crime. St. *Augustin* defends the Church very Modestly, either by disapproving such Violences, or by shewing that it was lawful to make use of the Imperial Laws, and of some sort of Severity to bring the *Donatists* back to the bosom of the Church. He chargeth them likewise with the same things; objecting the Cruelties, Violences, Sacrileges and Murders committed by those of their Party called *Circumcellians*, and authorized thereunto by *Optatus Gildonianus*.

The other accessory Question, which St. *Augustin* looks upon as a principal one, is about the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks. St. *Augustin* needed only to prove that his Party was the true Church, and so Condemn by a necessary Consequence the *Donatists*, for Rebaptizing those that had been baptized before by Catholics, since it was agreed on both sides, that the Baptism of the true Church was valid. But St. *Augustin* undertook besides, to prove the validity of the Baptism of Hereticks and Schismatics; And that though his Party were not the Church, yet the *Donatists* were not to baptize them a second time. He confesses, That St. *Cyprian*, and most of the African Bishops in his time were of a contrary opinion; That *Agrippinus* his Predecessor, had appointed Hereticks to be Rebaptized; That St. *Cyprian* and the Councils held in Africa at that time, confirmed *Agrippinus's* Decree; That this Question remained long undecided, or rather variously decided in divers places. But that at last the thing was decided in a Plenary Council of the whole Church, (in all likelihood he means that of *Arles*) and that after such Determination, it was not permitted to doubt, because the Provincial or National Councils must give place to the Authority of Plenary Councils. That St. *Cyprian* was to be excused for not taking the right side of so hard a Question, which was not yet cleared or decided, and so much the rather, because he defended his own Opinion without making a Schism, and with the Spirit of Peace and Unity; However, That the Letters and Writings of the Saints were not to be rely'd upon, as the Apostles Epistles, and the other Books of the Holy Scripture.

Now to explain St. *Augustin's* Opinion touching Baptism more particularly, we are to observe as he doth, That Baptism may be said to be of two sorts; The one administered in the Name of the Trinity, that is, by invoking of the Trinity; and the other performed without naming the Three Divine Persons. The latter, St. *Augustin* confesses to be null; but affirms the other to be valid, whoever he be that administers it. So that it matters not who baptizeth, provided that Baptism be in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Two things are likewise to be distinguished in Baptism, the Sacrament, and the Effect of the Sacrament: The Sacrament is found in those that are baptized by Hereticks; but because they have not Faith, they are deprived of the Effect: For, that Baptism may be complete, both as a Sacrament,

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Sacrament, and as to its Effect, the Sacrament must be intire; that is, the Person must be baptized outwardly in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he that receives must believe and be converted. The Sacrament is often found without Faith, and Faith without the Sacrament. Children have the Sacrament without Faith. The good Thief had Faith without the Sacrament. God supplies in Children the Faith they want, and he supplied in the good Thief the Sacrament which he could not receive. But when either of these is wanting, by the Man's own Fault, he cannot be excused; and he receiveth not the Effect of Baptism. When the Sacrament is found without Faith, and without Conversion, it is not necessary to be reiterated: It is sufficient only to supply what is wanting; as when one is already converted, it is enough to receive the Sacrament. The difference lieth in this, That the Adult cannot be saved without Faith and Conversion, though they may be saved without the Sacrament, if so be that they do not want it through Contempt or Neglect, but because they lay under an impossibility of receiving it.

From these Principles, St. *Augustin* draws the following Conclusions: 1. That Baptism conferred by Hereticks in the Name of the Trinity, is good and valid as it is a Sacrament, and ought not to be repeated. 2. That neither the Minister's Faith, as to Religion, nor his Sanctity avail any thing to the Validity of Baptism. 3. That it is God, and not the Minister who gives the Holy Spirit, and worketh the Remission of Sins. 4. That Baptism produces this Effect, but in them alone that are well-disposed by Faith and Conversion of the Heart. 5. That the Prayers of the Church, which consists of Saints and Righteous Men; supplies the Actual Faith, which Children cannot have. 6. That the Adult who have Faith and are Converted, may be saved without actual receiving of the Sacrament, but not without the Sacramental Vow.

As for some other Questions which might be made about Baptism administered by Infidels, or some impious Persons that are Excommunicated or in jest. St. *Augustin* saith, in the Seventh Book of *Baptism*, Chap. 539, thus, "It is asked, saith he, whether that Baptism is to be approved, which is administered by an unbaptized Person, who out of Curiosity hath learned the way of baptizing among Christians? It is asked further, Whether it be necessary for the Validity of Baptism that he, who either administers or receives it, be sincere? And if they should be only in jest. Whether Baptism ought to be administered again in the Church? Whether Baptism conferred in Desision, as that would be, which should be administered by a Comedian, might be accounted Valid? Whether it is more Criminal to receive Baptism in jest in the Church, or to receive it with the same Spirit, in Heresie or Schism? Whether Baptism administered by an Actor, may become Valid, when he that receives it is well-disposed."

St. *Augustin* answers to these and such-like Questions, That the securest way is to return no Answer to Questions that never were decided in any Council, General, or National. But he adds, Should any man, meeting with me at such Council, ask my Advice about these Questions, and that it were my turn to declare my Opinion, having not heard other Mens Opinions, which I might prefer before mine own, and if I perceiv'd in my self the same Dispositions that I am now in, I should without difficulty acknowledge, That they all receive Baptism truly in any place whatsoever, and by whomsoever administered, if on their part they receive it with Faith, and with Sincerity. I am apt also to believe, That such as receive Baptism in the Church, or in what is supposed to be the Church, are truly baptized as to the Sacramental part of the Action whatsoever be their intention. But as for Baptism administered and received out of the Church, in Railery, Contempt, and to make Sport; I could not approve the same without a Revelation.

These are St. *Augustin's* Opinions concerning the Validity or Invalidity of Baptism. As to the Answers which he makes to the Arguments of St. *Cyprian*, and the other Bishops of his Opinion, they are grounded for the most part upon the Comparison between concealed Hereticks and Evil Ministers, with known Hereticks and Schismatics. For since the Baptism of the former is Valid and not to be renewed; why should not the same thing be said of the latter, since all the Reasons that are alleged for the nullity of the Baptism of Hereticks may also belong to Evil Ministers? It is said, for example, That to give the Holy Ghost one must have it; That Hereticks have it not; and consequently that they cannot give it. Why may we not reason after the same manner concerning Baptism, conferred by concealed Hereticks, or by wicked Priests? Have they the Holy Ghost to give? Thus St. *Augustin* overthrowes the Reasons and Testimonies brought in by St. *Cyprian* and his Collegues against the Validity of the Baptism of Hereticks, by shewing, That while they prove too much, they prove nothing.

But his great Argument to destroy the *Donatists*, which he particularly insisteth upon in his last Book against *Crescensius*, is an Argument taken from their Conduct in a Schism that was risen up amongst themselves, betwixt *Maximianus*, upheld by some other Bishops of their Sect, and *Primitivus* another Bishop of their Party at *Carthage*; They accused one another of several Crimes, and condemned one another; but *Primitivus's* Party being the stronger, prevailed and held a Plenary Council at *Bagai*, wherein they condemned *Maximianus*, and his Adherents, in very reproachful terms, and got this Judgment to be confirmed by the Emperor's Letters. Now, according to the *Donatist* Principles, Persons thus Condemned were out of the Church; all that Communicated with them were out of the Church; all whom they baptized, were to be baptized again. And yet the *Primitivians* behaved themselves quite otherwise; for they kept Communion

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Communion with some of the condemned Bishops, and owned them for lawful Bishops; they acknowledged those that were Baptized by the *Maximianists*, to be truly Baptized; and they admitted into their Communion those that were of the *Maximianist* Party. St. *Augustin* compares this Conduct, with their Behaviour towards the Scripture and the Universal Church; and by that Argument convinceth them, That it was only Prejudice and Obstinacy which kept them in their Separation from the Church.

The Supplement that is added to this Ninth Volume, contains not only the Book against *Fulgentius* the *Donatist*, falsely attributed to St. *Augustin*, concerning which the Censure of the *Louvain* Doctors, and of *Vindobona*, set before it, may be consulted; but also Extracts from ancient Pieces concerning the History of the *Donatists*, taken out of *Optatus*, *Enschimus*, St. *Augustin*, the Conference at *Carthage*, the Councils of *Carthage*, and the Imperial Laws against the *Donatists*. And that all what St. *Augustin* writ against the *Donatists* might be published together, they copied out what he said in the Conference of *Carthage*. This Collection is the more useful, because there are considerable Restitutions of several Passages of *Optatus*, from a Manuscript in the Library at St. *Germain des Prez*. Here is one of the principal. There is a Passage in the First Book of *Optatus*, where it is said, That *Eunomius* and *Olympius* were sent into *Africa* to Ordain a Bishop, and to Degrade *Cacilian* and *Optatus*: *Chremosis duobus unum ordinarent*. This Passage obliged *Albipetrus* to affirm, That *Donatus* of *Cafa Nigra* had been Bishop of *Carthage*. He likewise draws from it great Advantages in favour of the Church of *Rome*: yet this Period is not in the *St. Germain* Copy, and it signifies nothing either for that which goes before, or for that which comes after. If we read the Passage, we may judge; *Tunc duo Episcopi ad Africam missi sunt, Eunomius, & Olympius. Venimus, & apud Carthaginiem fuerunt per dies quadraginta, vel quinquaginta, ut pronuntiarent ubi esset Catholica. Hoc seditiosa pars Donati fieri passa non est.* This Place is clear and plain: whereas, if this Period be inserted, *Chremosis duobus unum ordinarent*, the sense is altered, and it will be contradictory. There is likewise, some Lines before; another Restitution, which is confirmed by St. *Augustin*'s Testimony, in the Conference at *Carthage*. *Donatus petiit, ut ei reverti liceret, & nec ad Carthaginem accederet.* Whereas they read before, *Ut ei reverti Carthaginem cogeretur.* In the Extract out of the Third Book of *Optatus*, they distinguish Three Persecutions against the *Donatists*; and the Governors are named by whose Orders they were raised. This is not to be found in the ordinary Editions of *Optatus*. I shall not mention several other Corrections, which may make us wish that a new entire Edition of this Author were undertaken.

THE TENTH TOME.

Tom. X. THE Tenth Volume, not yet Printed, is intended for the Books which St. *Augustin* composed against the *Pelagians*.

The Three Books Of *Merits* and *Remission* of *Sins*, wherein he treats of Infant-Baptism, directed to *Marcellinus*, ought to be set in the first place; for till then he had not undertaken the *Pelagians*, except in his Sermons, or in Conversation, (as he takes notice in his *Retractions*). He writ these in the Year 412. in Answer to the *Pelagian* Questions which Count *Marcellinus* had sent to him at *Carthage*. He speaks there particularly of Infant-Baptism, as necessary to remit Original Sin; and of the necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, which justifies us, or maketh us righteous; though whilst we are in this Life, we cannot so perfectly accomplish God's Law, but that we are obliged to say in our daily Prayers, *Forgive us our Sins*. These are the principal Truths opposed by the *Pelagians*. St. *Augustin* refutes them without naming the Authors, and speaks of *Pelagius* in good Terms; because several Persons had a great Esteem for his Virtue: And he had not yet set forth his Doctrine in his own Name, being contented to propose it in other Mens Names, in his Commentaries upon St. *Paul*. St. *Augustin*, in the last Book, refutes the Explications which he had given of those Passages of the Apostle that speak of Original Sin.

Count *Marcellinus* having received these Three Books from St. *Augustin*, sent him word back again, That he had found a Passage which puzzled him; St. *Augustin* had said, That with the help of Grace, Man might live without Sin; though none was yet arrived to that Perfection in this Life, and that none would ever arrive to it. *Marcellinus* asked St. *Augustin* how he could affirm this to be possible, if there were no Examples of it. To satisfy him about that Question, St. *Augustin* wrote the Book Of *The Spirit and of the Letter*: Yet he doth not examine this Question to the bottom; but having answered in very few words, That God can do many things which he doth not, he boldly attacks those who durst affirm, That a Man may fulfil the Commandments, be just and Vertuous, without the succour of Christ's Grace. He grounds these Reasonings upon that place of St. *Paul*, *The letter killeth, but the spirit gives life*. By the Letter, he understandeth the Law and the Commandments, which are unprofitable without the help of Grace, which is the Spring of Faith, of Righteousness, Holiness, and all Christian Virtues. This Book is of the Year 413.

In the Year 414. two young Monks, *Timotheus* and *James*, having been undeceived by St. *Augustin*, as to the *Pelagian* Errors, sent to him one of *Pelagius*'s Books; wherein he pleaded for

for the Strength of Nature, to the Prejudice of Christ's Grace. St. *Augustin* immediately engaged to write against it, and composed upon that Subject the Book Of *Nature and of Grace*: St. *Augustin* wherein he defends the Grace of Jesus Christ, without Prejudice to Nature, which is delivered and regulated by Grace. He explains in this Treatise his Principles concerning the Fall of Humane Nature, and the Necessity of Grace to be justified; yet he spares *Pelagius*'s Name.

But this Monk having afterwards discovered his Opinions, was cited by *Heros*, Bishop of *Aries*, and by *Lazarus*, Bishop of *Aix*, to a Council of Fourteen Bishops, held at *Diospolis*, in *Palestine*, in the Year 415. wherein he was declared Catholic in the absence of his Accusers, having made a shew of condemning the Errors whereof he was accused. St. *Augustin* fearing lest Men should believe that the Council had approved his Doctrine, wrote a Book, entitled, *Of the Acts of Pelagius*: wherein he declares how Things were carried; and discovers at the same time, that *Pelagius* had imposed upon the Fathers of the Council, by professing a Doctrine which he had opposed in his Writings. This Book is of the Year 416, or 417. *Pelagius* made use of the same Artifice to persuade *Albinus*, *Pinianus* and *Melania*, that he did not maintain the Errors he was accused of, by Anathematizing them in appearance. *Caelestius* also deceived Pope *Zosimus* by the same Fraud, by presenting unto him a Counterfeit Catholic Confession. These Cheats St. *Augustin* discovers and refutes in the Treatise Of *Christ's Grace*, and in that Of *Original Sin*; wherein he shews that these Confessions of Faith are captious and deceitful. These Treatises are of the Beginning of the Year 418. It is probable also that it was at that same time that St. *Augustin* writ the small Treatise Of *The Perfection of Righteousness*, against *Caelestius*: where he Answers the Objections and Difficulties proposed by this Man, under the Name of, Definitions against the Opinion of the Catholics, who affirmed, That there never was, nor ever should be a Man that could attain to that Perfection, of passing his whole Life without Offending God: St. *Augustin* maintains, That God does not grant this Grace even to the greatest Saints; and so that it is ridiculous to believe that Man can compass this by the sole strength of his Free-Will, as *Pelagius* and *Caelestius* imagined. He does not mention this Book in his *Retractions*, but St. *Prosper* quotes it several times.

The First Book Of *Marriage* and *Concupiscence*, was composed about the latter end of the Year 418. There St. *Augustin* Answereth one of the most malicious of the *Pelagian* Objections against Original Sin. If Concupiscence (*said they*) is Evil, and an Effect of Sin; if all Children are Born in Sin, how comes Matrimony to be approved, which is the Effect and Spring of this Sin? St. *Augustin* handleth this nice Question very cunningly, by shewing, That though Lust be a Defect, and a Consequence of the First Man's Sin, which remaineth even in the Baptized; yet Conjugal Chastity is to be approved, which makes a good use of an evil thing. He occasionally discourseth of several Questions about Marriage, which he had treated of in other Books. This Book is dedicated to Count *Valerius*, into whose hands the Letter that contained this Objection fell.

Julianus, an *Italian* Bishop, a Man of VVirt, having read this Book, he was resolved to signalize himself, by writing Four Books against this Treatise of St. *Augustin*. This Father having seen some Extracts of them, that were directed to *Valerius*, Answered them in the Second Book Of *Marriages* and *Concupiscence*, written in 419.

Some time after, he received the Four whole Books of *Julianus*. In reading of them, he perceived that the Extracts sent to him were not very faithfully drawn; which determined him to undertake another VVork to Answer them fully. It is divided into Six Books. In the two first he opposes the Testimonies of the Holy Fathers who dy'd in the Communion of the Church, to *Julianus*'s Calumnies, who had accused St. *Augustin* of Approving the *Manichean* Doctrine; because he had taught, That all Men inherited Original Sin from *Adam*; which is remitted not only in those of riper Years, but even in Children, by the Grace of Baptism. And for this he allegeth some Passages out of St. *Irenaeus*, St. *Cyprian*, *Rheticius* Bishop of *Aulun*, *Olympius* a Bishop in *Spain*, St. *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, and St. *Ambrose*, which prove, That Man is Born in Sin, and is Cleaned by Baptism. But because *Julianus* appealed to the Greek Fathers. St. *Augustin* produceth likewise the Testimonies of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Basil*, together with the Judgment of the Bishops of *Palestine*, who condemned *Pelagius*. He Answereth a Passage of St. *Chrysostom* which *Julianus* had cited, and quotes several other Passages out of this Father, which suppose Original Sin. Having thus strengthened his Opinion with these Great Mens Authority, he likewise recriminates upon *Julianus* for publishing such Principles as favoured of the Heresie of the *Manichees*; and with this he concludes the First Book.

In the Second Book, he refuteth the chief Arguments of the *Pelagians*, against original Sin, by the Authorities of the Fathers; shewing, That in their Writings they prevented and resolved those very Objections, which the *Pelagians* did so much depend upon. Having collected a great Number of Passages upon that Subject, he saith, That their Authority is so much the more considerable, because they had said these Things without prejudice, before the *Pelagians* Heresie broke out, following therein the Sense of the Church. "We have shewed, *saith he*, directing his Speech to the *Pelagians*, by invincible Authorities, That the Holy Bishops, who lived before us, taught the same Faith which we maintain, and overthrow the Arguments which you make use of, not only in their Discourses, but in their Writings also. "We have shewed you their Opinions, which are very particular, and clear: It is not their Power, but God's who made them his Holy Temples, which you ought to fear. They

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"judged our Cause, at a time, when they could not be suspected either of favouring, or hating either Party; they had neither relation to, nor affection for the one, or the other; they were angry neither with you, nor us; neither you, nor we, could move them to Pity. They preferred the Doctrine which they found in the Church, and they taught what they had Learned: They delivered to their Children what they received of their Fathers. We had not yet referred our Cause to them, and yet they gave judgment on our side; neither of us were known to them, and yet they pronounced in our behalf; we had not had any Dispute with you, and they declared the Right to be on our side:-- Those Bishops were Learned, Just, and Wise; they strongly defended the Truth against Innovations; and none can say, that they wanted Wit, Knowledge, or Freedom. Should a Council be assembled from all Parts of the World, it were hard to find such a Number of Bishops of that importance; neither did they all live at the same time. They are the choice of the greatest Men whom God gave to his Church in several Ages. Their Testimonies are collected in a Book, which may come to your Hands. The more you should wish to have them for your Judgments, if you defended the Faith of the Church, the more ought you to fear them when you oppose it. I hope that their Testimonies will cure your Blindness, as I wish it; but if you continue obstinate in your Error, which God forbid, you are no more to look for a tribunal to justify you, but those wonderful Defenders of the Truth to accuse you, St. Irenaeus, St. Cyprian, Clement, Olympius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. Innocent, and St. Jerome, with all those that communicated with them, that is to say the whole Church. If you run to that excess of Folly, you must be answered by defending the Faith of these great Men, as the Gospel itself is defended against ungodly Men, and the Enemies of Religion. This he doth in the Four next Books, which contain the Answer to Julianus his Four Books. There he treateth particularly of original Sin, of Concupiscence, of the falsehood of the Virtues of the Heathens, of the necessity of Baptism, and of Grace; and answereth all that Julianus had said against what he had set down in his Book of Matrimony, and Concupiscence. I do not believe that these Books were finished before the Year 424.

Before he had written them, Pope Boniface sent him two Letters of the Pelagians: the one of Julianus written to Boniface himself; and the other, in the Name of Eighteen Bishops of the same Opinion which had been sent to Theodosius. St. Augustine having received them, immediately wrote four Books to refute them, which he directed to Pope Boniface. In the beginning of the First, to get that Pope's good Will, he thanks him for the Love which he shewed towards him, and for the courteous manner wherewith he received his Brother Alypius of Tagasta; he complements him upon the Dignity of his See, and tells him, That tho' all Bishops are obliged to watch for the Defence of Christ's Flock, he was yet more particularly engaged to do it, because he was in a more Eminent Place. Afterwards he answers Julianus's Calumnies, and proves, that the Catholics did not deny Free-Will; that they do not condemn Marriage, nor the lawful Procreation of Children; that they do not condemn the Saints of the Old Testament, neither do they say, That the Apostles were defiled through disorderly Desires, and explains in what Sense St. Paul said he was carnal. But they maintain, That Man cannot be Righteous without Grace; that Children are born in Sin; that the involuntary Motions of Concupiscence, are an Effect of Sin; that the Grace of Jesus Christ doth not only help Man to do Good when he is willing, but makes him willing to do it; that the Saints of the Old Testament, were only justified by Faith in Jesus Christ; that Baptism is not only necessary to Children, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to obtain a share in Life eternal, out of which they are excluded by original Sin alone.

In the Two next Books, he refutes almost the same Calumnies contained in the other Letter of the Pelagians: The Two First are about Free-Will, and Marriage. St. Augustine adds nothing to what he had said in the foregoing Book. In the Third, they taxed the Catholics with introducing Fatalism. St. Augustine shews the difference betwixt Grace and Fate. In the Fourth, they accused them of maintaining, That the Law was not given to justify Man, but to render him more Sinful. St. Augustine tells them, That they did not understand the Opinion of the Church, in that Point; that the Law was given to teach what ought to be done, but that it is Grace which makes us obey the Law; and so the Law doth indeed shew what Righteousness is, but doth not make us practise it. Fifthly, they upbraided the Catholics with believing, That Baptism did not remit all Sins; so that Men continued partly God's Children, and partly the Children of the Devil. St. Augustine replies, That Baptism doth indeed remit all Sins, but it doth not cure Nature of its Weaknesses, and Imperfections:-- That the Righteous may, and do Sin often, without becoming therefore the Children of the Devil, because there is no Man so Righteous as that he sinneeth not. The Sixth Calumny is concerning the Old Testament. St. Augustine answereth, That the Righteous who lived under the Old Testament, were justified through the Grace of the New; whereof the Old was only the Figure. The Seventh is, that the Apostles, and Prophets were not perfectly Holy, but only less criminal than others. St. Augustine answers, That they were truly Righteous through Faith, and Charity, but they had not all the perfection of Virtue, which now they have in the other Life. He utterly rejects the Ninth Calumny, whereby they accused the Catholics of saying, That Jesus Christ had been subject to Sin. The Tenth Calumny was expressed in these Terms: They affirm, That Men shall begin in the next Life, to practise the Commandments, which they

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they did not practise in this. St. Augustine opposes it; shewing, That they put an ill Construction upon a Catholic Truth; which is, That the Virtue, and the Righteousness of Men, shall only be perfect in the next Life.

In the last Book, St. Augustine refutes the Pelagian Doctrines; and shews, That under pretence of commending Nature, Marriage, Free-Will, the Law, and the Saints of the Old Testament, they advanced very dangerous Errors, to which he opposes several Testimonies of St. Cyprian, and of St. Ambrose.

The Book of Grace, and Free-Will, was written by St. Augustine in the Year 427. upon a Dispute which happened in the Monastery of Adrumetum, against those who fearing, least by the Doctrine of Grace, Free-Will should be denied, do indeed deny Grace by defending Free-Will, because they suppose that Grace is given according to Merit. This last Error St. Augustine chiefly opposes in this Book; shewing, That the beginning both of Faith, and good Resolutions, is an effect of Grace.

The reading of this Book did not settle Peace among those Monks: For there was an Objection proposed, which was obvious enough to every Man's understanding. If no Man can do Good, without the Grace of God, and this Grace cannot be merited, no Man is to be reproved, or corrected for not doing his Duty, since it is not in his Power to do it, because he wants Grace, and cannot deserve it. St. Augustine perceiving the Difficulty of this Objection, for the Solution thereof, composed the Book of Correction, and Grace, wherein, without retracting any thing of what he had formerly said, he affirms, That Admonition is to be used: 1. Because it may happen, that God will touch the Heart of him that is reprov'd. 2. Because Sinners sin voluntarily, and without Compulsion; and that they cannot complain that God hath denied them his Grace, or the Gift of Perseverance, since he owes his Grace to no body. He does not content himself with Answering the Objection; but further explains and confirms his Principles, by shewing the difference betwixt the Grace of Adam in the State of Innocence, and that which is necessary to Man in the state of fallen Nature. He speaks also of the Gift of Perseverance, which is not granted unto all; and of the Power of Grace, and the free Predetermination of the Elect.

He again insisteth upon the same Matter, and upon the same Principles, in both the Books which he writ in answer to Hilary's, and Prosper's Letters. The First is of the Predetermination of the Saints, and the Second of the Gift of Perseverance: Wherein he demonstrates, That the beginning of Faith, and good Purposes, is the Gift of God; and that so, our Predetermination, or Vocation, does not depend upon our Merits. The Second Book concerns the Gift of Perseverance, which he shews to depend equally upon God, as the beginning of our Conversion. St. Augustine composed these Treatises in the Year 429.

St. Augustine's last Effort against the Pelagians, fell upon Julianus his old Adversary; who, to maintain the Quarrel he had begun, composed Eight Books against St. Augustine's Second Book Of Matrimony, and Concupiscence. St. Augustine having received Five of them from Alypius, undertook to write against them, and was engaged about the Fourth, when he writ the 24th. Letter to Quodvultdeus, in the Year 428. It is probable, that Alypius sent him the other Three, but St. Augustine answered but Six; and this Work remains imperfect, as Possidius affirms. The Six Books of St. Augustine were published by F. Pignier, from a Manuscript of the Abby of Clervaux, which, in all probability, will be revised and corrected in a new Edition from some other Manuscripts. These Books are written by way of Dialogue: There St. Augustine produces Julianus's own Terms, and Answers them plainly, and in few Words.

We refer'd to speak of St. Augustine's Four Treatises Of the original of the Soul, to this place, because they were not written properly against the Pelagians, though St. Augustine handleth there some Questions that have some relation to the Dispute betwixt them: Therefore I think that it had been more proper to have set them at the end of the Sixth Volume, than in this place. The occasion and subject of these Four Books is this.

A Priest of the Province of Maurimania Caesarensis, one Victor, who was Surnamed Vincencius, from a Donatist Bishop, Successor to Victor of that Name, whose Memory that Priest who had been a Donatist, did reverence very much: This Priest, I say, having met in the House of one Peter, a Spanish Priest, with a Writing of St. Augustine's, wherein St. Augustine had set down his usual Doubts about the Soul's Original, wrote two Books against him, which he directed to Peter himself. He affirmed in that Book, That nothing was easier than the decision of that Question, and that he was sure that God did every moment create new Souls; but added to this Principle several erroneous Consequences: He confessed, indeed, That the Soul was no part of God's Substance; but he would not say that he created it of nothing; He asserted, That it had a Body, and so that Man was made up of a gross Body, of a Soul that was a more subtil Body, and of a Spirit. He said, That the soul deserved to be placed in the Body, to contract some Pollution by conversing with Flesh; but that it was also Purified by the Flesh. That those Children whom God predestinated to Baptism, were saved though they were not baptized; That their Souls went into Paradise until the Day of Judgment, and that after the Resurrection they should enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: That Sacrifices were to be offered for them: And last of all, That the reason why some were Saved and others Damned, was the knowledge which God had of the Good or Evil which they should have done, if they had lived. These

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Notions being very dangerous, and *Vincentius* having maintained them with a great deal of Wit and Eloquence; when *St. Augustin* had received these Books from *Renatus*, a Monk of *Casarea*, he thought himself obliged to Answer them.

He wrote therefore a Treatise to this *Renatus*, who had sent them; wherein he refuteth the particular Opinions before-named: and among the rest, That of *Childrens Salvation* who die without Baptism; He sheweth, That they cannot be saved but by that Sacrament; and that the Eucharist is not to be offered for those that died before the Use of Reason, and unbaptized: For, saith he, *The Body of Jesus Christ is not to be offered but for such as are Members of Jesus Christ; But none can be a Member of Jesus Christ, but by Baptism in Jesus Christ; or by dying for Jesus Christ; "Nisi Baptismate in Christo, aut morte pro Christo."* He answereth the Example of the good Thief, in whom Faith supply'd Baptism; and that of *Democritus* Brother to *St. Perpetua*, a Child of Seven Years of Age, to whom God granted Salvation, through the Prayers of that Saint, as it is related in the Acts of her Martyrdom. As to this latter Example, *St. Augustin* saith at first, That being not taken out of a Canonial Book, he can ground no Doctrine upon it, and that it is uncertain whether that Child was baptized or no.

After this, he answers *Vincentius's* Notion, That Children were either Saved or Damned, for the Good or Evil which they would have done, if they had lived; This, he says, is a foolish Opinion: For, how can a Person be punished or recompensed, for Evil or Good Actions which are not, and which shall never be? were this true, no Man that is baptized can be secure; for who knows whether he should not have Apostatized, had he lived? And how can this be made to agree with what the Scripture saith of a Man that is taken away, lest the Wickedness of his Sin should corrupt him. Having refuted *Vincentius's* false Consequences, he shews, That those Passages of Scripture which he allegeth to prove the daily Creation of Souls, do indeed prove nothing, and that he takes almost all of them in a wrong sense; yet he condemns not this Opinion, provided that Testimonies of Scripture be not abused to prove it, and that nothing be alleged contrary to the Doctrine of the Church to uphold it: provided likewise that it be not said, 1. That God created sinful Souls. 2. That Children dying before Baptism, are saved. 3. That Souls sinned before their entrance into Bodies. 4. That they are punished for future Sins that shall never be.

St. Augustin was not contented to write this Book to *Renatus*; but he writ besides a second Treatise upon the same Subject, to *Peter* the Spanish Priest, who had given the occasion of this Controverſie, to disabuse him concerning *Vincentius's* Opinions.

And last of all, he dedicates two Books to *Vincentius* himself. In the first, he refuteth these Errors, which he reduces to these Eleven Propositions: 1. That the Soul is not created of nothing. 2. That God creates Souls in infinitum. 3. That the Soul loses its Merit by being united with the Body. 4. That it is renewed by the same Flesh, which caused it to lose its Merit. 5. That it is delivered to be sinful, before it entered into the Body. 6. That original Sin is remitted in Children that die without Baptism. 7. That some Children whom God hath predestinated to be baptized, do not receive that Sacrament. 8. That one may say of them, *He was taken away, lest Wickedness should corrupt him.* 9. That there are Habitations for them in the Kingdom of Heaven. 10. That the Eucharist ought to be offered for them. 11. That their Souls go into Paradise after Death; and that after the Resurrection they shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the Second, *St. Augustin* defends those things which *Vincentius* found fault with in his Book: They are Three. 1. His Doubts of the Original of the Soul. 2. His denying it to be a Body. 3. That he distinguished not the Soul from the Spirit. He said, touching the first Point, Is it credible that a Man does not know himself? if that be, Wherein doth he differ from Beasts? *St. Augustin* answers, That Man ought to confess his Ignorance, not only as to what relates to the Divinity, but also as to many things that concern his Body and Soul: And he produces several Examples of them. Upon the Second, his Question was, What the Soul is, if it be not a Body? but as he confessed at the same time that God is not a Body; *St. Augustin* asketh him the same Questions concerning the Nature of God, which he had started about the Nature of the Soul. He refuteth their Opinion who believed the Soul to be Corporeal, and particularly *Vincentius's* fancy, That the Soul being entered into the Body, was diffused into all the Parts, and by a kind of Congelation, had received the figure thereof. He answers the Argument which *Vincentius* had raised out of the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and from Apparitions; observing, That the Soul feels and represents Bodies, though it be not a Body, and though there be no Body present. As for what is said of *Lazarus's* Finger, and of the parts of a Soul; he retorts the Argument upon *Vincentius*, because he spake likewise of the Finger of God, and Scripture ascribes Members to him, though he be a meer Spirit.

At last, *St. Augustin* saith to the last Point, That when the Spirit is distinguish'd from the Soul, the word Spirit is taken in a special manner for Intelligence or Understanding; but not for Spirit, as it is a Nature opposed to Body. Lastly, He exhorteth *Victor* to lay aside the Surname of *Vincentius*; because, being entered into the Church, he could no longer, without condemning himself, look upon *Vincentius* as a Saint, who died a *Donatist*. These Treatises were composed in 419.

Though the main Points treated of in *St. Augustin's* Works against the *Pelagians* have been mentioned already: yea, it will not be amiss, to give here a general view of his Doctrine. God

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created the First Man in a state of Innocence, Holiness, and Grace. He was subject neither to the Necessity of Dying, nor to Sicknesses, nor Pain, nor the Motions of Lust, nor Ignorance, nor any of the Inconveniences of Life, or the Imperfections of Nature, which are the Consequences and Effect of his Sin. His Free-Will was entire, and weakened with nothing. It was perfectly indifferent to do either Good or Evil, though it could not do good without the help of Grace; but this Grace which God afforded him, was entirely subject to his Free-Will: It was a help without which he could not do good; but it did not make him do good. Such was the Condition of the First Man, like that of the Angels before their Sin. Such would have been the Condition of his Posterity, had he continued in that Happy state; but having offended God by his Disobedience, he, and all his Posterity are become subject unto Death, Pain, Sicknesses, Punishments; and what is worse, to Ignorance and Lust, that is to say, to Extravagant Motions which are within us, whether we will, or no. But what is yet more incomprehensible, all his Descendants begotten in the ordinary way, are born in Sin; They all contract the Sin which we call Original, which makes Children the Objects of God's Wrath, and infallibly Damns them, except they are regenerated by Baptism. Baptism doth indeed take away the stain of Sin, but it doth not remove the Punishment, and the Consequences of Sin. Concupiscence, Ignorance, Inclination to Sin, Weaknesses, and other Punishments for Sin, abide still during the whole course of this Mortal Life. Free-Will is not extinguish'd, but it hath not so much strength, and stands in need of powerful assistance to do good. The Grace which it needs to act, is not only that help without which it could neither will nor do that which is good; but also such an assistance as makes it both will and do it infallibly: This Grace is necessary not barely to accomplish entirely what is good, and to continue therein; but it is even necessary to begin Faith, for Prayer, and for the first Motions of Conversion. Yet it bereaves us not of our liberty, because we do not keep the Commandments, but as far as we are willing. It worketh this Will in us, without Violence or Compulsion: for God constraineth no Man to do either good or evil; but to do good the Will must be succoured by Grace, which doth not deprive it of its Liberty: and this Grace is not granted to Merit but is absolutely free. Since the First Man's Sin, the whole mass of Mankind was corrupt, condemned, and subject to Death. God by free Grace and Mercy takes out of this mass of Corruption whom he pleases, leaving the rest in that condition, out of that Justice which none can find fault with; for what is Man that he should dispute it with God? Doth the Earthen Vessel say to the Potter that framed it, Why hast thou made me thus? However, it may be truly said, That all Men may be saved if they will; if they be not, they can only accuse their own perverse Will, whereby they resist the Call of God. There are some Graces which he refuseth not to Reprobates, wherewith they might do good if they would. To some, he gives the Knowledge of his Law, and they despise it. He inspires into others a desire of being Converted, and they reject it; Some he excites to Prayer, but they neglect to do it; He speaks to the Hearts of several, who harden themselves, that they may not hearken unto his Voice; He overcomes the hardness of some for a time, converting them by an Effectual Grace, who plunge themselves again in Vice. In a word, how strong and powerful soever the Grace is which he gives, yet it may be said in some sense, that Man may always resist it, though he doth not actually do it. God does not grant this Grace to all Men, not only because he oweth it to none; but also because some make themselves unworthy of it: for to say nothing of Children who die before the use of Reason, who are either damned because of Original Sin, or saved by the Grace of Baptism, the Adult who have not the gift of Perseverance, have made themselves unworthy of it, either through their own Sin, or by the Contempt which they have cast upon God's Vocation; or by the Opposition they delivered them to inward Grace; or lastly, by falling again into the state of Sin, from which God delivered them in his Mercy. And so no Man can either excuse himself or accuse the Justice of God, because every one receiveth what he deserves; every one is rewarded or punished, according to the good or the evil which he hath done, by his Will which co-operates with the most effectual Grace.

The Effect of this Grace, according to *St. Augustin*, is to make us in love with that which is good; it is a pleasure which draws our heart towards good things, and enables us to keep the Commandments; without this Grace, there is no Action meritorious. The fear of Punishment; though merely servile, is good and profitable, because it regulates the inward Man, but it does not render us Righteous before God. We shall never perfectly accomplish the Precept of loving God in this Life, because we shall never love him so perfectly as in the next: And though through God's Grace, a Man may absolutely avoid all Sin in this Life; yet it never did, nor shall ever happen that a mere Man (excepting the Blessed Virgin, of whom *St. Augustin* would not have us to speak, when Sin is mentioned) passed through this Life without Sin: For this reason, the most righteous say daily, *Lord remit us our Debt*; that is, *our Sin*; But these are not mortal Sins, which bereave the Soul of Righteousness and Holiness; they are venial and daily Sins, which are indeed against God's Law, but do not utterly destroy Charity.

St. Augustin's Principles concerning Predestination and Reprobation, do exactly agree with his Opinion touching Grace. Both these Decrees, according to him, suppose the fore-knowledge of Original Sin, and of the Corruption of the whole mass of Mankind. If God would suffer all Men to remain there, none could complain of that severity, seeing they are all guilty and doom'd to Damnation, because of the Sin of the First Man. But God resolved from all Eternity,

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hity, to deliver some whom he had chosen out of pure Mercy, without any regard to their future Merits; and from all Eternity he prepared for them that were thus chosen, those Gifts and Graces which are necessary, to save them infallibly; and these he bestows upon them in time. All those therefore, that are of the number of the Elect, hear the Gospel and believe, and persevere in the Faith working out by Love, to the end of their lives. If they chence to wander from the right way, they return, and repent of their Sins: and it is certain that they shall all die in the Grace of Jesus Christ.

Reprobation is not like Predelination; God doth not positively cast away any Man; he predelinateeth none to Damnation; he only knows those that are left in that mass of Perdition, and are not of the happy number of those whom he will deliver through Mercy. These Wretches are at last Condemned, either because of Original Sin which is not remitted to them, and such are the Children that die without receiving Baptism, or for the Sins which by their Free-Will they have added to the first Sin; or, because they wanted Faith and Righteousness; or lastly, because they did not persevere unto the end.

This is an Abridgment of St. *Augustin's* Doctrine, which is set down in his Books against the *Pelagians*, and in several other places of his Works.

The Supplement to this Volume, containeth for the most part Writings that serve to justify St. *Augustin's* Doctrine of Predelination and of Grace, and some other Treatises upon the same Subject, attributed to St. *Augustin*; the Authors whereof are not well known. St. *Prosper's* Four Books, in Defence of St. *Augustin*, are of the first sort; to which they have added his Epigram, in Commendation of the Lime Father.

Caelestine's Letter, the Capitulars that follow it, and the Canons of the Council of *Orange*, are likewise Illustrations Approbations of St. *Augustin's* Doctrine. Here one might add several other Treatises about Grace, written upon occasion of those Contests raised concerning St. *Augustin's* Opinion; such as the Letter of the *African* Bishops that were banished into *Sardinia*; the Canons of the Council of *Valencia*; with the Treatises of *Florus*, *Lupus*, *Remigius* of *Auvergne*, *Ratramnus*, and several other Authors who writ of these Matters in the Ninth Century.

The other VVorks contained in this Addition do not bear the Names of any Authors. The First is a considerable Treatise, divided into Six Books, and entitled, *Hypognosticon*; Or, *Reflections and Notes against the Pelagians and Caelestians*. The Author lets down the main Doctrines of the *Pelagians* in their own words, and then confutes them. Although this Book is conformable to St. *Augustin's* Doctrine, yet it hath not his Style. That Father among the *Benedictines*, who chiefly looks after the New Edition of St. *Augustin*, having given me notice, That he thought it might be *Marius Mercator's*; I have examined it, and found that his Conjecture is not ill grounded. For, in the First place, That VVork is of an ancient Author, who both liv'd and writ at the same time with *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*, and he was of St. *Augustin's* Opinion; this agrees with *Marius Mercator*. 2. *Marius Mercator* usually gives his Treatises the same Title with this; for so he entitled his Writing against *Julianus*. 3. The Form of this Treatise is perfectly like that of his other Treatises: he lays down there the very Terms of his Adversaries, and then refutes them with Notes and Reflections. 4. Having compared this Treatise with others of *Marius Mercator*, and particularly with his Book against *Julianus*, I found the Style to be the same: One may meet with the same Terms repeated again, the same Figures, the same Liveliness, the same Turn, and the same Expressions. Lastly, St. *Augustin*, in the 193d. Letter, to *Marius Mercator*, in 418. affirms, That this Man had written a Book full of Scripture-Testimonies against the new Hereticks; and this can belong to no other of *Mercator's* Treatises, but agrees perfectly with this. There are the Conjectures which I thought of, and I doubt not but the *Benedictines* will bring several others much stronger; in the mean time, they may be sufficient to make their Conjecture very probable.

The Book Of *Predelination and Grace*, which is among St. *Augustin's* Works, under the Name of an incertain and suspicious Author, is attributed by *Sirmondus* to St. *Fulgentius*, and Printed under his Name among this Father's Works. We shall examine whether it be his, when we come to St. *Fulgentius*. However, this small Discourse of *Predelination* agrees neither with the Style nor with the Doctrine of St. *Augustin*.

These are all this Father's Works. His Life will be added in another Volume, with the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning him, the Commendations that have been given him, and very large and useful Tables.

Though we have given a sufficient Account both of St. *Augustin's* Character and Genius, in speaking of his Works; yet it is convenient to say something of them here in general. He was a Man of great Extent, great Exactness, and great force of Mind. His Reasonings were very strong. His ordinary Method is, to lay down extensive Principles, from which he draws an infinite number of Consequences: so that all the Points of his Doctrine have a great Connexion one with another. He argued more upon most of the Mysteries of our Religion, than any Author before him. He starts several Questions never thought of before, and resolves many of them by the mere Strength of his VVit. He often left the Notions of his Predecessors, to follow a Path wholly new, whether in Expounding the Scriptures, or in Opinions of Divinity. That may be said of him, as to Divinity, what *Cicero* said of himself, as to Philosophy, That he was *Magnus Opiniator*; that is, that he advanced several Opinions that were only probable.

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able. But St. *Augustin* doth it modestly, and with much Prudence, without pretending to oblige others to embrace his Opinions without Examination: whereas, when the Question is about the Doctrine of the Church, he proposes and maintains it stoutly, and as strongly opposes its Opposers. He had much less Learning than *VVit*; for he understood not the Languages, neither had he read the Ancients much. He wrote with greater Facility and Clearness, than *Politeness* and Elegancy. Though he had taught *Rhetorick*, yet either he was not Master of the Eloquence of the Orators, or he neglected it: nay, his Expressions are not always pure; for he often uses unproper and barbarous Words. He often uses little strokes of *VVit*, and plays with *VVords*. He repeats the same things, and insists upon the same Arguments in hundreds of places. He dwells long upon the same Thought; to which he gives several turns, and enlarges frequently upon common places. He treated of infinite numbers of Things, by laying down Principles; and framed (if we may so say) the Body of Divinity for all the Latin Fathers that came after him. They have not only taken out of his Books the Principles they make use of, but often they have only copied them. The Councils have borrowed his *VVords* to exprels their Decisions. In short, *Peter Lombard*, in the Twelfth Century, going about to compile an Epitome of the whole Body of Divinity, did little else but Collect Passages out of St. *Augustin*. And though *Thomas Aquinas*, and other Schoolmen, followed another Method; yet, for the most part, they have stuck to St. *Augustin's* Principles, whereupon they erected their Theological Opinions.

After this, no Man needs wonder that his *VVorks* were so much looked after formerly, and so many times published since Printing was invented. The Edition of St. *Augustin's* *VVorks* was one of the first considerable Things that Printers committed to the Press. *Anerbachius* undertook it in 1495. This *Guthick* Edition was followed by that of *Basil*, in Nine Volumes, in the Year 1506. and by that of *Paris*, in 1515. with long Lines, published in 1528. and in 1526. which is the fairest for its Character. The Editions of *Gnillard* and *Chevillon*, which came out not long after, are likewise pretty fair ones.

In 1571. Two came out; the one in *Paris*, by *Morellus*; and the other at *Lions*. The Doctors of *Louvain* having carefully Revised St. *Augustin's* *VVorks*, caused them to be Printed at *Antwerp*, in 1577. The following Editions are only new Impressions of this. The first and the fairest was done at *Paris*, 1586. and was followed by those of the Years 1609, 1614, 1626, 1635, 1652. not to mention that at *Venice* in 1584. that at *Colen*, in 1616. and the last Edition at *Lions*. Now they having Printed, from time to time, several Treatises of St. *Augustin* that were not in the former Editions, Father *Viguer* thought fit to collect them into a Body, that might serve for a Supplement to all the Editions of St. *Augustin*. He joined to it the imperfect Treatise against *Julianus*, and some Sermons which had not been Printed before, and published them all in Two Volumes, in *Folio*, at *Paris*, in 1655. This Labour becomes useless by the last Edition of St. *Augustin*, which excelleth and effaces all the fore-going Editions.

ZOSIMUS.

Pope *Innocent I.* dying the 12th. of *March*, 417. *Zosimus* was promoted into his Place upon the 18th. of the same Month. Though he sat but One Year, Nine Months, and some Days in the Roman See, yet he very much exerted his Authority in the Disputes which he had with the Bishops both of *Africa* and *Gaul*. This appears by his Letters, which we are now to discourse of according to the Order wherein they ought to be placed. To understand those which concern *Africa*, we are to know, That *Caelestius*, *Pelagius's* Disciple, having been condemned in the Council of *Carthage*, assembled in 412. thought it convenient to appeal to the Pope, contrary to the Order and Custom of that Time. The *Africans* did not much trouble themselves about that Appeal; neither did he much value it himself; for without troubling it out, he went to *Ephesus*, where he found means to be Ordained Priest. Some Years after he came to *Constantinople*; from whence he was Expelled by *Aticus*, who discovered his Error, and writ against him to *Thessalonica*, to *Carthage*, and into *Asia*. That happened at the same time that *Zosimus* was raised to the Popedom. *Caelestius* being informed of it, came immediately to *Rome*, to prepossess this new Pope, and to ingratiate himself with him, by making him a Judge in his Cause. And indeed, *Zosimus* finding this a fit Opportunity to promote his Design of Encreasing his Authority, and drawing to himself the Appeals of Causes judged in other places, he failed not to hearken to *Caelestius*, and to admit him to justify himself. He left all other Businesses, to stick particularly to this. He made *Caelestius* appear in St. *Clement's* Church; examined the Heads of the Accusation that was formed against him. He caused him to make a Confession of Faith, whereby he disowned the Errors which *Heret* and *Lazarus* had said to his Charge. He enquired after the Qualifications of those Accusers; whom he found (as he saith) to have been wrongfully Ordained, Expelled out of their Bishops' tickets, and separated from the Communion of the rest. *Zosimus*, though much prepossessed in

Caelestius

Caelestinus's behalf, yet durst not give Judgment in his Case without writing to the *African* Bishops; but he did it after such manner as sufficiently discovered how much he favoured him. For after he had writ all this that we have said, he declares, That if *Caelestinus's* Accusers came not to *Rome* within Two Months, to Convict him of maintaining other Opinions than those which he then professed, he should take it for granted that he was Innocent. At the latter end, he declares all these Questions to be only vain Subtilties, and unprofitable Contentions, which rather destroy than edify; and are Effects of an imprudent Curiosity, and of too great an itch of Speaking and Writing. This Letter was written about *July*, in the Year 417.

After the writing of this Letter, *Zosimus* received one from *Praxius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in *Caelestinus's* behalf, with *Pelagius's* Confession of Faith. This News, the Absence of the Accusers, and the Silence of the *Africans*, who returned no Answer to his Letter, confirmed him in the Judgment which he had made of *Caelestinus's* Doctrine. He deals with their Accusers, as with most unworthy Persons. He upbraids *Lazarus*, as one that made it his practice to accuse the Innocent; and as one that had been condemned by *Proculus*, Bishop of *Marseilles*, in a Synod at *Turin*, for having falsely and calumniously accused *Britius*, Bishop of *Tours*. He adds, That having been Ordained Bishop of *Aix*, some time after, by the Favour of *Constantine* the Tyrant, he retained the Shadow of the Priesthood so long as the Power of that Tyrant lasted. As for *Heret*, he reproacheth him for following the same Party, and for doing Violence. Afterwards, he tells the *African* Bishops, That they were to blame, in being so easily persuaded upon the Word of those Accusers; and makes no scruple of declaring *Pelagius* and *Caelestinus* Innocent, seeing their Accusers had not appeared.

Zosimus's first Letter was carried by *Basiliscus*, a Subdeacon, who cited *Paulinus* to the Pope's Tribunal; but he did not concern himself to appear: And the *African* Bishops were not at all moved by *Zosimus's* Pretension; on the contrary, they stood by the Judgment which they had given firmly; which also had been confirmed by his Predecessor. They told him plainly, That this Cause being born in *Africa*, and judged there, *Caelestinus* could not Appeal, nor take Cognizance of it. Lastly, They made a Protestation, to prevent *Zosimus* pronouncing Judgment by default in the behalf of *Caelestinus* and *Pelagius*: Yea, they went further, for without waiting for the Pope's Judgment, they confirmed what they had done, and condemned the Doctrine of *Pelagius* and *Caelestinus* a-new. Having taken this Precaution, they writ again to *Zosimus*, and sent him all the Acts of what had been done in *Africa* against *Caelestinus*: shewing him at the same time, That it was not enough to oblige *Pelagius* and *Caelestinus* to approve in general what was in Pope *Innocent's* Letter, but that they ought to be made to acknowledge particularly all the Catholic Truths that were contrary to their Errors.

Zosimus having received these Letters, with the Advertisements of the *Africans* who had likewise written to Court about the business, durst not go any further, and was contented to assert his Authority, by writing to them, That though he had power to judge all Causes, and none had any right to reform his Judgments, yet he would do nothing without communicating it unto them: That he was surprized, that they should write to him as if they had been persuaded that he had given credit to all that *Caelestinus* had said to him: That he had not proceeded so fast; because too much Deliberation cannot be used, when a Supreme Judgment is to be pronounced: and, That after the first Letter which he received from them, he left all in the same Condition that it was before. This Letter, of the 19th. of *March*, 418, is the Tenth in the usual Order of *Zosimus's* Letters.

It appears by this, that the Pope began to alter his Mind, concerning *Caelestinus*, and to mistrust his Sincerity. But he was fully convinced of his Double-dealing, when the time of Judgment came: for having caused him to be cited to come and condemn the Six Articles that were laid to his Charge clearly, if he would be absolved of the Judgment that was given against him in *Africa*, he not only refused to appear, but fled from *Rome*. *Zosimus*, provoked to see himself deceived, wrote to all the Bishops a long Letter, wherein he condemned *Caelestinus's* Articles, and *Pelagius's* Writings. This Letter is not all extant, but only some Fragments of it produced by *St. Augustin* and *Marinus Mercator*. It was very long, and contained the whole History of this Affair. He gave this Judgment after *April*, in the Year 418.

Zosimus had likewise some Contentions with the Bishops of *Gaul*. The Churches of *Arles* and *Vienne* had long disputed the Right of Primacy, over the Provinces of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Vienne*. This Contest had been laid a-sleep for some time by a Decree of the Council at *Turin*, which ordained, That in Expectation of an absolute Decision of that Quarrel, both Churches should enjoy the Right of *Metropolis* over the Churches that were near to each of them. But *Zosimus* was no sooner promoted to the Popedom, but he declares for *Patroclus*, Bishop of *Arles*; and granted him by his Letter all that he could wish for: For he gave him, in the first place, the Right of giving *Formed Letters* to all the Ecclesiasticks of *Gaul* that would come to *Rome*; forbidding absolutely that any should go out of *Gaul* without that sort of Letters from him; whereby it appeared what they were, and whence they came. This Privilege did belong to the Church of *Arles*; as indeed *Zosimus* saith, That he granted it not to *Patroclus*, because of his Church, but for his Deserts. *Mortuorum ejus Contemplatione*. The second Advantage which *Zosimus* would have *Patroclus* enjoy, was annex'd to the Dignity of his Church, and

and concerns the Metropolitick Rights which he ordains him to have over the Provinces of *Gallia Viennensis*, and both the *Narbonenses*, which implies the Right of Ordaining all the Bishops of those Provinces.

Lastly, *Zosimus* annexed to the Bishoprick of *Arles*, all the Parishes and Territories which formerly belong'd to it. He added, That all the Contentis that should arise in the Provinces of *Gallia Viennensis*, and *Narbonensis*, were to be carried to the Bishop of *Arles*; except the Business of Consequence; in which case, he affirmed it necessary, That he should examine the same himself at *Rome*: *Nisi magnitudo casus nostrum desideret examen*. He observes besides in that Letter, That *Trophimus* was sent to *Arles* by the See of *Rome*, and that through his means the *Gauls* received the Faith of Jesus Christ. This Letter was written soon after the Promotion of Pope *Zosimus*, the 20th. of *March*, of the Year 417. It is the Fifth in the common Editions.

About the latter end of that Year he writ Two more; wherein he confirms the Metropolitick Rights to the Church of *Arles*; rejecting even with Scorn the Canon of the Council at *Turin*, and condemning *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, and *Simplicius* of *Vienna*, who opposed his Design. In both those Letters he grounds the Primacy of the Church of *Arles* upon its being founded by *Trophimus*, who was sent from the See of *Rome*. These Letters are the Seventh and the Eighth. The former is directed to the Bishops of *Gallia Viennensis*; and the second, to *Narbonensis*; and the latter to *Hilary* of *Narbon*, who maintained, That to him belonged the Ordinations of the Bishops of the first *Narbonensis*. Both these Letters are dated the 27th. of *September*, 417.

He that most opposed *Patroclus*, was *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, who constantly Ordained Bishops in his Province, notwithstanding the Pope's Prohibitions. *Zosimus* undertook him, and cited him to *Rome*. But he not much regarding that Citation, continued to maintain his Rights, and to Ordain, as he had done before. This brought upon him a Condemnation from *Zosimus*, who writ against him, not only to *Patroclus*, but also to the People of *Marseilles*. That they should Expell him out of his Bishoprick. His Ninth Letter, to *Patroclus*, is upon this Subject, *September* 27th. 417. And the Eleventh, to the same, written *March* 2d. 418. and the Twelfth, to the People of *Marseilles*, dated on the same day. Yet notwithstanding the Pope's Judgment and Threatnings, *Proculus* remained peaceable Possessor of his Bishoprick; and was always acknowledged Lawful Bishop, not only by the *Gallican*, but also by the *African* Bishops. And *St. Jerome* tells us, in his Letter to *Rufinus*, That this *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, who was used to ill by the Popes, was a most Holy and Learned Bishop.

The Grudge which *Zosimus* bore to *Proculus*, made him Condemn likewise two Bishops Ordained by him, called *Ursus* and *Trentinus*; against whom he writ a Circular Letter to the Bishops of *Africa*, *Gaul* and *Spain*; it is the Seventh, dated *September* 20th. 417. He saith of these two Persons whom *Proculus* had Ordained, That they had been both Condemned. The first by *Proculus* himself, and the second by other Bishops: That this Man, after his Condemnation, came to *Rome*; where he did Penance, and abjured the Errors of the *Priscillianists*. He reproaches *Proculus* for regarding neither his Judgment, nor the Judgment of others. He speaks also against *Lazarus*, whom *Proculus* Ordained Bishop of *Aix*, who had assisted at the Ordination of *Ursus* and *Trentinus*. He declares, That those Ordinations were illegitimate, having been performed in prejudice of the Bishop of *Arles*, who alone had the Right to Ordain in the Provinces of *Narbon* and *Vienna*. Lastly, He advises the Bishops of *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Africa*, not to own either *Ursus* or *Trentinus* for Bishops, and not to communicate with them.

By these Letters one plainly sees the Reason why *Zosimus* did so much desire to invalidate the Judgment given against *Caelestinus* and *Pelagius*. Their Accusers were *Heret* and *Lazarus*; *Patroclus's* Adversaries, and Friends of *Proculus* of *Marseilles*. He openly declar'd for *Patroclus*. He eagerly prosecuted *Proculus* and his Adherents. He would have been glad to find Matter of Condemnation against *Heret* and *Lazarus*, by causing them to be looked upon as False Accusers. Perhaps this is the only thing that made him favour *Caelestinus* and *Pelagius* at first: But since both of them were convicted of Heresy by the Bishops of *Africa*, The Love of Truth prevailed in him, over the secret Satisfaction which he would have had by the Condemnation of *Heret* and *Lazarus*.

We have three Letters besides ascribed to *Zosimus*, which do not seem to have had any relation to either of these Affairs we have now spoken of.

The first is directed to *Isidore*, Bishop of *Salona*; to whom he prescribes with much Impetuosity, and with a very Commanding Tone, the Distances which he should cause to be observed between the Sacred Orders. The Date is of *February*, 418.

The second is directed to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He speaketh there against those who durst go to Court to complain against him: telling the Clergy of *Ravenna*, That they were Excommunicated. The Letter is of the 2d. of *October*, of the same Year.

The last, if it be true, is directed to the Bishops of the Province of *Byzaccena* in *Africa*; and not to the Bishops of *Byzantia*, as it is in the common Title. There he blames those Bishops for admitting Lay-men to Judge Church-men. It is dated *November*, 14th. 418. But it is very probable that it is Supposititious, because it is of a very different Style from the rest.

Zosimus writes purely, and nobly. He speaks with Vigour, and Authority, and turns every thing to his own Advantage. He discerneth the weak side of his Adversaries, and omits nothing that can do them Hurt. In a word, He writes like a Man thoroughly skill'd in Business, who knows the strong, and the weak side of every Thing, and the exact Management of Affairs.

BONIFACE I.

Boniface I. After the Death of Pope *Zosimus*, the Church of *Rome* was divided about the Election of his Successor. The Arch-Deacon *Eulalius*, who aspired to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, shut himself up in the Church of the *Lateran*, with part of the People, some Priests, and some Deacons, and made them chuse him in *Zosimus's* room. On the other side, a great Number of Priests, several Bishops, and part of the People, being assembled in the Church of *Theodora*, elected *Boniface*. Both were ordained. *Eulalius* was ordained by some Bishops, among whom was the Bishop of *Offia*, who used to ordain the Bishop of *Rome*. *Boniface* was likewise ordained by a great Number of Bishops, and went to take Possession of *St. Peter's* Church.

Symmachus, Governour of *Rome*, having try'd in vain to make them agree, writ to the Emperor *Honorius* about it. In his Letter of the 29th. of *December*, 418. he speaks in *Eulalius's* behalf, and judges *Boniface* to be in the wrong. The Emperor believing his Relation, sent him word immediately, That he should expell *Boniface*, and uphold *Eulalius*. The Governour having received this Order, sent for *Boniface* to acquaint him with it, but he would not come to him; so that the Governour sent to him, to signify the Emperor's Order, and kept him from returning into the City. The Bishops, Priests, and the People that sided with *Boniface*, wrote immediately to the Emperor, to entreat him, that he would order both *Eulalius*, and *Boniface*, to go to Court, that their Cause might be judged. To satisfy them, the Emperor sent to *Symmachus* an Order of the 30th. of *January* 419. signifying, That he should enjoin *Boniface*, and *Eulalius*, to be at *Ravenna*, about the 6th. of *February*. *Honorius* conven'd some Bishops thither to judge of their Cause; and that they might not be suspected of favouring any one side, he commanded, That none of those who had ordained either of them, should be a Judge in the case. The Bishops that were chosen to judge this Cause being divided, the Emperor put off the Judgment till *May*, and forbade *Eulalius*, and *Boniface*, to go to *Rome*; and sent thither *Achilleus*, Bishop of *Spoleto*, to perform the Episcopal Functions, during the *Easter* Holy-Days. In which time he prepared a numerous Synod, and invited the Bishops both of *Africa*, and *Gaul*; but *Eulalius* could not endure that Delay, and spoiled his business by his impatience: For whether he distrusted his Right, or whether he was of a restless temper, he returned to *Rome* the 16th. of *March*, and would have stay'd there, notwithstanding the Emperor's Orders, which obliged *Symmachus* to use Violence to drive him out of *Rome*, and the Emperor having been informed of his Disobedience, waited for no other Judgment, but caused *Boniface* to be put in possession, in the beginning of *April* 419.

One of the first Things that *Boniface* did, was to write to the Emperor, to entreat him to make an Edict, to prevent, for the future, the Intrigues, and Cabals that were made use of to get the Bishoprick of *Rome*. This Letter bears Date the first of *July*. To cut off the Root of these Divisions, *Honorius* ordained, That if ever Two Men should be ordained Bishops of *Rome*, that neither should remain in Possession, but that both the Clergy, and People should chuse a Third.

Boniface's Second Letter, ought to go before this now mentioned, if the order of their Dates were observed, since this is of the 13th. of *June* 419. It is directed to *Patroclus*, and to the other Bishops of the Seven Provinces of *Gaul*, concerning *Maximus* Bishop of *Valence*, who was accused, by the Clergy of that City, who had carried their Accusation directly to the Pope, in all probability about the Contests which had been in that Province, concerning the Right of Primacy. *Boniface* accuses that Bishop, not only for refusing to appear at *Rome* to plead for himself, but for avoiding to appear before Provincial Synods, to which he was remitted by the Popes his Predecessors. Yet he declares, That he would not condemn him, because he ought to have been judged in his own Province: Wherefore he desireth them to call a Council before the first of *November*, that he might appear there to make his own defence to the Accusations formed against him; adding, That if he refused to appear, he should hope no longer, that his absence could put a stop to his Condemnation. "For, faith he, it is a shrewd Mark of a Man's Guilt, who, when he is accused, and has so many occasions of clearing himself, yet neglects to make use of them."

Boniface's Third Letter to *Hilary*, Bishop of *Narbonna*, of the 2d. of *February* 422. overthrows all that *Zosimus* had done in the behalf of the Church of *Arles*. For upon the Complaint of the Inhabitants of *Lodève*, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis Prima*, against *Patroclus*, Bishop of *Arles*, for ordaining a Bishop without consulting with the Metropolitan, he declares, That it was an Action against the Canons of the Council of *Nice*; which he could not patiently bear with, because he was obliged to maintain the Canons. Wherefore he sends word

to

to the Bishop of *Narbon*, That if that Church be of his Province, he should go to that City, and there perform a lawful Ordination, and put a stop to the Bishop of *Arles's* Presumption, who undertook beyond the Bounds of his Jurisdiction. Lastly, He ordaineth, That for the future, every Province shall be subject to its own Metropolitan. Nothing can be more contrary than the Opinions of *Zosimus*, and *Boniface*, concerning the Dignity, and Jurisdiction of the Church of *Arles*. *Zosimus* is persuaded, That the Bishop of *Arles* ought to ordain all the Bishops of Seven Provinces; and *Boniface* declares, That that is a violation of the Canons. The former saith, That the Bishop of *Arles* is the sole Metropolitan; and the latter affirmeth, That none can be Metropolitan of Two Provinces. *Zosimus* is of Opinion, That the Pretensions of *Hilary*, of *Narbon*, and of the other Metropolitans of the Seven Provinces, that they have a Right to ordain the Bishops of their respective Provinces, are extremely rash. On the contrary, *Boniface* maintains, That it is a well-grounded Right; and that the Pretension of the Church of *Arles* to ordain in those Provinces, is a breach upon the Canons, to which opposition must be made. The one forbids *Hilary* of *Narbon*, to ordain the Bishops of his Province, when he asks it of him: The other enjoins him to do it without asking. Can there be a greater contrariety of Opinions betwixt Popes, who succeeded each other immediately. This made *St. Leo* lay in the Epistle to the Bishops of *Provincia Viennensis*, That the See of *Rome* had taken away from *Patroclus* what it had given him, by a more just Sentence, than that by which it was granted. ID IPSUM QUOD PATROCLUS A SEDE APOSTOLICA TEMPORALITER VIDEBATUR ESSE CONCESSUM, POSTMODUM ESSE SENTENTIA MELIORE SUBLATUM. Is it because those Popes thought themselves absolute Masters of these Things? If so, Why should they allege the Canons, and profess to observe them? Is it because they believed that Privileges attended the Persons of Bishops, and not their Churches? Wherefore then did *Zosimus* exalt the Dignity, and Antiquity of the Church of *Arles* so high, because it was founded by *Trophimus*? We are therefore to conclude, That there is no other Reason of that contrariety, besides the difference of the Opinions of the Two Popes: But which of the Two was in the Right, and which in the Wrong, is a great Business to be decided, which we shall find afterwards sharply debated in the time of *St. Leo*. In the mean time we may observe, That the common Right was on *Boniface's* side, and that we do not see any Privilege authentick enough, or any Custom sufficiently established, whereby we should allow to the Church of *Arles*, what *Zosimus* grants to it. There are besides Five of this Pope's Letters to *Rufus* Bishop of *Thebais*, and to the Bishops of *Alyricum* recorded in the Council that was assembled under *Boniface II.* in 531. *Boniface I.* was peaceable Possessor of the See of *Rome* until the Year 423. though there were still some Christians of *Eulalius's* Party.

SYNESIUS.

SYNESIUS, originally of *Cyrene*, a City of *Pentapolis*, a *Platonick* Philosopher, and Disciple of the famous *Hypatia*, having spent part of his Life in worldly Employments, was converted, and chosen Bishop of *Ptolemais* in the Year 420. He was hardly brought to accept of that Office, which seemed to him to be contrary to that Philosophical Life, wherein he had lived till then: Neither could he resolve to leave his Wife; nor was he yet fully persuaded of all the Articles of the Christian Religion. He believed that Souls were created before Bodies, and could not conceive that the World was to have an end: He did not believe the Resurrection of the Dead, as it is believed in the Church; imagining, That what is said in the Scripture, had some mystical, and secret Sense. He urges these Reasons in his 105th. Letter, to prevent their ordaining him Bishop. *Baronius* thinks, That he did not really hold such Opinions, but that he feigned to have them to avoid the Episcopal Function. But this Conjecture is not at all probable, because he affirms with an Oath, that he expressed his real Sense: Wherefore it is better to lay with the Ancients, that *Synefius's* Merit, and the need which the Churches of *Africa* stood in of his Protection in a most difficult time, superseded these Considerations, in hopes that being ordained Bishop, he would submit his Opinions to those of the Church. It is related in the *Pratum Spirituale*, that when he was Bishop, a very remarkable Thing happened to him; which shews, That he had altered his Opinion, concerning the Resurrection of Bodies. A Heathen Philosopher, one *Evagrius*, *Synefius's* old Friend, came to *Cyrene*. *Synefius* used all his Endeavours to convert him. After several Solicitations to that purpose, this Philosopher declared to him at last, That the Resurrection of the Body was one of those Things which he was most displeased with in the Christian Religion. *Synefius* affirmed, That whatsoever the Christians taught was true, and never left him, till he had Converted, and Baptized him. This Man, sometime after his Baptism, having given *Synefius* a Summ of Money to distribute to the Poor, demanded a Bond to repay it him again in the next Life. *Synefius* readily gave him one. The Philosopher kept it, and some time before his Death, commanded his Children to put it into his Coffin. Three Days after, he appeared to *Synefius* in the Night, and had him come to his Grave, and take his

Bond

Bond, because he was pay'd; and to assure him of it, he had signed a Discharge with his own Hand. *Synesius* not knowing that his Children had put the Bond in his Coffin, having sent for them, and learned of them how the Business had been carried, telling them what had happened, went to this Man's Grave, with his Clergy, and the chief Men of the Town, and caused the Coffin to be opened; where they found the Bond, and the chief Men of the Town, in *Eugrius*'s own Hand at the Bottom. The Author of the *Pratum Spirituale*, relates this History, as having learned it of *Leontius of Apamea*, who came to *Alexandria*, in the time of the Patriarch *Eulogius*, to be Ordained Bishop of *Cyrene*; adding, That that Man certified, That this Bond was still kept in the Vestry of the Church of *Cyrene*. This may give some Credit to a Story which would deserve none, were it solely grounded upon the Testimony of the Author of the *Pratum Spirituale*, who is known to be of no great Authority. However, *Eugrius* and *Photius* affirm, That *Synesius* was no sooner Ordained Bishop, but he yielded to the Opinion of the Church, concerning the Resurrection.

Synesius's Treatises are Philosophical Discourses, written with great nobleness and loftiness. The Catalogue of them is as follows.

A Discourse of reigning well, spoken in the presence of the Emperor *Arcadius* about the Year 398, when he was Deputy of his own Province that was wasted by the *Barbarians* Incursions, to obtain some Succours, and some ease of the Emperor. *Synesius* speaks there of Government with a wonderful freedom, and declaims openly against Courtiers, against the Luxury and Ambition of Princes. He lays down most excellent Instructions for Kings; He shews what are the truly Royal Vertues, and the Qualities of a good Prince. And discovers at last the Spring of the Empire's Misfortunes, which was the Credit and Power that was given some time since to the *Goths* in the Affairs of the Empire. He composed at the same time another Discourse directed to *Basilius*, to whom he sent Astronomical Tables which he had made. This Discourse contains a Commendation of Philosophy, and particularly of Astronomy, with a Description of the Work which he sent.

The Book intitled *Dian Pysianus*, begins with the Praises of that great Man, mention'd in *Philostorgius*. There *Synesius* justifies himself against those that blamed him for applying himself to the Study of Philosophical Learning, and against such as found fault that the Books he made use of were not very exact. He shews with great Eloquence, That the Study of the fine Learning of Poetry and Rhetorick is of very great Use, and not unworthy of a Philosopher. Afterwards he strongly opposes the second Calumny; proving, That it is sometimes good for the exercise of a Man's Parts, to use Copies that are not so very Correct.

The Praise of *Baldness*, is one of the most ingenious of all *Synesius*'s Works; and though the Matter seems not to afford much of it self, yet he enlarges and beautifies it with variety of wonderful Reasons and Figures.

The two Books of *Providence* contain, the History, or rather the Romance of two Brothers, Kings of *Egypt*, called *Osiris* and *Tyson*. It is thought that he describes under those borrow'd Names, the State of the Empire in his time.

In the Book of *Dreams*, there are several curious Observations upon the Original, Vertue, and Significations of Dreams.

Synesius's Letters are written with inimitable Eloquence, Purity, and Dexterity: They are full of Historical Passages, Sublime Notions, Fine Raileries, Moral Reflections, and Pious Expressions. There are 155 of them: We shall speak of those only that relate to Religion, and the Church's Affairs, which are but very few.

To this may be referred what he saith in the Fourth Letter of a Shipwreck; He observes, That their Pilot was a Jew, who quitted the Helm on the *Saturday*'s-Eve after Sun-set, and that he could not be persuaded to take it again, what Threatnings soever were used, till the Ship was in an unavoidable Danger of perishing. This Letter is of the beginning of the Year 410.

In the 5th. Letter directed to certain Priests, he exhorts them to prosecute the *Eunomians*, and to hinder their Meetings; yet so, that it might appear, that they had no design upon their Estates.

In the 9th. he commends a Letter that was written by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

In the 11th. he declares, How unwilling he was to be made a Bishop, and prays God who called him to that State, to give him strength to discharge the Duties of it with Applause and recommends himself to the Priests and Peoples Prayers both Publick and Private.

In the 12th. he exhorts a Priest and a Bishop, called *Crisp*, to return to the Church from which they had been divided for a time; affirming, That *Theophilus*, their common Father, had admitted them if he had been alive. This Letter was written after *Theophilus*'s Death, which happened in October 412.

The 13th. is an Epistle written from *Alexandria*; wherein he assigns the Day to his Clergy when they were to observe the Feast of *Easter*: The Day there set agrees with the Year 412.

Andronicus Governor of *Pentapolis*, a cruel Man, exercised several Violences against the People. *Synesius*, who was of a meek and merciful temper, used all his Endeavours to hinder that Man's Cruelties, and to help those Wretches whom he tormented. Among the rest, he favoured a Man of Quality, *Andronicus*'s Enemy, whom that inexorable Governor persecuted without

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any Cause. That charitable Action provok'd him, and made him utter in his Anger these Impious words: That that Unfortunate Man fled to the Church in vain, and that no Man should be taken out of *Andronicus*'s hands, though he held Jesus Christ by the feet. *Synesius* having heard this Blasphemy, excommunicated him in a Synod held in the Year 411. and with him *Thas*, the Chief Minister of all his Cruelties, with his whole Family. After this Excommunication, he pronounced a Discourse against him, which is the 57th. of his Letters. There he describes that Governor's Cruelty; He speaks of his own former Life, and with what reluctance he accepted the Bishoprick; He bewails the deplorable Condition of his Country, declaring, That he was altogether unfit to manage a Business of that Nature; wherefore he intreats his Brethren, either to choose one in his room, or give him a Colleague that was versed in Business.

In the 58th. Letter, he gives Notice to all Bishops in the Name of the Church of *Ptolemais*, That an Excommunication was pronounced against *Andronicus*, declaring, That they ought to shut their Church-Doors against him and all his Accomplices; That if any Man receives him, not regarding the Sentence of a small Church, he breaks the Unity of the Church, and that he will have no fellowship with him.

Andronicus struck with that Excommunication, seem'd to be sorry for his Fault, and promised to do Penance. *Synesius* knowing his humour, did not think fit to admit him; but the other ancient Bishops were not of that Opinion, and judged that the Excommunication was to be suspended; and that they should forbear sending the Letter that declared him Excommunicated, having taken his word, That thenceforth he should not offer the like Violences. But this Governor, instead of keeping his Promise, was more cruel than ever; So that *Synesius* published the Excommunication that had been pronounced, and wrote to the Bishops to give an Account of the Governor's relapse in the 72d. Letter. He makes another Description of this Governor's Violences in the 79th. But at last this cruel Man received the Punishment of his Cruelties, and was dealt withal as he had dealt with others. *Synesius* charitably pity'd his Condition, as he observes in the 89th. Letter to *Theophilus*.

In the 66th. *Synesius* maliciously asks *Theophilus*, How he should entertain *Alexander*, who had been ordained by *St. Chrysostom*, Bishop of *Basilopolis* in *Bithynia*; giving him no understanding at the same time, That he approved not of his Behaviour towards those who sided with that holy Patriarch of *Constantinople*. He readily tells *Theophilus*, That he revered his Memory; and, That at least Men ought not to hate an Enemy when he is dead. He adds, That *Theophilus* himself had writ to *Atticus*, exhorting him to admit into his Communion those of *St. Chrysostom*'s Party. That as for this, *Alexander* who was born at *Cyrene*, formerly a Monk, then raised to the Dignity of a Deacon, and a Priest, and at last ordained Bishop of *Basilopolis* by *St. John Chrysostom*, that he was withdrawn into his own Country. *Synesius* durst not admit him to the Communion, nor to partake of the Church's Prayers; but he received him privately into his House, and shewed him much Friendship, it being his Custom so to deal with all guilty Persons. He intreats *Theophilus* to answer him plainly and clearly, whether he should look upon *Alexander* as a Bishop, or no? This Letter is of the latter end of the Year 410. or the beginning of 411.

The 57th. to the same *Theophilus*, contains several remarkable Points of Discipline; shewing the Power of the Bishop of *Alexandria* over all *Egypt*. He had appointed *Synesius* to compose some Disputes among the Bishops of *Pentapolis*, and in this Letter *Synesius* gives him an exact account of what he had done. There were in *Pentapolis* two Villages, *Pakibisus* and *Hydrax*, near *Libya*. Both these had formerly been subject to the Bishop of *Erythra* the nearest City. Since that under *Orion* Bishop of *Erythra*, an East Man; the Inhabitants of both these Villages had caused a Young Man, *Syderius* by Name, to be ordained their Bishop, who had served in *Valens*'s Army, that they might have a Man of Courage to protect them; without observing the Formalities requisite in a Legal Ordination, for he was ordained by one only Bishop, and without the Approbation of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. But this happening when the Heretical Factions were formidable, they forbore the Severity of the Laws: And *St. Athanasius* caused *Syderius* to be translated to *Ptolemais*; but towards the latter end of his Life, he returned to his former Church. After his Death, *Pakibisus* and *Hydrax* were reduced to their former dependency upon the Bishop of *Erythra*; the Inhabitants of those Places being willing, according to the Bishop of *Alexandria*'s Letters, to own *Paulus* of *Erythra*, for their Bishop. Since that, *Theophilus* upon the Information of some particular Men, offered to give them a Bishop, and gave *Synesius* a Commission to go and ordain him. He being come to the Village, found the People resolved to have no other Bishop but *Paul*, and could never bring them to consent that he should ordain a particular Bishop. He writ all this to *Theophilus*, and insinuates, That though the Inhabitants of those Villages were ready to obey, if he would absolutely impose a Bishop upon them; yet it was not convenient to do it.

There was another Business also to be decided at *Hydrax*. In this Town there was a Castle situate upon an Hill, whereunto belonged a great enclosure, which might have yielded a good income, if they rebuilt the Walls which had been thrown down with an Earthquake. The dispute about it was betwixt *Diocorus* Bishop of *Dardania*, and *Paulus* of *Erythra*: The latter to take Possession, consecrated there a Chappel, and alleged, That that place had been long since consecrated. *Synesius* having examined the case, found that formerly Publick Prayers had been made in that Castle during the *Barbarians* Incursions. But he thought that this was not

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sufficient

Synefius. sufficient to make the place Sacred, because that by the same Reason, all others would prove Consecrated places, wherein Publick Prayers, and Holy Mysteries had been celebrated in time of War. As for the Chappel, it was proved that *Paul* had consecrated it to make himself Master of the Place. *Synefius* declared, That it was an ill Example, to make use of the Church's Prayers, of the Holy Table, and of the Mystical Veil, to invade another Man's Estate. And so far from looking upon that Chappel as consecrated, he made no Scruple of declaring it to be common. "For, saith he, we are to distinguish Superstition from true Religion. Superstition is a Vice adorned with the Name of Vertue; but Wisdom makes us discover it to be a third sort of Impiety: And so I do not think that there is any Sanctity in a thing unjustly undertaken; neither do I regard the Consecration that is alleged. It is not with Christians as with Heathens. They do not imagine that their God is made to come down with Words and Ceremonies; They require a pure Heart, and free from Passions: And when Wrath or Anger causes Ministers to act, they do not believe that the Holy Ghost accompanies their Motions. *Paul* did not refuse to take away the Chappel, but since *Synefius* urged to have it done, he presented a Petition full of Invektives against *Diocorus*, but he soon confessed his Fault and begged Pardon. Then *Diocorus*, who would yield nothing whilst *Paul* disputed it, proposed of himself to come to an Agreement with *Paul*, about that Castle, and so exchanged it, with some Lands hard by, for some other Lands which *Paul* gave him in another place, which lay more convenient for him, though of less Value. *Synefius* gave *Theophilus* an account of all this, and commended *Diocorus* for relieving the Poor of *Alexandria*.

A Third Business that *Synefius* had order to compose, was a Quarrel betwixt two private Persons, *Jafon* and *Lamponianus*; The latter being accused to have Slandered the other, chose rather to confess, than to be convicted, and was required to do Penance, and to separate from the Assemblies of the Faithful. The People requested that he might be Absolved. *Synefius* referred the Matter to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and only gave order to the Priests to admit him to the Communion of the Church, if he should be in danger of Death: For, saith he, *as much as in me lies, I will take Care that no man shall die bound with Ecclesiastical Bonds*. He adds, That Absolution should not be granted in case of Necessity, but upon this Condition, That if he Recover, he shall be in the same State as before. *Lamponianus* was indebted to the Church One hundred forty seven Crowns of the Poor's Money, which he had lost by some Misfortune, which he promised to pay; but required time to Work, that he might get that Summ.

Synefius writ again to *Theophilus* about some Abuses that were practised in those Parts. Bishops accused one another of ill Behaviour, rather to make the Governors get Money, than because they had any Grounds for so doing. *Synefius* prays him to make an Order directed to him, whereby that Abuse might be forbidden; but without reproving any particularly, that it might not appear that he had accused them. He saith, That with such an Order, he would put a stop to that Infamy of Bishops. For, saith he, *God forbid that I should say, the Infamy of the Church*. He observes, That this will turn to greater Advantage for the Accusers, than for the Accused, because they shall be delivered from a greater Evil, since it is a greater Evil to do injury, than to suffer; because the one comes from our selves, and the other concerns other Men. The last thing which *Synefius* acquaints *Theophilus* withal, is concerning certain Bishops, who quitted their Bishopricks without being expelled, to go from Church to Church, to receive there the Honours due to their Character. His Opinion is, That they should not be received, nor Precedency given them; that they might be obliged to return to their Churches. And thus, he thinks, those ought to be dealt withal in Publick; as to what should be done privately, he waits for an Answer to the Letter he writ to *Theophilus*, concerning *Alexander*, which is that now mentioned; He concludes this Letter with these very humble words: *Pray to God for me, and you shall Pray for a poor forlorn Man who wants all things, and needs help, not daring to address to God for himself; for I perceive that every thing is against me, since I undertook to Administer at the Altar, who am laden with Sins; who was brought up out of the Church, and followed all my life-time a Professon different from this*. This Letter is of the Year 411.

In the 76th. Letter *Synefius* recommends to *Theophilus*, *Antonius*, who had been chosen Bishop of *Olbiata*, a Town of his Province, and was going to *Alexandria*, to be ordained by *Theophilus*, according to the Custom of that time.

The 95th was written by *Synefius*, Seven Months after he was made Bishop; He expresses, with what difficulty he accepted of the Office, and begs of God Grace to discharge it well.

The 105th. is that famous Letter which he writ to his Brother, when he was chosen Bishop of *Cyrene*; wherein he sets down the Reasons that kept him from being promoted to that Dignity. The rest of the Letters contain nothing that is remarkable touching Religion.

We have but two Homilies of *Synefius* which are not entire. The First is the beginning of a Homily upon God's Law, of which he understandeth what is said in the 75th. Psalm, *In the Hand of the Lord there is a Cup, &c.*

The Second is likewise imperfect. It is the Fragment of a Sermon preached upon Easter-Eve. Both these Fragments shew, That *Synefius* did not excel in this kind so much as he did in others; yet he was Eloquent, and composed Pieces of Rhetorick very well; as appears by his Discourse concerning the Ruine of his Province; And by his Panegyrick upon *Asyrius*, which come after the two Homilies now mentioned; but there is a particular sort of Eloquence necessary for the Pulpit, which he seems not to have had. He had a better genius for Hymns; We have

have Ten of his which are very excellent, in which there are some Platonick Principles concerning the Trinity. This Author ascribes much to God's Help, and to the Grace of Jesus Christ, which he requires us to ask by fervent Prayer, that we may be delivered from those Passions and disorderly Desires of Lust, wherewith we are transported. We have lost a Philosophical Work of his, Intituled, *Cynegizicks*, mentioned in the 153d. Letter.

Synefius's Style, according to *Photius*'s Judgment, is great and lofty, but something Poetical. He chiefly excelleth in Narratives and Descriptions. He varies the Matters which he treats of, with long Prefaces, and frequent Digressions. He makes them agreeable by excellent Passages out of Histories and Fables, and by the best Thoughts of the Profane Poets. His Philosophy hath nothing harsh or disgusting. He has found a way to render it pleasant and easie. He seems to have designed only to recreate, when he discovers the main Points of Wisdom. The Reader is brought insensibly to the Knowledge of most Important Truths, when he thought to read only pleasant Relations. He observes in his first Letter, That he writ two sorts of Books, some of the most refined Philosophy, and others Rhetorical Pieces; but that they are easily known to be all written by the same Person, who applies himself sometimes to serious things, and sometimes to pleasant ones.—And indeed, it maintains every where the same Character. His Philosophical Works are adorned with Rhetorical and Poetical Figures, and his Pieces of Eloquence are supported with Philosophical Thoughts. He had a thorough Knowledge of *Plato*'s Writings, and from that Fountain, he drew the noblest and the sublimest Notions in the old Philosophy, concerning the Knowledge of the Supreme Being, and Principles of Morality. He wrote but little touching our Religion, and he was far from understanding it so well as he did *Plato*'s Philosophy. Yet one may see by his Letters that he was a very Wise, Prudent and good Bishop. He avoided Business as much as he could; but when he was engaged, he acted very dexterously, and brought every thing to a good issue. His Behaviour was accompanied with great Freedom and Uprightness of Heart. He wanted neither Courage nor meekness, as there was occasion. His endeavours to avoid being a Bishop, and his manner of speaking of himself, shew his great Humility. The Year of his Death is not known.

The Book of *Dreams* was Printed in Greek and Latia, Translated by *Ficinus*, at Venice in 1497. and at Lyons in 1541. In 1553. *Turnebus* published most of his Works in Greek. The Letters were Printed in Greek at Venice in 1499. at Basle in 1558. and at Paris in 1605. with *Turnebus*'s Translation. The Hymns were likewise Printed in 1590. with the Poems of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and those of St. Cyril of *Alexandria*, and Reprinted in 1603. in Latin by *Portus*. In 1653. *Janus Cornarius* translated most of *Synefius*'s Works, and his Translation was Printed at Basle in 1560. The Discourse of Government of the same Translation, was Printed by it self at *Frankfort* in 1583.

At last, *Petavius* having review'd and translated a new all *Synefius*'s Works, caused them to be Printed in Greek and Latin at Paris by *Morellus* in 1612. With *Nicephorus*'s Notes and Commentary upon the Book of *Dreams*. This Edition was corrected and augmented in 1640. wherein *Synefius*'s Works are joined with St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures.

POLYCHRONIUS.

POLYCHRONIUS Bishop of *Apamea*, Brother of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and Disciple of *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, wrote some Commentaries upon *Job* and *Ezekiel*; whereof you may find some Fragments in the Greek *Catena*, and in St. John Damascen, if any Credit may be given to that sort of Quotations. There are Spurious Acts of St. Sixtus with *Polychronius*, dated after his Death. He lived about the latter End of the Fourth Century.

Councils Assembled,

From the Beginning of the

FIFTH CENTURY.

To the YEAR 430.

The Canons of a Council, supposed to have been held at Rome under Pope Innocent I.

Spurious Council of Rome, under Innocent I.

SIRMONDUS hath published some Regulations, written in the Name of a Synod at Rome, to the Bishops of Gaul; which are certainly ancient, though it be unknown to what time they are to be referred: but because they appeared to Sirmondus to be written in the Style of St. Innocent's Letters, he believed they might belong to this Pope however, they are placed immediately after his Letters, and these are the Contents of them.

After a short Preface, in the two first Canons, according to Sirmondus's Distinction, they speak of those Virgins Penance, who having solemnly put on the Veil, and received the Priests Benediction, commit Incest, or contract prohibited Marriages; it is ordained, That they shall do several Years Penance, to bewail their Fault. Penance is likewise imposed upon those that made the single Vow of Virginity, though they made no solemn Profession, nor received the Veil; when they happen to Marry, or suffer themselves to be taken away. The Third Canon, is, concerning the Sanctity of Bishops, of Priests, and of Deacons: they are told, That they ought to give Example to the People; That they are obliged to remain Unmarried: and several Reasons are alleged for it. Priests and Bishops (say they) are to preach Continence to the People: With what Confidence shall they do this, if they keep it not themselves? They are obliged to offer frequently the Holy Sacrifice, to Baptize, Consecrate and Administer: To do it with the greater Reverence, they must be Chast both in Body and Spirit. In the Fourth, those seem to be excluded out of the Clergy, that have born any Secular Offices.

In the Fifth Canon, it is observed, That the Church of Rome doth not admit to Sacred Orders those who defiled the Sanctity of their Baptism by any carnal Sin. In the Sixth, other Bishops are exhorted to follow the Custom of that of Rome: because that as there is but One Faith in the Church, so there should be but One Discipline.

It is observed in the Seventh Canon, That Priests and Deacons may administer Baptism in the Easter Holy-days, in Parishes, in the presence of the Bishop, in whose Name they administer it at that time: but when Necessity obliges them to Baptize at any other time, that must be done by the Priest, and not by the Deacon.

The Eighth Canon, about the Benediction of the Holy Oyl, is very obscure. It is probable, that all that is said there, amounts to no more than, That there is no need of several Persons to Bless it. The Ninth declares, That it is not lawful now, as it was under the Old Law, to Marry a Brother's Wife, nor to keep Concubines with a Wife.

The Tenth forbids those to be ordained Bishops, that have exercised Secular Functions, though they were Chosen by the People: because their Approbation is of force, only when they chuse one worthy of that Office.

The Eleventh Canon speaks very ambiguously concerning a Man's Marrying his Uncle's Wife; or an Aunt's Marrying with the Son of her Husband's Brother.

The Twelfth appoints, That a Bishop should be chosen out of the Clergy.

The Thirteenth declares, That those who go from one Church to another, shall be deprived of their Office.

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The Fourteenth contains that Order so often repeated in the Canons, That a Clerk deposed by his own Bishop, is not to be admitted. This Order is defended in very strong Terms, and established upon very good Reasons. If another Bishop's Clerk is not permitted to do the Functions of his Ministry, except he brought his Dimissory Letters; how much rather is it forbidden to receive and admit to the Communion a Clerk condemned by his own Bishop. This would be to parake of another Man's Sin; to offer Injury to a Brother, and suspect him without ground to have done Unjustly.

The Fifteenth Canon confirms and renews the Law of the Council of Nice, touching the Ordination of Bishops by the Metropolitan, and the Bishops of the Province; and forbids Bishops to meddle with those Ordinations that belong not to them.

The Sixteenth is, against the Abuse of those Bishops who had Ordained some Lay-men that had been Excommunicated by their own Bishop.

The Council of Milevis.

THIS Council was assembled at Milevis, a City of Africa, the 26th, of October, 402. It is Council of one of those the Africans called General; that is, it was not composed of Bishops only of Milevis, in one Province, but of Deputies from all the Provinces of Africa. Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, presided there. The Bishops confirmed at first what had been done in the last Councils of Hippo and Carthage; and then made some New Orders about some particular Contentions among the African Bishops.

The First is concerning the Precedency of the Older Bishops. Having justified the Equity of following the ancient Order, according to the established Custom of Africa, it was ordained, to prevent the Contentions that might happen upon that Subject, That they should keep Two Lists, which they called *Matriculæ*, or Archives of all the Bishops of Numidia; the one to be preserved in the City of the chief See; that is, in Carthage, or in that City whose Bishop was Metropolitan by Seniority: and the other in the Civil Metropolis; that is, in Constantina. This Order seems to have been made upon the Occasion of that Contest betwixt Victorinus and Zenippus, Bishops of the Province of Numidia, who both pretended to the Primacy of that Province, as appears by St. Augustin's 59th. Letter.

The Second Canon is, touching the Accusation formed against Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Centuria. His Accuser presented himself to the Synod, and caused Quodvultdeus to be asked, Whether he would have his Cause debated in the Council. The Bishop consented at first; but the next day he was of another mind, and retired. The Bishops ordered, That he should not be admitted to the Communion of the other Bishops, till his Business was decided, yet without depriving him of his Bishoprick; because they thought it unjust to do it before his Cause was judged.

The next Order was, concerning Maximianus, Bishop of Paga, who offered to quit his Bishoprick for the good of the Church, (as it is observed in St. Augustin's 69th. Letter.) The Council ordained, That a Letter should be sent both to him, and to his People, to oblige him to withdraw; and, That the People should chuse another.

The Fourth Canon is likewise to prevent Contentions about the Seniority of the Bishops; enjoining the Bishops Ordained in Africa, to take Testimonial-Letters of those that Ordained them; marking both the Day and the Year of their Ordination.

The Last Canon forbids any Man to be admitted into the Clergy of one Church, who performed the Duty of a Reader in another.

These Canons are in the Code of the African Church, from the Eighty sixth, &c. to the Ninetieth inclusively.

Of the Councils held by St. Chrysostom at Constantinople and at Ephesus, in the Years 400, and 401.

BOTH these Councils examined the Accusations brought by Eusebius of Valentinople, against Antoninus Bishop of Ephesus. The History of them is in the Life of St. Chrysostom, (pag. 8.) Ephesus, by St. Chrysostom, cccc, & ccccl.

A Council assembled in the Year 403: in a Suburb of Chalcedon, called, The Oak, in which St. Chrysostom was Condemned.

THE History of this Synod is likewise in the Life of St. Chrysostom, (pag. 9.) It is taken the Oak, out of Palladius, and out of the Abridgment of the Acts of this Council, quoted by Photinus, Cod. 59th. of his Bibliotheca.

Council at Constantinople and Ephesus, by St. Chrysostom, cccc, & ccccl.

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The Council of Carthage, in the Year 403.

Council of Carthage, cccciii. UPON the Three and twentieth Day of August, in the Year 403. was held at Carthage a general Council of Africa, wherein the Bishops that had been sent to the Churches beyond the Seas, about the Donatist Buiness, having reported what they had found, and the Excuses of those Provinces that had sent no Deputies being allowed, a Command was laid upon the Catholick Bishops of each City, to send a sort of a Summons to the Donatist Bishops of the same Cities, to oblige them to enter upon a Conference. And that this might be done uniformly, they prescribed a Form for this Act, which should be made in the Presence of public Officers. Wherefore the Bishops of this Council desired, That the Proconful *Septimius*, would send word to the Officers to help them in the Buiness, and to give them authentick Acts of those Summons. This Petition is registred in the Acts of the Third Conference at Carthage, in the 183 Ch. of the Third Day.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 404.

Council of Carthage, cccciv. THE Donatist Bishops having answered these Summons of the Catholick Bishops, only with Violences and Threatnings, the Catholicks assembled in a Council held the next Year upon the 25th. of June, deputed *Theodorus*, and *Evodius*, to the Emperors, to obtain from them such Orders, as might prevent the Violences which the *Circumcellians* exercised against the Catholicks; and to Petition at the same time, that *Theodosius's* Law, which imposes Ten Pounds Penalty upon such as ordained Hereticks, or admitted them into their Assemblies, might take place against those who should detain the Protestations of Catholicks; and that the Law might be renewed which disabled Hereticks either to give, or receive Legacies. These were the Contents of the Memorials, given to both those deputed Bishops. *Aurelius* had a Commission to write to the Emperors in the Name of all the Bishops; and they also charged him to write to the Judges, till the Deputies were come back to obtain of them some Protection for the Church; and he is desired to write to the Bishop of Rome about it.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 405.

Council of Carthage, cccciv. THIS Council, assembled upon the 21st. of August, made no general Canons for Africa, but only regulated some particular Buinesses, which the Collector of the African Code hath expressed in these Terms. "It was ordained in this Council, That all the Provinces should send their Deputies to the general Council. Deputies were sent with a Letter to *Azonius*, to let him know, That he might send Deputies with all Freedom. It was thought fit to write to the Judges, to entreat them, That they would use their Endeavours to reconcile the Donatists, and the Catholicks, as had been already done at Carthage. And they were to write to the Emperor, to thank him for excluding the Donatists. But Pope *Innocent* having declared in his Letter which was read in the Council, That it was not convenient to send Bishops beyond the Seas, his Advice was approved, and they sent only Clerks of the Church of Carthage, to return the Thanks of the African Bishops.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 407.

Council of Carthage, ccccvi. THIS Council, assembled upon the 13th. of June, made a great many very useful Regulations. The Council of Hippo ordained, That a general Council of Africa should Yearly be held at Carthage. This discharges the Bishops of that annual Fatigue; and leaves it to the Prudence of the Bishop of Carthage, to call one, when, and where he thought fit. This is the substance of the First Canon of this Synod, which is the 95th. of the African Code. The Second ordains, That whoever appeals from an Ecclesiastical Judgment, may chuse such Judges as he shall think fit, with the Consent of his Accuser; and that, from their Judgment, there shall be no Appeal.

After this, they admitted the Deputies of the Provinces, and ordered, That Five Men should be appointed to see the Canons put in Execution.

The Third ordains, That *Vincentius*, and *Fortunatianus*, who were deputed to the Emperor; should ask leave to nominate Advocates from among those that were actually in the Service of the Church, that they might have Power to maintain the Church's Interests, and to go in to the Judges Courts, as the Bishops did, and make such Remonstrances as they should think necessary.

They discoursed of the Deputies Power at Court; and it was judged convenient, not to prescribe to them what they should say there. The Deputies of the Province of *Mauritania Caesariensis*

Caesariensis complained, That enquiry having been made after *Primofus* to cite him to the Council, he could not be found.

The Fourth Canon, which is the 98th. in the African Code, forbids the establishing of Bishops in those Cities that had none before, without the Authority of a Metropolitan, and of a Council of the whole Province.

In the next, The People that are reconciled to the Church, and had a Bishop before their Reconciliation, are allowed either to chuse one, or to submit themselves to the nearest Catholick Bishop. For those who had no Bishop before, they are subjected to that Bishop who converted them, if that Conversion happened before the Emperor's Law was enacted; but if since, then they must have their dependance upon their natural Bishop.

In the Sixth Canon, Judges are nominated to examine the Buiness of certain Deputies, who came not to the Synod, according to their Primate's Order.

In the Seventh, it is resolved to write to Pope *Innocent* about the Dispute betwixt the Church of Rome, and that of *Alexandria*, that so both those Churches might be at peace, and keep a good Correspondence with each other.

The Eighth Canon forbids divorced Persons to be married to others. This Regulation is there judged to be conformable to the Law of the Gospel, and to the Decision of the Apostle *St. Paul*. But since the civil Laws gave leave to the Husband, to marry after putting away his Wife, it is said, That the Emperor should be entreated to make another Law against that Custom.

The Ninth Canon prohibits the use of other public Prayers, Prefaces, or Recommendations, or the practising of another Form of laying on of Hands, besides those which are approved by the Councils, and composed by Men of known Piety.

By the Tenth, those are to be degraded from the Honour of Priesthood, that should desert of the Emperor to be try'd by secular Judges, but they are not restrained from desiring of him to be try'd by Ecclesiastical ones.

The Eleventh provides, That those shall be absolutely degraded, who having been Excommunicated in Africa, repaired to remote Churches, to be admitted to Communion.

The Twelfth and last Canon, which is the 106th. in the African Code, appoints, That such Clergy, or Bishops as desire to go to Court, shall be obliged to take testimonial Letters of their respective Bishop, or Metropolitan, directed to the Bishop of Rome, and containing the Reasons that bring them thither, that so the Bishop of Rome might grant them another Letter to go to the Court. It does not permit that Bishop, who had a Letter to go to Rome only, to have one from the Pope, to go to Court, except a new Buiness should happen, which he should acquaint the Bishop of Rome withal, and which should be mentioned in the Letter that he should give him. It is provided likewise, That in that sort of Letters, shall be set down the Day of Easter for that Year, that they may not want Date, or the Easter of the Year past, if that of the present is not exactly known.

Two Councils of Carthage, in the Year 408.

THE former of these Councils is of the 14th. of June, 408. All that is said of it in the African Code, is, That *Fortunatianus* was made Deputy against the Heathens, and the Hereticks.

The latter is of the 12th. of October. There they deputed the Bishops *Reftinus*, and *Florentinus* to Court, to ask for Succor against the Heathens, and Hereticks, at the same time that *Soverus*, and *Maccarius* were Executed, and *Theodorus*, *Evodius*, and *Victor* were Murdered upon their Account.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 409.

THIS Council assembled upon the 13th. of June, is not a general Council, but Council of a particular one. There it was declared, That one Bishop alone could not give Carthage Judgment.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 410.

UPON the Twelfth of June 410. a Council assembled at Carthage, deputed Five Council of Bishops to the Emperor, upon occasion of a Law of *Valentinian*, which granted Liberty of Conscience, that it might not prejudice the Laws made against the Hereticks of Africa.

The Council of Ptolemais.

Council of
Ptolemais;
in cccxxi.

ANDRONICUS, Governour of *Pentapolis*, guilty of great Oppression, and Injustice, which he exercised in that Province, was Excommunicated by a Synod of Bishops held at *Ptolemais*. There *Synesius* made a Speech against him. But this Governour having ask'd Pardon, and promised to behave himself otherwise, the publishing of the Sentence of the Synod was suspended. There is an Account of this Matter in the Abridgment of the 57th and 58th. Letters of *Synesius*. Mention is made also of Assemblies of some Bishops, in the 67th. Letter of the same Author.

The Conference at Carthage.

Conference of
Carthage;
in cccxxi.

THE Catholic Bishops had often demanded, ever since the Year 403. a Conference with the *Donatist* Bishops, to examine the Reasons which they pretended for their Separation from the Church in an amicable manner. The *Donatist* Bishops had constantly refused it, till the Year 406. and then consented to have one. They caused this Design to be authorized by an Order of the Emperor *Honorius*, dispatched at *Ravenna* the 14th. of *October* 410. Count *Marcellinus* was nominated President; and for the Execution of that Order, Two Rules were made; the one to appoint the Day of the Conference, and the other to fix the manner of Proceedings, and to oblige the Bishops of both sides, to declare whether they accepted of it.

The Conference began at *Carthage* upon the First Day of *June* 411. The *Donatist* Bishops met there to the Number of 278. and the Catholics were 286.

Marcellinus ordered, That Seven Bishops of each Party should be chosen to speak, of whom the chiefest of the Catholics were *St. Augustin*, and *Alypius*, and that besides these, Seven should be named to assist as Councillors, and Four to over-look, that the Noraries should faithfully set down what should be said. He commanded also, That every one should set his Hand to what he asserted; and that whatsoever was done should be communicated to the People. He ordered, That the Thirty Six deputed Bishops should be admitted into the Place of the Conference. But the *Donatists* would be all there; and the Catholics were contented, that their Eighteen Deputies only should be present.

The First Day was spent in personal Contests, concerning the Bishop's Qualifications. *Marcellinus* confessed at First, That it was above his capacity to be a judge of that Cause; and that it should rather be decided by those, of whose Disputes he undertook to judge. He caused the Emperor's Letter to be read, whereby he was appointed to be Judge. He promises them not to judge of any thing that should not be clearly proved by either Party. He gave the *Donatists* leave to chuse one to be judge with him of that Cause.

Nothing Remarkable was done in the Second Meeting on the 3d. of *June*. The *Donatists* having desired time to examine the Acts of the First, *Marcellinus* granted it to them, and adjourned the Conference to the Eighth Day of that Month.

An Accident happened about the manner of their Session. *Marcellinus* having desired the Bishops to sit down, the *Donatists* pretended, That it was forbidden by Scripture. The Catholic Bishops would not keep their seats, while the *Donatist* Bishops were standing. *Marcellinus*, out of Respect to the Bishops, caused his Seat to be taken away.

In the Eighth Day of the Third Session, the *Donatists* disputed long about the Qualities of Opposers, and Defenders. But at last, *St. Augustin* obliged them to come to the main Question, which was, Where was the Catholic Church? The *Donatists* confessed, That that was it, which was spread throughout the whole Earth; and so they had only now to examine Which Party was united with the Churches of other Parts of the World: And in this Point, the Catholics had the upper hand. To divert the Question, the *Donatists* desired, That the Acts which they had in their Hands might be read: And so they entered upon the Examination of *Cecilian's* case. They presented a Memorial, wherein they affirmed, That the Faults of every particular Member, infected a whole Community; and consequently, that *Cecilian* being guilty, the Catholics were in the wrong for keeping with him, and that they had a sufficient Reason to divide from him. This was the Point in Question. *St. Augustin* answered it fully, proving out of Holy Scripture, that the Church upon Earth will always consist of good and evil Members. He confirmed that Proposition by *St. Cyprian's* Authority, and urged the *Donatists* Example against themselves, alleging their Behaviour towards the *Maximianists*. After this, *St. Augustin* concludes, That though *Cecilian* had been guilty, yet that argued nothing against the Cause of the Church.

Yet *Marcellinus* would have it examined, Whether he was really Guilty: His Innocence was proved, as well as that of *Felix of Aptungis*, who ordained him by Acts of the Judgments given in their behalf, whereby they had been pronounced guiltless of the Crimes lay'd to their Charge.

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The Fourth Conference being ended, and the Bishops of both sides withdrawn, *Marcellinus* gave Judgment for the Catholics, whom he declared Conquerors; and the Bishops being called in, he read it to them.

The Council of Cirra, or Zerta.

THIS Council was assembled at *Cirra*, or rather *Zerta*, in *June* 412. The Council writ a Council's Synodical Letter, to refute the false Rumours which the *Donatists* had spread abroad *Cirra*, in concerning the Conference at *Carthage*. This Letter is the 141st. amongst *St. Augustin's* Letters. cccxxi.

The First Council of Carthage, against Cœlestius.

CŒLESTIUS came from *Rome*, to *Carthage*, with a Design to be there ordained Council's Priest in the Year 411. But his Error being discovered by *Paulinus* the Deacon, who formerly had been a Reader in the Church of *Milan*, he was put off to a Council of *Carthage*, against which held about the latter end of the Year 411, or the beginning of 412. by *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*. He was particularly asked, Whether he believed original Sin. He would never acknowledge it as a matter of Faith; and affirmed, before the Council, that several Catholics held, That Children were not born in Sin, but in the same State wherein *Adam* was, before he had offended God. The Bishops of this Council being not able to make him alter his Opinion, Excommunicated him, and he was forced to leave *Africa*. *St. Augustin* relates some Fragments of the Acts of this Council, in the Second Book of *Grace*, and *Original Sin*. *Marinus Mercator* hath also written the History of that Council.

The Conference of Jerusalem.

PELAGIUS, *Cælestius's* Tutor, being retired into *Palastine*, was well received by *John* Confessor of *Jerusalem*, who had protected *Rufinus*, whose Disciple *Pelagius* was: But *Paulus* Opposer being then in that Country, and being well acquainted with *Pelagius*, and *Cælestius's* Ex-Fellowers, with the judgments given against the latter, and with the Writings both of *St. Jerom*, and *Iem*, in of *St. Augustin* against them, accused *Pelagius* in a Synod, or rather in a Conference held at *Jerusalem* the 30th. of *July*, in the Year 415. in the presence of *John*, Bishop of that City, who caused *Pelagius* though a Lay-Man, to come in, and shewed him much Respect. *Orosius* having opposed to him both *St. Jerom*, and *St. Augustin's* Authority, it was little regarded. He then accused him of believing, That Man may be without Sin. *John* of *Jerusalem* affirmed, That if he maintained that Man could be free from Sin, without God's Help, that was indeed impious, but since he acknowledged that Man needeth divine Succour, he could not be accused: And he asked *Orosius*, whether he would deny the Assistance of God. *Orosius* professed, that he did not, and anathematized all those that said it; but he saw, that they understood not one another, and that the Interpreter was not Faithful; so that he was obliged to say, That *Pelagius* was an Heretick; and that they ought to send him to those Judges that undertook Latin; and that *John* having declared himself, his Protector could not be his Judge. After several Altercations it was agreed, that they should write to Pope *Innocent* about it. In the mean time, *Orosius* coming to *John*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, Seven and forty Days after, was called by him Heretick, and Blaphemer; having affirmed, That Man could not be without Sin, no with God's Grace. *Orosius* gives an Account of this whole Matter, in his Apology; which certainly, is an Ancient Monument.

The Council of Diospolis.

HEROS, and *Lazarus*, Two Bishops of *Gaul*, who had been obliged to quit, the one the Council of *Bishoprick of Arles*, and the other, that of *Aix*, and to retire into the *East*, joined with *Didymus*, to accuse *Pelagius*; and drew up a Petition, containing the Errors whereof they accused him, which they pretended to be taken out of his Books, and maintained by *Cælestius's* Disciple. This Accusation was preferred to a Synod of Fourteen Bishops, held at *Diospolis*, anciently called *Lydda*, a City of *Palastine*. *Eulogius* of *Cæsarea* was President, and *John* of *Jerusalem* held the Second Place. Though they were absent, yet their Petition was read; (for one of them was very sick at that time) and they questioned *Pelagius* about the Errors alleged against him. This Man answered all the Heads of his Accusation, by disowning all the Errors imputed to him, or by giving a Catholic Sense in appearance, to what either *Cælestius*, or himself had asserted. Whereupon, the Synod absolved him, as having sufficiently answered the Charge of his Adversaries. *St. Augustin* produces the Acts of this Council, in the Book of *Pelagius's* Acts; and there is an Abridgment of them in his 106th. Letter. He makes use also, of the Authority of the Fathers of this Council against *Julianus*. *St. Prosper* likewise quotes

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quotes the Fathers of this Council with high commendation, for condemning *Pelagius's* Errors. Yet *St. Jerome* calleth this Council, a Pitiſul Aſſembly, becauſe they ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by *Pelagius's* Diffimulation.

A Second Council of Carthage againſt Pelagius and Cœleſtius.

The Council of Milevis againſt the ſame.

Council II. *H*erens and *Lazarus* were not contented to accuſe *Pelagius* before the Council of *Diſpolis*, but they gave *Oreſius* Letters directed to the Biſhops of *Africa*; who, as they well knew, were *reſolv*, and leſs favourable to *Cæleſtius* and *Pelagius*. Theſe without receiving thoſe Letters, aſſembled both of *Milevis*, at *Carthage*, and at *Milevis*; where they condemn'd the Opinions attributed to *Cæleſtius* and *Pelagius*, and decreed, That the Authors of ſuch Doctrines were to be Anathematized, unleſs they condemn'd their Errors very clearly. The Biſhops of both theſe Councils writ to Pope *Innocent*, to authorize their Decree by the Concurrence of the See of *Rome*: Their Letters were followed by another from five Biſhops, who writ by themſelves to the Pope about the ſame Subject. Theſe Letters are the 175th, 176th, and the 177th, among *St. Auguſtin's* Letters. The Pope answered them, and approv'd the Judgment of the *African* Biſhops; as appears by his Letters dated the 25th. of *January* 417.

The Council of Carthage, held about the latter end of the Year 417.

Council of *Carthage* in *ccccxvii*. *T*he Biſhops of *Africa* having received *Zoſimus's* Letter, aſſembled about the latter end of the Year 417, to deliberate about what they ſhould do. They answered him immediately. That he was to blame, for offering to retract the Cauſe of *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, which had been judged, and proteſted againſt whatſoever he might do in their behalf, without hearing them. This Letter is not extant, but it is mention'd in the 3d. Letter which *Zoſimus* writ to them. After the firſt ſtep, they collected all that had been done againſt *Cæleſtius*; and having confirm'd the ſame, they ſent it to Pope *Zoſimus* by the Subdeacon *Marcellinus*; and further, they deputed Biſhop *Vindemialis* to carry it to *Rome*. To this Synod muſt be referred what *Proſper* ſaith in his *Chronicon* upon the Year 418, and elſewhere, That it conſiſted of Two hundred and fourteen Biſhops. They wrote a long Letter to the Pope; wherein they complain'd, That he did too eaſily believe *Cæleſtius*; telling him, That he ſhould have been oblig'd to revoke his Errors by Name. They diſcovered the Evolutions which he uſed to elude the difficulty, by equivocal Terms. They ſent him a Memorial of thoſe Errors; whereof they were to exact of him a clear and precise Condemnation; and exhorted him to maintain what was done by his Predeceſſor. Father *Queſnel* believes, not without probability, That in this Synod were concluded the Nine Canons concerning Grace; which are commonly aſcribed to the Council of *Milevis*. But if they were propoſed in this Council, they were not concluded upon nor ſubſcribed till that which was Aſſembled in *May* next Year, to which the Code of *African* Canons attribute them. The Endeavours of the *Africans* had good Succeſs; for the Emperor *Honorius* made an Ediſt againſt *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, the laſt day of *April*, 418. And ſhortly after, Pope *Zoſimus* publiſhed, as we have ſaid, his Sentence againſt them.

The Council of Carthage in the Year 418.

Council of *Carthage* in *ccccxviii*. *T*he *African* Biſhops willing to confirm what they had done againſt *Pelagius* and *Cæleſtius*, Aſſembled upon the Firſt day of *May* of the Year 418, and made Eight Canons againſt the *Pelagian* Errors, and ſome other Orders about the Buſineſs of the *Donatiſts*.

The Firſt pronounceth an Anathema againſt any who dares affirm, That *Adam* was created Mortal; ſo that he muſt have died, whether he had ſinned or not, becauſe his Death was not an Effect of Sin, but a Law of Nature.

The Second likewiſe declares an Anathema againſt ſuch as deny, That Children ought to be baptized as ſoon as they are Born; or ſuch as own that they may be baptized, and yet affirm, That they are born without Original Sin.

In ſome places there is a Third Canon, which is an Addition to this; wherein thoſe that affirm That there is a particular place, where Children dead without Baptiſm do live happily, are condemn'd; and to this Notion is oppoſed what our Saviour ſaith, That none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, except he be regenerate of Water and the Holy Spirit. *Phoebus* citeth this Canon in his Collection. It is found in another Manuſcript, and in the Code of the Roman Church, publiſhed by Father *Queſnel*. And laſtly, *St. Auguſtin* ſeems to own it, when he ſays, That the difference which the *Pelagians* made betwixt Eternal Life and the Kingdom of Heaven, had been condemn'd in an *African* Council; yet this Canon is not found in the ancient Code of the *African* Church. The Collectors of this Canon have not own'd it, and in the Chapters about Grace attributed to Pope *Cæleſtine*, the 3d, 4th, and 5th. Canons are cited, which ſhould be

be the 4th, 5th, and 6th, if this were the Third. Perhaps this Canon was added, or look'd upon as an Explication of the foregoing.

The Third Canon in the common Editions pronounces Anathema againſt all that ſhould ſay, That the Grace which juſtifies Man through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, doth only remit Sins committed; but that it is not given to ſuccour Man that he may Sin no more.

The Fourth expounds the Nature of this Grace, by condemning thoſe who ſhould ſay, That it doth no further help us, than as it gives us the knowledge of what we ought to do, but not by enabling us to fulfil the Commandments, which it gives us the knowledge of.

The Fifth is againſt thoſe that hold, That Grace is given only that we may do that which is good with leſs difficulty; becauſe one may abſolutely accompliſh the Commandments by the Power of his Free-Will, without the help of Grace.

The Sixth declares, That *St. John* did not ſay merely out of Humility; if we ſay that we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves.

The contrary Truth is confirm'd in the Seventh Canon, by theſe words of the Lord's Prayer, Forgive us our Trefpaſſes, &c. And they are condemn'd who affirm, That the Righteous do not ſay this Prayer for themſelves, but for others.

In the Eighth there is a Condemnation of another way of eluding the force of theſe words, by ſaying, That the Righteous pray out of Humility, but not truly. It is ſaid, That God would never endure that Man who in his Prayers ſhould lye not only to Men, but to God himſelf; by aſking with his Mouth, That God would forgive his Sins, and ſaying in his Heart that he had none.

After theſe Eight Canons concerning Grace, ſome Orders are ſet down.

The Firſt, is to reform the Fifth Canon of the Council of *Carthage* in the Year 407. whereby it was Enacted, That thoſe Biſhops who converted any *Donatiſts*, ſhould have the Jurisdiction over them. This Order having bred ſome Diſputes, it was thought fit here to reform it; and it is enjoy'd, That in what place ſoever any *Donatiſts* are reconciled, they ſhall be of the ſame Dioceſs with the Catholics of that place.

When there were two Biſhops in the ſame place, namely, The ancient Catholic and the reconciled *Donatiſt*, it might occaſion ſeveral Difficulties, which the Council prevents in the next Canon, which enjoins, That the junior Biſhop ſhall make a diviſion of thoſe places where there were many Catholics and *Donatiſts*, and that the ſenior ſhall have his choice. That if there is but one place where the Catholics and *Donatiſts* were intermixt, that Place ſhall belong to that Biſhop of the two, the place of whoſe reſidence is the neareſt; That if they prove equally diſtant, the Choice ſhall be left to the People. And if the ancient Catholics deſire to have their own Biſhop, and the reconciled him they had before, then the Majority of voices ſhall carry it; but if they be equal, then the ſenior ſhall have the Precedency. Laſtly, if the Places cannot be equally divided; As for example, if the number of Diviſions ſhould be odd, then two equal Diviſions ſhall be made, and the Place over and above ſhall be diſpoſed of, as is ſaid juſt before.

In the Third Rule it is provided, That whoſoever hath enjoy'd a place Three Years, ſhall remain in quiet Poſſeſſion, if there be a Biſhop in the Church of that Dioceſs, where naturally he ought to have been.

The Fourth is againſt thoſe Biſhops who violently took Poſſeſſion of the Jurisdiction of ſuch places as they pretended to be of their Dioceſſes, without having the matter in Diſpute adjudged by Biſhops.

The Firſt ordains, That thoſe that ſhall neglect to procure the Re-union of places dependent from their Dioceſſes, ſhall be put in mind of it by the Neighbouring Biſhops; That if they are not converted within Six Months after ſuch Admonition, they ſhall belong to the Dioceſs of that Biſhop that can convert them; if it appears that the Biſhop of the place hath neglected it. It is added, That if a Conteſt happens betwixt two Biſhops of different Provinces, the Metropolitan of the Province where the place in diſpute is ſituated ſhall appoint Judges, or the Parties ſhall chooſe one, or three.

This gives occaſion for renewing the Canon, which forbids any Appeal to be made from the judgment of Judges thus choſen.

It is enacted by the Seventh Order, That a Biſhop neglecting to reconcile the *Donatiſts* that are in his Dioceſs, ſhall be admoniſhed, and if they be not reconciled in Six Months, they ſhall not communicate with him until he hath reconciled them. Provided always, That he who had the execution of the Emperor's Orders was in his Province.

It is added in the Eighth, That if it be proved, that any Biſhop affirmed that theſe *Donatiſts* were come into the Communion of the Church, and it was not ſo, he ſhall loſe his Biſhoprick.

The Ninth enjoins, That if the Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks, complain of their Biſhop's judgments, they ſhall be judged by the Neighbouring Biſhops, with the content of their own; That if they appeal from this Judgment, it muſt be to the Council of *Africa*, and it Excommunicates thoſe that ſhall make their Appeals to Judges beyond the Seas.

The Tenth contains an Exception from that Prohibition of veiling a Virgin before the Age of Five and twenty, when being in danger of Death, ſhe deſires it, or her Parents for her.

Laſtly, that they might not too long detain the Biſhops out of their Dioceſſes, they choſe three out of each Province, and gave them Power to order all things with *Aurelius*, who is deſired to ſubſcribe the Canons and Rules now mentioned; which were alſo ſubſcribed by all of the Biſhops.

Of the Council of Tella, or Zella, and of some other Councils of Africa.

AMong the African Councils, is reckoned one held the 22d. of February in the Year 418. at Tella or Zella; whereof a Decree is produced which confirms the Fourth Letter attributed to Pope *Syriscus*, and under whose Name some Canons are found in the Collection of *Ferrandus* the Deacon. They do not agree about the Name of the place where this Council was celebrated. It is said in the beginning, That it was Assembled at Tella; some think that it should be Zella, instead of Tella; because some Canons are quoted under that Name by *Ferrandus*. *Sirmondus* thinks that we should read Telepa, because *Donatians* of Telepa presided; yet all Editions constantly call this the Council of Tella, and we read in the *Notitia*, of the Proconsular Province of Africa, that there was a City called Tella in that Province, which was a Bishops See. This City differs from Telepa, and from Zella, which were in the Province of Byzacena. And though *Ferrandus* citeth Canons under the Name of a Council of Tella and Zella, yet it doth not follow, that he believed it to be the same Council; on the contrary, it is probable, that the Canons Registered in his Collection under different Names, were made by different Councils.

But it is very likely, as Father *Ruefnel* hath observed, That both the Council of Tella, and the Canons Registered in *Ferrandus* under that Name, are Supposititious.

For, First, Tella being a City of the Proconsular Province, what likelihood is there that a Council of the Province of Byzacena should be called there? and that *Donatians* the Metropolitan of Byzacena should Preside in it?

Secondly, Is it credible, That a numerous Council should be Assembled in February, at a time that a General Synod of Africa was Summoned for the Month of May?

Thirdly, Wherefore do they suppose that the Legates of the Proconsular Province should assist at a Council of the Province of Byzacena?

Fourthly, This Council is supposed to have been Assembled to receive the Fourth Letter of Pope *Syriscus*. This Letter is Spurious as we have shewed, and though it were not, How unlikely is it, that the Africans would go about to confirm it so late? Is there any Example of their so doing? What reason had they to do it? Why should they make use of the Pope's Letter written several Years before to make Regulations by?

In the Fifth place, Some of the Canons in *Ferrandus*'s Collection, under the Name of the Council of Tella do not suit with the African Customs. That in the 6th. Ch. forbids ONE Bishop alone to ordain another Bishop, except the Bishop of Rome. The African Bishops had been far enough from approving this Exception so contrary to the Canons, and to Custom. The others are taken out of *Syriscus*'s Epistle against the African's pertinaciousness, who did not own the Canons of other Churches, except those of the Council of Nice, and such as had been made in African Councils. As for the other Canons cited under the Name of the Council of Tella, or Zella, they may be true, and it is probable that they are of another Council; namely, Those that are in the 3d. 16th. 65th. 68th. and 218th. Chapters. The others are in the 4th. 6th. 30th. 138th. 174th. Chapters.

There is mention in this Council, of another Council held at Thidry, under whose Name there are two Canons in *Ferrandus* the Deacon's Collection, Ch. 76th. and 77th. In this Collection there are likewise some Canons of other African Councils, of which we have no other knowledge. The Learned *Baluzius* collected them in his new Collection of such Councils as were omitted in the preceding Collections. Vol. 1. Page 366. and 367.

Council: of Carthage in the Years 418. and 419. Concerning the Cause of Aparius.

URbanus Bishop of Sicca, a City of Mauritania Casariensis, and formerly St. *Augustin*'s Disciple, did both degrade and excommunicate *Aparius*, a Presbyter, as one that had been unlawfully ordained. This man repaired to Pope *Zosimus*, who received him kindly, and admitted him to the Communion. This Pope's action, contrary to the Rules of the Church, that forbid Bishops to receive those Clerks that are excommunicated by their Brethren, amazed the African Bishops. But *Zosimus* seeking an opportunity to extend his Dominion and increase his Authority, would not let this occasion slip. Wherefore he sent Legates into Africa, a Bishop called *Faustinus*, and two Priests, *Astellus* and *Philip*; not only to cause *Aparius* to be restored, but also to make them admit of the Canons of the Council of Sardica, concerning the Appeals of Bishops to the See of Rome, and the Judgments of Clerks.

The Africans seeing that the Pope undertook to protect *Aparius*, judged it more convenient to accommodate the business; and so they found this Medium, to put him out of the Church of Sicca, and give him leave to do the Functions of his Order any where else. But before they came to a conclusion, suspecting that *Zosimus*'s Legats were not come into Africa without some Design, they urged them to give an account of their Commission. At first they would have made some Proposals of their own; but the Africans without hesitation, desired to see the Writings of their Commission, and so they were obliged to read the Memorial of their Instructions; which contained

contained four Heads. The First was, touching Appeals to the See of Rome. The Second, To hinder Bishops from going to Court. The Third, That Priests should be permitted to have their Causes examined by Neighbouring Bishops. By the Fourth they were commanded, either to Excommunicate *Urbanus* Bishop of Sicca, or to cite him to Rome, except he retracted what he had done. The Second Head admitted no Dispute; because the African Bishops had already enacted, That neither Bishops nor Priests should go to Court. They answered the Fourth, by composing the business as we have said; so that only the First and the Third remained to be decided and they were of great consequence. The Pope's Legats alleged to support their Pretensions, the Canons of the Council of Sardica, which allow Appeals to the See of Rome for Bishops condemned by a Provincial Synod, and permit a Clerk condemned by his own Bishop, to appeal to the Bishops of the Neighbouring Provinces.

Though the Africans had no knowledge of these Canons, yet because the Pope's Legats positively urged them, they promised, out of the respect they paid to that Council, to observe the Canons, until they were inform'd whether they were belonging to the Council of Nice, or no. This was their resolution in the first Council held about that business at Carthage in Autumn of the Year 418. which they acquainted *Zosimus* withal.

After this Pope's Death, The Bishops of Africa being assembled in an Universal Synod at Carthage the 23d. day of May, to the number of 217. *Faustinus* the Pope's Legat sitting in that Synod, next after *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, and *Valentinus* Metropolitan of Numidia, and *Astellus* and *Philippus* the Priests after the Bishops, the Canons of the Council of Nice were read, as they had the Copies of them on both sides. The Africans not finding in their Code the Canons which the Pope's Legats affirmed to have been enacted by the Council of Nice, *Alypius* proposed, That they should send Deputies to the Bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, to clear this dispute, by taking Copies of the true Acts of the Council of Nice: This Advice was approved, and they concluded, that in the mean time they should observe the Contents of those Canons: And they resolved to write to Pope *Boniface* about what they had done, and to pray him to write to the Eastern Patriarchs; That this Point might be cleared. This being done, they repeated the Creed and the Twenty Canons of the Council of Nice, according to the Copy which *Cecilian* Bishop of Carthage, had brought from that Council wherewith he assisted. They added to these, Three and thirty other Canons conformable to those of the Council of Nice. The First is only an Advertisement of *Aurelius*, concerning the Canons of the Council of Nice. The Second is a Confession of the Holy Trinity. The Third confirms the Rule of the Council of Carthage of the Year 401. concerning the Celibacy of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. It is said, That their Ministry obligeth them to it. *Faustinus* confirms this Order in the Fourth Canon. The Fifth is against the Covetousness of the Clergy, that usurp upon their Brethren. The Sixth reneweth the Law which forbids the Priests to consecrate the holy Chrism, and to reconcile Penitents publicly, and to consecrate Virgins. The Eighth gives a Priest leave to reconcile Penitents in cases of necessity. The Ninth provides that the Accusation of one that is guilty of any Crime shall not be admitted against a Bishop. The next is against either Bishops or Priests, who receive a Person excommunicated by his Bishop, without his consent.

Both the Tenth and the Eleventh pronounce an Anathema against those Priests, who being reproved by their Bishops, are so bold as to raise an Altar against an Altar, or make a Schism.

The Twelfth setteth the necessary number of Judges, to decide Ecclesiastical Causes. A Bishop is to be judged by Twelve Bishops; A Priest, by Six Bishops, with his respective Bishop; and a Deacon, by Three only. The Thirteenth Canon reneweth the ancient Laws about Bishops Ordinations; namely, That a Bishop cannot be ordained without the Primate's consent; and that three Bishops at the least must be present at the Ordination. In the Fourteenth, there is an Exception of the Twelfth for the Province of Tripoli, where there were few Bishops, declaring, That in this Province a Priest may be judged by five Bishops, and a Deacon by Two: and for the same reason, they say, That one Deputy may serve.

To maintain Ecclesiastical Authority among Clerks, The Fifteenth forbids them to make their Complaints before Civil Judges, when they are cited before Ecclesiastical ones; and in case they do, though they get the better, yet they must be deposed, if it be a Criminal business; and if it be a Civil Matter, they shall lose what they have got. It was also provided by these Canons, That if the Sentence of the first Ecclesiastical Judges, was reversed by a Superior Judgment; yet this shall do no Prejudice to the former Judges, except they are convicted of having given Judgment out of Passion or Favour. It is added, That there can be no Appeal from chosen Judges, though they were fewer in Number than is appointed. Lastly, Priest's Children are forbidden to exhibit Publick Spectacles, or to be present at any; They declare also, That the same ought to be forbidden all Christians.

The Sixteenth forbids Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to be Farmers, Attornies, or to get their Living by any forbid Commerce. Readers are obliged to Marry when they come to the Age of Puberty, or to make a Vow of Continency. Clerks are not to take Life for Money Lent. They will not have Deacons to be ordained, nor Virgins consecrated before they are Five and twenty Years old. Lastly, Deacons are forbidden to Salute the People; That is, to speak to the People in Reading, as Bishops were wont to do in Preaching.

The 17th. grants to the Province of *Silecia*, that had been separated from *Numidia*, the Right of having a Primate, or Metropolitan, but dependent upon the Primate of *Numidia*.

The 18th. enjoins, That Bishops Ordaining either Bishops or Clerks, shall make them understand the Canons. It forbids the giving the Eucharist to the Dead, and renews the Order of the Council of *Nice*, about the Celebration of Provincial Councils.

The 19th. ordains, That whoever accuses a Bishop, must do it before his Metropolitan; who shall cite him to appear within a Month before him, and before the Judges whom he hath chosen: That in the mean time the Bishop shall not be suspended from the Communion; That if at the Month's end he gives good Reasons for his not appearing, he shall have another Month; but if he doth not appear at his second Summons, he shall be suspended from the Communion until he hath justified himself: and, That if afterwards he comes not to the Universal Council, he shall be look'd upon as having condemned himself: That the Accuser is not to be kept from Communicating, if he appears upon all Set-days; but upon his withdrawing, he shall be suspended, but yet so as not to hinder his Prosecution. Lastly, They forbid the admitting of a noted Person to form an Accusation, except it be concerning his particular Interest. The 20th. gives Rules for the Judgment of Priests and Deacons; but other Clerks are left to the sole Judgment of the Bishop.

The 21st. forbids Clergy-mens Sons to Marry Heretical or Heathenish Wives. The 22d. hinders Clerks to give their Estates to Heretics, though they were their Parents. The 23d. forbids Bishops to go out of *Africa* without leave from the Metropolitan of their respective Province, from whom they are to receive a formed Letter, or a Letter of Recommendation. The 24th. prohibits the Reading of any other besides Canonical Books in the Church, whereof the Catalogue there set down agrees with that of the Council of Trent. It is noted at the latter end of this Canon, That the Contents thereof are to be notified to *Boniface*, and the Bishops of *Africa*, that they may confirm it: and that the *African* Church hath learned from her Father's Tradition, That the Books express'd in that Catalogue, ought to be read in the Church. The 25th. confirms the Law of Celibacy, for the Superior Orders; and it extends it to Sub-deacons, but other Clerks are left at their liberty.

The 26th. forbids the Selling the Goods of the Church, or of Bishops, without the Metropolitan's leave, unless there be an urgent Necessity; in which case they are to advise with the nearest Bishops.

The 27th. provides, That Priests and Deacons. shall not be put to publick Penance; and, That such as were Re-baptized, shall not be promoted to the Priesthood. The 28th. forbids those Priests and Deacons who find fault with the Judgments of their own Bishops, to seek for Judges out of *Africa*; but they are permitted to have their Cause examined by neighbouring Bishops, but with the Consent of their own Bishop; wherein this Canon differs from that of *Sardica*, which gave Clerks leave indifferently to chuse neighbouring Bishops for their Judges, without seeking for the Consent of their own Bishop.

The 29th. declares, That he condemneth himself, by suffering himself to be Excommunicated by an Ecclesiastical Judgment, who neglects to appear, and yet doth not forbear Communicating before he is heard. The 30th. saith, That if the Accuser hath some reason to fear any thing in the place where the Accused dwelleth, he may chuse a place hard-by to produce his Witnesses.

The 31st. punishes those Clerks who refuse to be promoted to Superior Orders by their Bishops, by depriving them of the Functions of their Ministry. The 32d. declares, That the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who being poor when they were Ordained, have afterwards purchased Estates out of the Churches Revenue, ought to be dealt withal like those who detain other Mens Estates unlawfully gotten, except they bequeath them to the Church: but they are permitted to do what they please with such Estates as come to them either by Succession or by Donation. Finally, The 33d. and last forbids Priests to Sell the Churches Goods unknown to the Bishops; and the Bishops, without acquainting the Council and their Priests with it: even the Metropolitan is not permitted to usurp what belongs to his Church. This is what was enacted in the First Session of this Council. Afterwards the Canons of former *African* Councils were read, in the same order in which we see them in the Code of the *African* Church.

The last Session of this General Council was upon the 28th. of *May*, of the same Year. Several Bishops complained, That they were kept there too long, and so desired to return to their Diocesses: wherefore they nominated Deputies of each Province to compleat what remained yet to do; but before they separated themselves, they added Six Canons more to the former. The 1st. forbids the receiving the Accusation of an accused Person. In the 2d. they would not have such admitted for Accusers as are Slaves, or Freed-men, nor infamous Persons, as Mimicks, or Stage-Players, nor more than Heretics and Heathens. In the 3d. it is provided, That if the Accusation consists of several Heads, and the Accuser cannot prove the First, he shall not be suffered to propose the rest.

The 4th. prescribes the Qualifications of Witnesses, according to what hath been said of Accusers; that is, That whoever was not qualified to be an Accuser, could not be admitted for a Witness: adding, That the Domesticks of an Accuser could not be Witnesses, nor such as were under the Age of Thirteen Years.

The 5th. provides, That if a Bishop declares that such a Person hath confessed a Crime to him alone, and that Person denies it, and refuses to do Penance; that Bishop ought not to think that Injury is done to him, if the thing is not believed upon his Word, though he saith, That he will not Communicate with that Person, out of a Scruple of Conscience. The next

Canon

Canon adds, That in this case, if the Bishop will not communicate with that Person, the other Bishops shall not communicate with that Bishop; that so Bishops may not offer to say what they cannot prove. These Canons shew, That Crimes were confessed to Bishops; and that the Bishops excommunicated Men, and put them to publick Penance for those Crimes, though they were secret ones; but that the Bishop could not oblige those outwardly to do publick Penance, who had confessed their Crimes secretly to him, unless he had other Proofs to convict them.

After this, *Aurelius* concluded the Synod, putting off to the next day the writing to *Boniface*. All the Bishops subscribed and approved what had been done and read in the Synod.

The next day they composed the Letter to *Boniface*; wherein the *African* Bishops gave him an Account of what had been done about the Memorial of Instructions which *Zosimus* had given to his Legates; and promised him to see the two Canons of the Council of *Sardica* executed, concerning the Appeals of the Clergy, and the Judgments thereupon, until they had received out of *Greece* the true Copies of the Council of *Nice*; upon Condition, That if these Canons were not there, they would not endure this new *Yoke*, which seemed to be an Effect of Ambition; and that they should be suffered to enjoy their ancient Privileges.

These Copies were not long in coming; they received them in November of the same Year, with obliging Letters from *St. Cyril*, and *Aricius* of *Constantinople*; but they did not find the Canons alleged by *Zosimus's* Legates, but only the Confession of Faith, and the Twenty ordinary Canons. They had no sooner received them, but they sent the same to Pope *Boniface*.

This seemed to have put an end to the Dispute; and indeed, it was not spoken of any more in *Boniface's* time, but it was renewed under the Pontificate of Pope *Celestine*. For this *Apianus*, to whom the *African* Bishops had shewed Kindness for the Pope's sake, instead of behaving himself wisely, gave great occasions of Complaint against him; so that they were obliged to condemn him. He failed not, to procure his Restoration, to apply himself to the same Means that had before proved effectual: he went to Pope *Celestine*, who received him kindly, and admitted him to Communion: he wrote in his behalf to the *African* Bishops, and sent *Faustinus* to procure his Restoration. The *African* Bishops met to judge him. At first he rejected their Judgment, under pretence of maintaining the Privileges of the See of *Rome*, and demanded to be admitted to the Communion, since *Celestine*, to whom he made his Appeal, had admitted him. This Opposition, back'd by *Faustinus*, did not hinder the *African* Bishops from undertaking the Examination of the Crimes laid to his Charge. At the third time of their Meeting, *Apianus* confessed, "That he was guilty of the Crimes he was accused of, so that there was no more need of Pleading." But the *African* Bishops seeing of what Importance it was, to prevent that for the future the *African* Councils should not be thus imposed upon, they writ a Letter to Pope *Celestine*. In which having related in what manner *Apianus's* Business was concluded, they intreated him earnestly to hearken no more to those that should come from *Africa*, and not to admit any more to his Communion any Man that was Excommunicated by the *African* Bishops. "For (say they) your Holiness may take notice, That it was so decreed in the Council of *Nice*; and though mention is made there only of Clergy and Laity, yet there is a great deal more reason to observe this Rule, with respect to Bishops; and it would prove a great Disorder, should your Holiness allow Communion against the Rules to Bishops Excommunicated in their Provinces. Likewise, your Holiness ought to reject those Priests, and other Clergy-men who apply themselves to you, to avoid the Punishment which they deserve; so much the rather, because we no where read that the Canons have taken away this Privilege from the *African* Church; and that according to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, the Judgment of Priests, and of other Clerks, belongs to the Metropolitan. For the Fathers of that Council were wise and just enough to see that all Causes ought to be decided in those very places where they have their birth; and that each Province shall not want the Light of the Holy Spirit, which is necessary to direct and enable them to do Justice to their People; so much the rather, that every one who thinks himself wrong'd by the Sentences of Judges that are put upon them, may have their recourse to a Synod of that Province, or even to a National Council. Were it not great rashness in any one of us, to believe that God can inspire by his Spirit one single Person to do Justice, and deny the same to a great number of Bishops assembled in a Council? And how can it be imagined, that Judgment given out of the Country, and beyond the Seas, can stand, since it is often impossible to transport Witnesses? They add, That they had sent to Pope *Boniface*, *Celestine's* Predecessor, the true Copies of the Council of *Nice*, where the Canons alleged by *Faustinus* are not found. They advise him to send no more Clerks into *Africa* to see his Judgments executed, lest he should seem to introduce into the Church, which Breathes nothing but Humility, the Pomp and Vanity of the Age; and then they entreat him, not to suffer *Faustinus* to abide any longer in *Africa*."

The Council of Ravenna, in 419.

This Council was assembled at *Ravenna*, in April, 419. by order of *Honorius* the Emperor, Council of to judge betwixt *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, who disputed about the See of *Rome*. For since *Ravenna*, the Bishops could not agree, the Emperor purposed to call another more numerous Council, in which

which he invited Bishops out of *Gaul* and *Africa*. In the mean while it was ordered in this That *Eulalius* and *Boniface* should keep out of *Rome*; and that *Achillius*, Bishop of *Spoleto*, should take care of the Church till the Contest was ended. But *Eulalius's* Precipitation justified *Boniface's* Right, and was the cause that no other Council met upon that Subject. You may see what was said about it in the Account of Pope *Boniface*.

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 420.

Council of Carthage, in ccccx. **W**hat we have said hitherto concerning the Councils of *Africa*, celebrated in the beginning of the Fifth Century, sufficiently shews, That the Vigilancy of those Bishops made them meet often, and gives reason to conjecture, That Yearly Councils were held at *Carthage*; but we have not the Acts of all those Councils. *Possidius*, in *St. Augustin's* Life, intimates, That in 420. there was a Meeting of Bishops at *Carthage*, where a young Virgin confessed that she had suffered infamous things from the *Manichees*. *St. Augustin* relates the same thing in his *Treatise Of Heresies*, ch. 46. and the Author called *Prædestinatus*, hath not forgot to reckon this Meeting among the *African* Councils; but it may be that it was only an Assembly of Bishops, like that wherein *St. Augustin* caused *Heracles* the Priest to be elected his Successor, which cannot be called a Council.

The Council of Constantinople, in the Year 426.

Council of Constantinople, in ccccxvii. **T**his Council was assembled by *Theodosius's* Command, to Ordain *Sisinnius* Bishop-Elect of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Atticus*. *Theodosius* of *Antioch* was present, and there condemned the *Massalian* Heresy by a Synodical Letter: And *Neon's* Opinion was, That as many as should be convicted of favouring that Sect, should be Expelled, without hope of Re-admission, whatsoever Promises they might make. The reason of that extraordinary Severity came from this, That those Heretics made no scruple of Abjuring their Sect, even with the most dreadful Oaths. This Synod is mentioned in the Council of *Ephesus*, where the Synodical Letter is confirmed, p. 3. *Act. 7.*

The Council of Carthage, in the Year 427. against Leporius.

Council of Carthage, against Leporius, in ccccxviii. **L**eporius, Priest and Monk of *Marseilles*, emb'd with *Pelagius's* Errors, having likewise maintained that which *Nestorius* published not long after, was driven out of *Gaul*: God's Providence directed him to *Africa*; where he was undeceived of his Errors by *Aurelius* and *St. Augustin*, who most charitably instructed him. After he was fully persuaded of the Truth, they made him subscribe a Confession of Faith; wherein he sharply condemned those Errors which he had published, concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, and made a clear Profession of the Faith of the Church. *Aurelius*, *St. Augustin*, and some other Bishops, being assembled, signed that Profession, and wrote a Letter to *Proculus* of *Marseilles*, and the other Bishops of that Country; whereby they attested *Leporius's* Conversion, and intreated them to receive him charitably. This *Leporius* having been present at the Assembly which *St. Augustin* called at *Flippo*, to chuse *Heracles* for his Successor, held at the latter end of the Year 426, could not be sent back before 427.

The Council of Constantinople, in the Year 428.

Council of Constantinople, in ccccxviii. **N**estorius having been chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, in 428. after *Sisinnius's* Death, *Philip*, an ancient Priest of the Church of *Constantinople*, found fault with some of *Nestorius's* Sermons, and refused to Communicate with him. This provoked *Nestorius*, who caused him to be cited to his Council, and persuaded *Celestius* to accuse him. But *Philip* being come to the Council, and *Celestius* not appearing, *Philip* remained fully justified. This Council is spoken of in the *Memorial* which *St. Cyril* gave to *Possidius*, and which was carried to *Rome*.

We conclude here the former Part of the Third Volume, which gives an Account of the Authors of the Fifth Age of the Church, that we may not enter upon the History of the Council of *Ephesus*, which we shall speak of in the latter Part.

The END of the FIRST PART of the THIRD TOME.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORS

Mentioned in the Third VOLUME.

Giving an Account of their Names, Time of their Birth, their Country and Employments, Time when they Flourished, and the Time of their Deaths.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS,

A Disciple of the *Macarii*. Dracon of *Constantinople*. Flourished from the Year 380. to the End of that Century. Died Anno 406.

MARK,

The Hermit. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

SIMPLICIANUS,

Bishop of *Milan*, Successor to *St. Ambrose*. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century. Died in 400.

VIGILIUS,

Bishop of *Trent*. Flourished towards the end of the Fourth Century. Suffered Martyrdom in the Year 400.

PRUDENTIUS,

Of *Saragosa*. A Christian Poet. Born in the Year 348. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century. Died in 410.

DIADOCHUS,

Bishop of *Phocæa*. Flourished, according to some, at the end of the Fourth, or as others, at the end of the Fifth Century.

AUDENTIUS,

Bishop in *Spain*. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century.

SEVERUS ENDELECHIUS,
A Christian Poet. Flourished towards the end of the Fourth Century.

FLAVIANUS,

Bishop of *Antioch*. Flourished from the Year 380. to the end of that Century. Died in the Year 404.

St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,

Bishop of *Constantinople*. Born in 347. Flourished from the Year 390. to the beginning of the next Century. He Preached in 380. and was Ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* in 398. Was Deposed in 403. and driven away in 404. Died in Exile in the Year 407.

ANTIOCHUS,

Bishop of *Prolema*. A Famous Preacher, about the end of the Fourth Century.

SEVERIANUS,

Bishop of *Gabala*. Flourished towards the end of the Fourth Century.

ASTERIUS,

Bishop of *Amasea*. Flourished towards the end of the Fourth Century.

ANASTASIUS,

Bishop of *Rome*. Ordained in the Year 398. Died in 402.

CHROMACIUS,

Bishop of *Aquila*. Flourished towards the end of the Fourth Century.

GAUDENTIUS,

Bishop of *Brescia*. Ordained in the Year 387. Died towards the Year 410.

JOHN,

Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Ordained in 387. Died in the Year 416.

THEOPHILUS,

Bishop of *Alexandria*. Ordained in 395. Died in 412.

THEODORUS,

Bishop of *Mopsuestia*. Flourished at *Antioch*, towards the end of the Fourth Century: And was Ordained Bishop in the beginning of the Fifth.

PALLADIUS,

A Monk, and afterwards Bishop of *Helenopolis*. Flourished, chiefly at the beginning of the Fifth Century. Died after the Year 421.

St. INNOCENT I,

Bishop of *Rome*. Ordained in 402. Died in 417.

St. JEROM,

Presbyter. Born in the Year 345. Flourished from the Year 370. to his Death. Died in 420.

ROFINUS TORANIUS,

Presbyter of *Aquila*. Flourished from the Year 372. Died in 410.

SOPHRONIUS,

Flourished at the beginning of the Fifth Century.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS,

Presbyter of *Aggen*. Flourished from the Year 380. to 420. Died in 420.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

St. PAULINUS,
Bishop of *Nola*. Baptized in 380. after having been
Confir. in 378. Ordained Priest in 393. and
Bishop in 409. Died in 431.

PELAGIUS,
A British Monk. Published his Errors towards the
end of the Fourth Century.

COELETIUS,
A British, Disciple of Pelagius. Taught his Heresie
about the beginning of the Fifth Century.

NICEAS,
An Italian Bishop. Flourished about the beginning
of the Fifth Century.

OLYMPIUS,
A Bishop in Spain. Flourished about the begin-
ning of the Fifth Century.

BACCHIARIUS,
A Christian Philosopher. Flourished about the be-
ginning of the Fifth Century.

SABBATIUS,
Bishop in Gaul. Flourished about the beginning of
the Fifth Century.

ISAAC,
A Converted Jew. Flourished about the beginning
of the Fifth Century.

PAULUS OROSIVS,
A Spanish Priest. Flourished under the Emperours
Arcadius and *Honorius* about the beginning of the
Fifth Century.

LUCIAN,
Presbyter.

AVITUS,
Spanish Presbyter.

EVODIUS,
Bishop of *Uzela*.

SEVERUS,
Bishop of *Minorca*.

MARCELLUS, Memorialis
EUSEBIUS,

URSINUS,
Monk.

MACARIUS,
Monk of *Rome*.

HELIODORUS,
Presbyter of *Antioch*.

PAUL,
Bishop.

HELVIDIUS,
VIGILANTIUS,
Priest.

St. AUGUSTIN,

Bishop of *Hippo*. Born at *Tagasta* the 13th. of Nov.
354. Was Converted in 387. Ordained Priest in
391. and Bishop in 395. Began to Write in 387.
and did not leave off writing till his Death. Died
the 28th. of August in the Year 430.

ZOSIMUS,
Bishop of *Rome*. Ordained in 417. Died in 418.

BONIFACE I.
Bishop of *Rome*. Ordained in 418. Died in 423.

SYNESIUS.
A Platonic Philosopher. Bishop of *Ptolemais*. Fa-
mous for his Skill in Human Learning, about the
end of the Fourth and the beginning of the Fifth
Century; and was Elected Bishop in 410. Died
after the Year 412.

Wrote about the
beginning of
the Fifth Cen-
tury.

A TABLE of all the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors mentioned in this Volume.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Part of a Gnostical Book and a Practical Book,
contained in One hundred and Seventy one
Sentences, with Eleven Instructions for Monks;
Published by *Coeletius* in the Third Tome of the
Monumenta Ecclesie Græcæ, pag. 68.

A Treatise entitled *Antirrheticus*, or rather a Sum-
mary of that Treatise; published by *Nigerius* at
the end of *Palladius*.

The History of *Pachomius*, among the Works of *St. Nilus*.
Sentences attributed to *St. Nilus*, which are found
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Other sentences, which are at the end of the First
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A Small Treatise of the Names of God. published
by *Coeletius* in the Second Vol of the *Monumenta
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Fragments and sentences of *Evagrius*, in the *Code
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Three Fragments quoted out of the Gnostical and
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BOOKS Lost.

The Gnostical, Practical and Antirrhetical Books.
Six hundred Problems.
Two Books of Sentences.

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Genuine Books still Extant.

Sixty seven Homilies upon *Genesis*, Volume I.
of the *Eton* Edition, from Page 1. to 522. and
Vol. 2. of *Paris*, from Page 1. to 725.

Nine Homilies upon *Genesis* in the English Edition
Vol. 5. from p. 1. to 38. and in the *Paris* Edit. Vol. 2.
from p. 725. to 773.

Two Fragments of Homilies--Upon *Adam* and
Abraham. V. 5. Ed. *Eton*. p. 648. and 653.

Books Spurious, or Dubious.

Ten Homilies upon *Genesis*, English Edition,
V. 1. p. 39.

Hom. upon *Gen. 1. God saw all his Works*, &c. Ed.
En. V. 5. p. 145. Ed. P. V. 6. p. 18.

Hom. upon these words, *Gen. 1. Let us make man
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grace is sufficient, Ed. *Eton*. v. 5. p. 799. P. v. 6.
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An Homily upon these words of the Epistle to the
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more Oblation, &c. Ed. Eng. v. 5. p. 772. It is a

Fragment of the 20th. and 15th. Homilies upon
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Sermons upon some Points of Doctrine.

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An Homily of the Resurrection of the Dead, Ed.
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A Sermon to Catechumens, Ed. Eng. v. 6.
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A Sermon directed to the Neophytes, ibid.
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One and twenty Homilies of Statues, Ed. *Eton*.
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Sermons against the Superstition of *New-year's*
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An Homily of Baptism to those who are to be
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A Sermon in Commendation of *Diodorus*, pub-
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A Sermon after his Return out of *Asia*, ed. eng.
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A Sermon concerning his Reconciliation with
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A Sermon upon the beginning of the Year, v. 5.
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A Discourse of the *Circus*. ed. eng. v. 6. p. 974.

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Against those that fell asleep upon *Whitsunday*,
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There is another Sermon concerning the Con-
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The Sermon concerning Ananias's, ed. eng.
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A Discourse of Repentance, and of the Eucha-
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 A Discourse against those that abused Virgins Consecrated to God, ed. eng. v. 6. p. 976.

Sermons upon Festival Days.

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AN Homily upon Christmas, ed. Eton, v. 5. p. 51. P. v. 5. p. 417.
 A Sermon of Jesus Christ's Nativity, ed. Eton, v. 5. p. 846. P. v. 6. p. 493.
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 An Homily about Judas's Treason, Preached upon Holy Thursday, ed. A. v. 5. p. 547. P. v. 5. p. 406.
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 Edit. Eng. and Eton, signifies Sir Henry Savile's Edition in Greek; P. is Paris Edition in Greek and Latin; L. is the Lions Edition, only in Latin.

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A Fragment produced by Theodoret, in his Second Dialogue.
 Other Fragments produced by Gelasius in the Book of the two Natures.

Books Lost.

A Discourse against Covetousness.
 A Sermon upon the Parable of the Man that was Born Blind, and several other Homilies.

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A Book against the Gentiles, Ed. Eng. v. 5. p. 442. P. v. 1. p. 647.
 A Writing against Jews and Gentiles, to prove that Jesus Christ is God, Ed. A. v. 6. p. 622. P. v. 5. p. 785.
 A Treatise against those who find fault with a Monastick Life, Edit. Eton, v. 6. p. 161. P. v. 4. p. 355.
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Two Fragments produced by Geladius and some others, drawn from the *Catena* upon the Scripture.

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A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians.

A Treatise upon the Feast of the Baptism and Epiphany of Jesus Christ.

A Discourse against Novatus, and several Sermons.

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Eleven Sermons on different Subjects.

Extracts of several others related by Photius.

Three Homilies upon the *Psalms*, published by Co-selerius; if they are really his.

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ANASTASIUS.

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A Letter to John of Jerusalem.

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A Synodical Letter against Origen.

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Two Letters, one to the Bishops of Germany and Burgundy, and the other to Nestarius.

CHROMACIUS.

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A Discourse upon the Beatitudes.

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Commentaries upon the whole Gospel of St. Matthew.

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Letter of Chromacius to St. Jerome, upon the Martyrology.

GAUDENTIUS.

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Treatise to Caprasius of the Institution of Monks.

THEOPHILUS of Alexandria.

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Three Paschal Letters, among the Works of St. Jerome.

Three other Letters, *ibid*.

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Another Fragment of his Treatise against Origen, and two Fragments of a Treatise addressed to the Monks of Scitha.

Five Canonical Letters.

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A Treatise against Origen.

A Treatise against the *Anthropomorphites*.

A Cycle of the Feast of Easter.

A Treatise to the Monks of Scitha, written against St. John Chrysostom.

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A Treatise against Helvidius.

Two Books against Jovinian.

An Apology for those Books addressed to Pam-machius.

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A Letter and Treatise against Vigilantius.

A Letter to Marcella against Montanus.

A Letter to Riparius against Vigilantius.

A Letter to Apronius against the Origenists.

Two Letters to Damasus upon the Hypostases.

A Dialogue against the Luciferians.

A Letter to Avitus, concerning the Errors of Origen.

A Translation of the Letter of St. Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem.

A Letter to Pammachius against the Errors of John of Jerusalem.

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A Letter to Rufinus.

Three Books of Apology against Rufinus.

A Letter to Ctesiphon, and Three Books of Dialogues against the Pelagians.

Three Letters to Theophilus.

A Letter against Vigilantius.

Some other Letters on divers Subjects of Doctrine, particularly to St. Augustin.

A Treatise of the best manner of Translating.

Fifty Critical Letters or thereabouts, upon the Holy Scriptures.

A Book of the Names of Countries and Cities mentioned in the Bible.

An Explication of the Proper Names of the Hebrews.

An Explication of the Hebrew Alphabet and Jewish Traditions.

Letters to Minerius and Paulinus.

A Treatise of Illustrious Men, or of Ecclesiastical Writers.

A Latin Version of the Text of the Bible from the *Septuagint*.

A New Version from the Hebrew Text.

Eighteen Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*.

Six Books upon *Jeremias*.

Fourteen Books upon *Ezekiel*.

One Book upon *Daniel*.

A Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, and upon the Twelve minor Prophets.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels.

Four Books of Notes upon the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to Titus, and to Philemon.

A Translation of the Book of *Eilymas*, concerning the Holy Ghost.

A Translation of some Homilies of Origen.

A Translation of *Eusebius's Chronicle*.

Books Lost.

Annotations upon the *Psalms*.

A Commentary upon the Tenth Psalm, and upon the Six following.

A Treatise upon the Book of Job.

A Treatise of Heresies.

A Treatise of the Resurrection.

A Letter to Antius.

Annotations upon the Prophets.

Supposititious Books.

Questions, upon the *Chronicles*, and upon the Books of Kings.

An Explication of the Names of Countries and Cities spoken of in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

A Commentary upon the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*.

A Book of Annotations upon St. Mark.

A Commentary upon the *Psalms*.

A Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul.

A Letter to Demetrius.

Letters and Treatises in the last Tome, upon which there is a Censure past at the end of the Account of St. Jerome's Works in this Volume.

RUFINUS.

Genuine Books.

Translations of the Works of several Authors, of which there is a Catalogue in Rufinus's Life.

Two Books of Ecclesiastical History.

A Discourse concerning the Falsification of the Books of Origen.

A Book of Inveclives against St. Jerome.

An Apology, to Pope Anastasius.

An Explication of the Creed.

An Explication of the Benedictions of Jacob.

A Commentary upon the Prophets, *Isaiah*, *Joel*, and *Amos*.

Books Lost.

Several Letters, and some Translations.

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A Commentary upon the Seventy five First Psalms.

SOPHRONIUS.

Genuine Book.

A Version into Greek of St. Jerom's Treatise of Illustrious Men.

Books Lost.

An Elogy on *Bethlehem*.

A Discourse of the Ruin of *Serapis*.

A Translation of St. Jerom's Treatise of Virginitie.

A Translation of the Latin Version of the Psalms and the Prophets, made by St. Jerom.

SULPICIOUS SEVERUS.

Genuine Books.

An Abridgment of Sacred History divided into two Books.

The Life of St. Martin.

Three Letters concerning the Vertues and Death of that Saint.

Three Dialogues.

Seven Letters.

Books Lost.

Several Letters of Piety.

St. PAULINUS.

Genuine Books.

Fifty Letters of Doctrine and Piety.

The Passion of St. *Genesis*.

Thirty two Pieces of Poetry.

Books Lost.

An Abridgment of the History of the Kings.

A Panegyrick upon *Theodosius*.

A Letter to his Sister, of the Contempt of the World; and some others.

A Treatise of Penance, and of the Praise of Martyrs.

Offices upon the Sacraments.

PÉLAGIUS.

Genuine Books.

A Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul attributed to St. Jerom.

A Letter to *Demetrius*, and some others, in the last Tome of St. Jerom.

A Confession of Faith, to Pope *Innocent*.
Fragments of a Treatise of the Power of Nature, and Free-Will, in St. *Augustin*.

Books Lost.

A Treatise of the Power of Nature.
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COELESTIUS.

Genuine Books.

Six Propositions.

Eight Definitions or Reasonings.

A Profession of Faith, to Pope *Zosimus*, of which we have only some Fragments.

NICEAS.

Books Lost.

Six Books of Instructions.

A Treatise addressed to a Virgin fallen into Sin.

OLYMPIUS.

Books Lost.

A Treatise of the Beginning and Nature of Sin.

BACHIARIUS.

Genuine Work.

A Letter concerning the Penance of a Monk.

Books Lost.

A Treatise of Faith.

A Discourse concerning the End of *Solomon's* Life.

SABBATIUS.

Books Lost.

A Treatise of Faith.

ISAAC.

Genuine Book.

A Treatise concerning the Trinity and the incarnation.

PAULUS OROSIOUS.

Genuine Book.

An Universal History intituled *Historia*.

Lucius

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LUCIAN.

Genuine BOOK.

The History of the Invention of the Relicks of St. *Stephen*.

APITUS.

Genuine BOOK.

A Translation of the Book of *Lucian*, of the Invention of the Reliques of St. *Stephen*.

EVODIUS.

Genuine BOOK.

A Treatise of Faith or of the Unity of the Trinity, among the Works of St. *Augustine*.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Two Books of the Miracles of St. *Stephen's* Relicks.

SEVERUS.

Genuine WORK.

A Letter of the Conversion of the *Jews* in the Island of *Minorca*, made by the Miracles of the Relicks of St. *Stephen*.

MARCELLUS MEMORIALIS.

Genuine BOOK.

The Acts of the Conference of *Carthage*.

EUSEBIUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise of the Mystery of the Cross.

URSINUS.

Genuine BOOK.

A Treatise concerning the Re-baptizing of those Baptiz'd by Heretics.

MACARIUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise against Astrologers.

HELIODORUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise of Virginitie.

PAULUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise of Penance.

HELVIDIUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise against the Virginitie of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, refuted by St. *Jerom*.

VIGILANTIUS.

WORKS Lost.

Some Treatises of the Discipline of the Church.

St. AUGUSTINE.

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Genuine WORKS.

Two Books intituled of Retractions.
Thirteen Books of Confessions.

Three Books against the Academicks.

A Treatise of Blessedness.

Two Books of Order.

Two Books of Soliloquies.

A Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul.

A Treatise of the Quantity of the Soul.

A Treatise of Music, divided into six Books.

The Book Of a Master.

Three Books of Free-will.

Two Books upon *Genesis* against the *Manichees*.

A Book of the True Religion.

The Rule.

WORKS Lost.

A Treatise of Beauty and Knowledge.
Treatises of Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Geometry, Arithmetick and Philology.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Treatises of Grammar.

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TOME II.

Genuine WORKS.

Two Hundred and Seventy Letters, divided into four Classes.

The first contains the Letters written from the time of his Conversion to his Ordination, from the year 386. to the year 395. in Number thirty.

The second contains the Letters written to the year 410. in Number 92.

The third, the Letters written between that time and his Death, to the Number of 109.

The last Class contains the Letters to which there are no dates; in Number 39.

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Thirteen Letters of St. *Augustin* to *Boniface*, and of *Boniface* to St. *Augustin*.

A Letter to *Demetrius*.

A Letter of St. *Augustin* to St. *Cyril*.

A Dispute with *Pascennius*.

TOME III.

Which Contains the Treatises upon Scripture.

Genuine.

Four Books of Christian Doctrine.

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 The Looking glass.
 A Discourse of the Harmony of the Gospels, divided into
 four Books.
 A Commentary upon the Sermon of Jesus Christ upon
 the Mount.
 Questions upon the Gospel of *St. Mark*.
 The question whether this Book be Genuine.
 A Treatise and twenty four Treatises upon the Gospel of
St. Luke.
 Three Sermons upon the first Epistle of *St. John*.
 The Exposition of several places of the Epistle to the
Romans.
 A perfect Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Ro-*
mans.
 A continued Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Gal-*
atians.

Supposititious.

The life of the Miracles in the Scripture, divided into
 three Books.
 A Discourse of the Benedictions of the Patriarch *Jacob*.
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TOME IV.

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An Explication of the Psalms.

TOME V.

Genuine.

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 of the Old and New Testament.
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 dubious.
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 supposititious Sermons.

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Which Contains the Dogmatical Works.

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Answers to eighty three Questions.
 Two Books of Questions to *Simplicianus*.
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 A Treatise of the Belief of things that we know no-
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 An Explication of the Creed.
 A Treatise of Faith and good Works.
 The Manual of *Laurentius*.
 The Combat of a Christian.
 The Book of Instruction.
 A Treatise of Contenance.
 A Treatise of the advantages of Marriage.

A Treatise of the Holy Virginity.
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 Two Books concerning those Marriages, which cannot be
 excused of Adultery.
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 A Treatise of the Predictions of the Devil.
 A Treatise of the care we ought to have for the dead.
 A Treatise of Patience.
 A Sermon upon the Creed.

Supposititious.

Three Sermons on the Creed.
 A Sermon of the fourth Day of Passion Week.
 A Discourse concerning the Deluge.
 A Sermon upon the Perfection of the Barbarians.
 A Sermon upon the new Canticle.
 A Sermon of the Discipline and Usefulness of fasting.
 A Sermon upon the taking of *Rome*.
 A Collection of Twenty one Questions.
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 A Book of Faith to *Peter*.
 A Book of the Spirit, and of the Soul.
 A Treatise of Friendship.
 A Book of the Subtance of Love.
 A Book of the Love of God.
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 The Ladder of Paradise.
 A Treatise of the knowledge of Life.
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 A Book of the twelve Abuses of the Age.
 The Combat of Virtues and Vices.
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 A Treatise of Antichrist.
 A Treatise upon the *Magnificat*.
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Twenty two Books of the City of God.

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 A Treatise of the Usefulness of Faith.
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 A Conference with *Fortunatus*.
 A Treatise against *Admanus*.
 A Treatise against the Epistle of the foundation of the
Manichees.
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 A Conference with *Felix*.
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 A Treatise against the *Priscillianists* and the *Origenists*.
 An Answer to a Discourse of an *Arian*.
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 Fifteen Books of the Trinity.

Supposititious.

A Discourse of five Heresies.
 A Trial between the Church and the Synagogue.
 The Book of Faith.
 A Memorial of the manner of Receiving the *Manichees*.
 A Book of the Unity of the Trinity.
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A Hymn against the Donatists.
 Three Books against the Epistle of *Parmenian*.
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 A Letter to the Catholics against *Petilianus*.
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 An Abridgement of the Conference of *Carthage*.
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 natists.
 A Treatise against a Donatist.
 Advertisements to the Donatists.
 A Discourse addressed to *Emeritus*.

Supposititious.

A Sermon concerning *Rusticianus*.
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TOME X.

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Genuine.

Three Books of Merits, and of the Remission of Sins.
 A Book of the Spirit, and of the Letter.
 A Treatise of Nature and Grace.

A Book of the Acts of *Pelagius*.
 A Treatise of the Grace of Jesus Christ.
 A Treatise of Original Sin.
 A Treatise of the Perfection of Justice.
 Two Books of Marriage and of Concupiscence.
 Six Books against *Julian*.
 Four Books to *Boniface*.
 A Book of Grace and Free-will.
 A Treatise of Correction and Grace.
 A Treatise of the Predestination of the Saints.
 A Treatise of the Gift of Perseverance.
 Six Books of the second Work against *Julian*.
 Four Treatises of the Origin of the Soul.

Supposititious.

A Treatise, entitled *Hypognosticon*.
 A Treatise of Predestination and Grace.
 A Treatise of Predestination.

ZOSIMUS.

Genuine WORKS.

The First Letter to the *Africans*.
 The Second Letter to the *Africans*.
 The Third Letter to the *Africans*.
 A Fragment of a Letter to all the Bishops against *Caelestius*
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 A Letter to the Bishops of *Gaul* of the Privileges of the
 Church of *Arles*.
 A Letter to the Bishops of *Gallia Viennensis*, and *Gallia*
Narbonensis.
 A Letter to *Hilary* of *Narbon*.
 Two Letters to *Patroclus*.
 A Letter to the People of *Marseilles*.
 A Circular Letter against *Ursus* and *Tientius*.
 A Letter to *Hefychius*, Bishop of *Salona*.
 A Letter to the Clergy of *Ravenna*.
 A Letter to the Bishops of *Byzacena* very doubtful.

BONIFACE I.

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A Letter to the Emperour.
 A Letter to *Patroclus*, and to the Bishops of the Seven
 Provinces of the *Gauls*.
 Letters to *Hilary* of *Narbon*.

STNESIUS.

Genuine BOOKS.

A Discourse of the manner of Reigning well.
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 A Book, entitled *Dion Pruseus*.
 A Panegyric upon *Baldels*.
 Two Books of Providence.
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A TABLE of the Acts, Professions of Faith, Canons, &c.

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- Prudentius's two Books against Symmachus.
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- A Discourse against the Jews and Gentiles.
- St. Augustin's Book of the true Religion, and of the manners of the Church.
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St. Augustin's Treatise of Heresies.

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- St. Augustin's two Books upon Genesis against the Manichees.
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Of the Usefulness of Faith.

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Jerom's Treatise against Helion.

His two Books against Jovinian, with his Apology to Pammachius.

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St. Chrysostom's six Discourses, of the incomprehensible Nature of God.

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St. Jerom's two Letters to Damasus upon the Hypotheses.

St. Chrysostom's Sermon concerning the Consubstantiality.

A Treatise of Isaac a converted Jew, upon the Trinity and the Incarnation.

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Fragments of Theodorus Mopsuestenus.

St. Chrysostom's Letter to Caesarius against the Errors of Apollinaris, where also the Eucharist is spoken of.

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St. Chrysostom's Homily concerning the Resurrection of the Dead.

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St. Paulinus's Twelfth and Forty second Letters concerning the Fall of Man and the Merits of Jesus Christ.

St. Augustin's Books against the Academicks.

His Treatise of Blessedness.

Treatise of Immortality, and of the quantity of the Soul.

Discourse of Mullick.

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Three Books of Free will.

Answers to several Questions.

Answers to the Questions of Simplicianus, and Dulcitius.

Two Discourses against Lying.

Another Discourse concerning the Prediction of Demour.

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Treatises concerning the Discipline of the Church.

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St. Chrysostom's Defence of a Monastick Life.

Comparison between a Monk and a King.

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Two Discourses against Women's cohabiting with Clerks.

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Homily of Anathema and some others of his.

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Letter of Basilianus concerning Penance.

Augustin's Treatise against the Reiteration of Baptism conferred by Hereticks.

St. Augustin's Treatises concerning Continence and the benefits of Marriage, of Holy Virginity, of the advantages of Widowhood, of adulterous Marriages, of Labour of Monks, and of the care they ought to have for the Dead.

His Answers to the Questions of Dulcitius.

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Synesius's Letters, and particularly the 5th. 9th. 11th. 12th. 13th. 57th. 58th. 79th. 89th. 66th. 67th. 76th. 95th. and 105th.

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 Hundred Chapters of a Spiritual Life.
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 Works contained in the first Tome of
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 Thirty two Poems.
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St. Jerome's Life of the best manner of Translating.
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F I N I S.

A NEW
HISTORY
 OF
Ecclesiastical Writers :
 Containing an ACCOUNT
 Of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the
PRIMITIVE FATHERS ;

A
Judicious Abridgment
 AND
 A Catalogue of all their *WORKS ;*

WITH
 Censures Determining the GENUINE and SPURIOUS:
 AND A
Judgment upon their Style and Doctrine :
 Also their various Editions.

Together with
 A Compendious History of the COUNCILS.

Written in *FRENCH*
 By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON*.

VOLUME the FOURTH,
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the FIFTH CENTURY.

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E R R A T A

PAG. 4. Lin. 9. from bottom of the Text, read *Secund, the Position*. P. 5. l. 6. after *Augustus's Age*, add, *His Thoughts are just enough, and worthy of a good Christian*. P. 12. l. ult. r. *Thym.* P. 25. r. 20. Col. 1. l. 16. from bot. r. *positively false*. P. 27. l. 20. dele *justifying*. P. 20. l. 5. from bot. for *10th*. r. *17th*. P. 23. l. 17. from bot. r. *Fragments of it*. Ibid. l. 13. from bot. r. *not unworthy*. P. 24. l. 36. after *consecrated to God*, add P. 276. *Sermons Catechisms*. P. 25. 102. col. 1. l. 3. from bot. for which r. *what*. P. 38. l. 1. for after r. *alter*. P. 49. l. 10. from bot. for *Book* r. *principal Book*. P. 50. l. 12. from bot. printed as *Paru*. P. 55. l. 7. from bot. for *First* r. *Fifth*. P. 60. l. 42. dele *by the bye*. P. 61. l. ult. for *supposed* r. *suppositions*. P. 63. l. 2. from bot. r. *that came first*, provided it could. P. 64. l. 20. from bot. r. *Erasmus*, is put for. P. 65. l. 6. for *Euseb* r. *freedom*. P. 71. l. 8. for the *consequence* r. a *continuation*. P. 78. l. 35. dele *since*. Ibid. l. 7. from bot. r. *obliged if they would do it well, to have*. P. 79. l. 10. for *wary* r. *heavy*. P. 86. l. 41. r. *an enumeration*. P. 90. l. 37. dele *that*. P. 92. l. 39. r. *Dignity in a manner*. P. 125. l. 10. from bot. r. *that all that designed to embrace a Spiritual*. P. 131. l. 30. r. *Soul*. *I writ whilst I was in that City, a Dialogue*. P. 138. l. 19. from bot. for the *Letter* r. *these Letters*. P. 144. l. 36. for to *oblige* r. *of obliging*. P. 150. l. 10. from bot. dele *but*. P. 153. l. 15. from bot. for *that it is* r. *by how much it is*. P. 161. l. 20. from bot. r. *whereas*. P. 174. l. 22. for *found* r. *formed*. P. 184. l. 6. r. *his Episcopal Office*.

Proper Names Mistaken.

M^{elania} (p. 1) for *Melania*. P^{ulmannus} (p. 5) for *Potmannus*. S^{everianus} (p. 6) for *Severus*. *Isidore* for *Isidore* P^{allim}. C^{istal} for *Cassianus* P^{allim}. E^{uphrasim} (p. 21) for *Euphrasim*. A^{rmens} (p. 33) for *Armenius*. M^{osfuffia} for *Mosfuffia* P^{allim}. A^{plulia} (p. 72) for *Apuleia*. A^{ffilia} (p. 81) for *Adelia*. P^{ercella} (p. 83) for *Yercelle*. P^{atavonensis} (p. 84) for *Pataronensis*. T^{anis} (p. 92) for *Tanis*. E^{uphrasim} (p. 151) for *Euphrasim*.

Smaller mistakes, which are not very numerous, are left to the Readers Candour.

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BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM:

OR, A

NEW HISTORY

OF

Ecclesiastical Writers.

TOME III. PART II.

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the
Primitive FATHERS, that Flourished in the latter Part
 of the *Fifth Century* of Christianity, with *Censures* upon all
 their *BOOKS*, determining which are *Genuine*, and
 which *Spurious*.

ATTICUS Bishop of Constantinople.

ARSACIUS, the Brother of Nestarius, who had been put into the See of *Constantinople*, in the Place of *S. Chrysostom* being dead in the Year of his Ordination, *Atticus* a Monk of *Armenia*, after some Contests *, was chosen to fill that See. He entered upon it in the Year 406. and enjoyed it peaceably until the Year 427. in which he dyed. *Socrates*, who had a very particular Esteem for this Bishop, has described him to us as a Man competently learned, but very wise and prudent, endued with abundance of Piety, Meekness and Charity, who not only took care of the Orthodox, but also won over the Hereticks by his courteous and taking Behaviour. He adds; That while he was a Priest he got his Sermons by Heart; and that, after he was a Bishop, he accustomed himself to speak *ex tempore*, but that his Discourses were not beautiful enough to gain the Applause of the People, nor to deserve to be put in Writing. So true is it that a Discourse must be studied with an Intent to please. Nevertheless he helped forward the Conversion of many Persons, and very much increased the Church. His Liberality contributed much towards it; for the People are much better disposed to hear and believe their Pastor, when they see that he provides as well for their Temporal as Spiritual Wants, and at the same time he dispenses to them the Bread of Life to nourish their Souls, he also gives them liberally that by which they may procure Nourishment for their Bodies: And this he did, not only to the poor of his own Diocese, but likewise to Strangers. *Socrates*, in the Seventh Book of his History, Chap 25. recites a Letter which *Atticus* wrote to *Callistus* a Priest of *Nice*; wherein he tells him, That he had sent him Three hundred Crowns, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor of the City of *Nice*. He admonishes him, at the same time, to bestow his Charity upon the modest Poor, and to give them nothing who made a Trade of Begging: He would not have him, in this Distribution, to have any Regard to Religion: And recommends it to him, to give that which is necessary to support Life, to all that are in Want, not excepting such as are of a different Religion. *Socrates* further relates some Answers of this Bishop, in favour of the *Novatians*; but since this Historian was a Friend to that Party, his Testimony is a little to be suspected: However that be, the Answers that are attributed to him are very moderate, for when one said unto him, That he ought not to suffer the Meetings of the *Novatians* in the Cities: He answered, Do you not know how much they suffered for the Faith under the Emperours *Constantius* and *Valens*? They are Witnesse, beyond Exception, of the Truth of our Doctrine, for having separated themselves a long time from the Church, they are found to have the same Faith with us. He commended *Astlepiades*, an Ancient Bishop of the *Novatians*, that he had undergone that Charge for the space of Fifty Years: And he said to this Bishop, I praise *Novatus*, but cannot approve of the *Novatians*, *Astlepiades* having demanded of him the Explication of this Paradox; he reply'd, *Novatus* denied not

Atticus.
 * Within six-
 teen Months
 and some
 odd Days.
Atticus post
anno. *Socri*

Qui petere
et ubi sunt.

Atticus.
* Ecclesiastical Tables, wherein the Names of the Living and Dead Saints were written; and out of which they were read, and solemnly commemorated at the publick Prayers, to show respect to them, and Communion with them.

not Communion, but only to those who had fallen into Idolatry during the Persecution; I have done the same thing myself; but I cannot approve of the *Novatians*, who exclude the Laity from Communion for trivial Sins. *Asterius* answered him; That besides Idolatry, there were many other Moral Sins, for which the Church deposeth the Clergy for ever: And that the *Novatians* did also excommunicate the Laity for ever, who had committed those Sins, leaving the Power of Pardonning them to God only. *Socrates* tells us further, That *Atticus* foretold his own Death to *Callippus*; and that he did indeed, according to his own Prediction, in the Year 427. in the beginning of October. Besides this Letter, of which we have just now spoken, *Theodore*, in his Second Dialogue, cites a Fragment of a Letter to *Eusebius*, concerning the Incarnation. He wrote also a Letter to *S. Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, To persuade him to put *S. Christofostom's* Name in the * *Diphyes*, as we understand by the Answer which *S. Cyril* made to him, related in the Fourth Book of *Facundus*; by whom we are informed, That *Atticus* was as moderate as *S. Cyril* was angry upon that account. We have *Atticus's* Letter and *S. Cyril's* Answer to it among the Epistles of the latter. These Fragments of the Writings of *Atticus* make it evident, That *Socrates* hath passed a sound Judgment of his Character, Style, and Temper. *Gennadius* says, That he had made an excellent Book concerning Faith and Virginity, dedicated to the Princesses, the Daughters of *Arcadius*; in which he condemns the Error of *Nestorius* before-hand. *S. Cyril* cites a Passage of it in his Book to the Emperress; which is also repeated, with another, in the Council of *Ephesus*; altho *Vincentius* doth not reckon *Atticus* among those who were allowed for Witnesses of the Faith of the Church in the Council of *Ephesus*, and says, That these Passages are not to be found in some Manuscripts of that Council.

TICHONIUS.

Tichonius.

TICHONIUS, an African, an ingenious Man, of the Party of the *Donatists*, was accounted very skilful in the Literal Sense of Holy Scripture. Nor was he wholly ignorant of Profane Sciences, but he was very well versed in Ecclesiastical Studies. He hath composed a Treatise containing Seven Rules, for the explaining of the Holy Scripture; of which *S. Austin* hath made an Abridgment, in his Third Book of the Christian Doctrine. *Gennadius* teaches us, That he had also written Three Books of the Intestine War, and a Narration of several Reasons why he quotes the Ancient Synods in the Defence of his own Party. He further adds, That he had made a Commentary upon the *Revelation*, in which he explains that Book in a Spiritual Sense altogether. He therein did reject the conjectural Opinion of the *Millennium*; and maintained, That there should be but one Resurrection of the Good and Sinners, which would happen at the same Time: Inasmuch that, according to his Judgment, the first Resurrection of the just is here below in the Church, when being delivered by Faith from the Death of Sin, they receive by Baptism the earnest of Eternal Life. He affirms, in that Book, That the Angels are Corporeal. He flourished, according to *Gennadius*, at the same time as *Rufinus* and *S. Austin*, under the Empire of *Theodosius* the Great, and his two Sons. We have his Book of the Seven Rules, published by *Schottus*, and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*: It is very obscure, and of little use. *Austin's* Abridgment of it is to be seen at the End of his Third Book of the Christian Doctrine.

LEPORIUS.

Leporius.

THIS Monk is numbred among the Ecclesiastical Authors, upon the account of a Book, which he made to retract the Errors of *Pelagius* and *Nestorius*, of which we have spoken in the Works of *S. Austin*. We may also see what is said of it by *S. Leo*, among the Testimonies of the Fathers, touching the Verity of the two Natures in Jesus Christ. *Facundus* Bishop of *Hamiarium*, l. 1. c. 4. *Gennadius*, c. 59. *Cassian* in the Book of the Incarnation, c. 4. And *Vigilius Tapsensis*, l. 2. of the Trinity.

S. ISIDORE of Damietta.

S. Isidore Pelusiota.
† Anciently called Pelusium, whence he is usually styled Pelusiota, by the Authors.

ISIDORE, (a) a Priest (b) of *Damietta*, † a City in *Egypt*, situated upon the Mouth of the River *Nilus*, flourished in the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger. (c) He embraced a Monastick State, and spent his whole Life in mortifying his Body, by continual Abstinence, and in nourishing his (d) *A Priest.* All the Ancients give him no other Title; and it doth not appear by his Letters that he had any other. (e) *He embraced a Monastick State.* His Letters make it evident enough, and *Evaristus*, l. 1. c. 15, of his History, assures us of it in the same Terms that we have said. That he was of *Damietta*, because he retreated into a place near that City, as appears by his Letters. (f) *He embraced a Monastick State.* His Letters make it evident enough, and *Evaristus*, l. 1. c. 15, of his History, assures us of it in the same Terms that we have said. That he was of *Damietta*, because he retreated

Soul

Soul with Meditation upon Celestial Doctrines, inasmuch that it may be said of him, That he lived an Angel's Life upon Earth, and that he was a Living Picture of a Monastick and Contemplative Life. He was in so great Reputation for his Piety, Doctrine and Eloquence, that the *Greeks* gave him the Surname of (a) *Famous*. *Facundus* reports, That he had written two thousand Letters. *Suidas* attributes to him three thousand upon the Holy Scripture, and five thousand upon different Subjects. *Nicephorus* also reckons ten thousand; but it is almost incredible that he should write so great a number: But however that be, we have no more than 2012. and there are no more extant in the most ancient Manuscripts. He had composed some other Works. (b) *He speaks himself* of a Treatise of Fate, against the Gentiles. *Evaristus* makes mention of some Writings of *Isidore* to *S. Cyril*, but it may be he intends the two Letters which he wrote to him, which are still extant, and which are recited by *Facundus*. By them we are taught, That he was yet alive in the Time of the Council of *Ephesus*, but he was then very old. The *Greek* and *Latin* Church celebrate his Memory on the fourth Day of February.

S. Isidore Pelusiota.
Dr. Cave, 2013.

The Epistles of this Author are all *Laconick*, that is to say, (as he himself explains it, after *S. Gregory Nazianzen*) They contain a great many things in a few Words. In writing them he follows the Rule which he gives in the one hundred fifty third Letter of the first Book. He there observes, That they ought not to be void of all sort of Ornament; nor on the other side too curiously polished. The first Defect puts into them such a driness and bareness of Style, that they are thereby rendered over-burdenfome to the Reader; but the other makes them weak and ridiculous, and therefore they ought to have so much Ornament as is necessary to render them grateful and profitable. And this he hath marvellously well performed in all his Letters, for they are written with a great deal of Wit and Elegance, and yet there is not the least appearance of affectation or constraint. His Expressions are fine and delicate, nevertheless he hath not departed from the most natural way of speaking of things. There are no ambiguities, nor false Propositions to be found in them, but they are full of ingenuity and acuteness which runs equally through all of them. Lastly, It may be said of him, That he hath found out the Secret so much search'd after by others, of mingling Profit and Pleasure together. In truth, though he hath many Letters upon Critical Questions, relating to several Places of H. Scripture, and whatsoever is of greatest subtilty in the explication of other Mysteries, yet he wants not Expressions to render them very grateful and acceptable to the Reader. But yet he hath joyed Knowledge and Learning with the Elegancy and Politeness of his Language; and his Letters are a Collection of an infinite number of Common Places in Divinity, very well treated of and cleared. In them we may find a great many Texts of the Old and New Testament explained, and applied to different Subjects. This is the most common Argument of these Letters. Some there are, wherein he explains and illustrates the Mysteries and Doctrines of our Religion; in others he makes Remarks upon the Discipline of the Church: In the greatest part of them he propounds and confirms the great Principles of Christian Morality, and teaches in many of them the Rules and principal Maxims of a Spiritual Life. Sometimes he gives lively Instructions, sometimes also he utters smart Reproofs, and more often Charitable Advice. He spares no Man; he speaks with Freedom, Steadiness and Authority, not only to the ignorant Laity, or the Monks subject to his Government, but also to Kings themselves, great Lords, Magistrates, and to Bishops of Sees, to whom he was subject. He opposes Vice where-ever he finds it. He gives sharp Reprimands to all disorderly and vicious Persons, of whatsoever Condition they be. He applies himself to the Persons themselves, and never dispenses what he thinks of them. He not only flatters no Person in their Vices, but he makes use of no cunning Evasions to sweeten his Admonitions. He tells them plainly and severely what he thinks. He represents to them their Irregularities with all the Candor and Cogency possible, and presses them vigorously to forsake them. He commends very seldom, but, when he doth, it is in a way that is not mean, and that cannot puff up with foolish Pride. This in general is the subject of *S. Isidore's* Epistles, let us consider them in particular.

Of the Letters of S. Isidore upon the Holy Scripture.

The greatest and best part of *S. Isidore's* Letters, are upon several Texts of Holy Scripture. There is hardly a Book, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, of which he doth not explain several Texts. He often recommends the Reading of Holy Scripture, and gives excellent Rules for the good Use and true Understanding of it. He requires, That every one that attempts to read it, should prepare himself, by purifying his Heart, and purging it from Passions and Vice, l. 4. 133. That in reading it all-a-long he should not only endeavour to comprehend the Sense, but labour earnestly to believe and practise what it teacheth, l. 4. 33. He adds, That we must read it with a great deal of Reverence, and not seek to dive into the incomprehensible Mysteries, l. 1. 24. That God hath, with much Reason, ordered That there should be in Holy Scripture some things very plain, and other places very obscure, as a mark of his Wisdom and Providence; for if all of it were clear, what would Man have to stir

(a) *Famous*]. So *Evaristus* calls him, τὸ καλὸν ὀνόματι. Whole Fame is spread far, as the Poet says. They that make use of this passage to prove that he made Poems, understand it ill. *Ephrem* gives him a like Epithet. (b) *He speaks himself* of a Treatise of Fate against the Gentiles. *Suidas* says, That he had composed some other Works. He cites the Treatise of Fate, in *l. 1. 253. lib. 3.* I do not believe it a distinct Treatise from that against the Gentiles, cited in the 137th. and 228th. Letters of the second Book, because what is said in those Places respects the same matter.

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up his Attention? And if all of it were obscure, how would it be possible to understand it? That which is evident explains that which is obscure; and altho' some Places may still remain obscure, yet there is one great Advantage to be drawn from them, which is to debate Man's Pride, *l. 4. 82.* He also observes, in several places, That the Holy Scripture is written in such a Style, as is to be preferred before all other Authors: For, faith he, the affected Eloquence of Heathen Writers serves only to gratify their Vanity, contributes nothing to Instruction; but the Style of Scripture is plain and natural, and very proper to instruct and inform the ignorant in the greatest Truths, *l. 4. 61, 79, 140.* He that undertakes to explain Holy Scripture, must have a grave and free elocution, and a Mind filled with Piety and Goodness. He must take the Sense of it, and not impose his own upon it, nor offer Violence to the Words of Scripture, that he may explain them agreeably to his own Fancy, *l. 3. 292.* He must not take little pieces by themselves, and put that Sense upon them that first comes into his Head, but he must weigh every Word, examine the Context, the Subject of which it treats, and why it was written so, *l. 3. 126.* Those that maintain, That all that is in the Old Testament hath a respect to Jesus Christ are mistaken, and do an Injury to Religion, by imposing upon the Words of Scripture a far-ferched Sense, which doth not agree to it, that it may have a relation every where to Jesus Christ. We must content our selves to apply that only to him which is apparently spoken of him, and not constrain our selves to attribute that to him which doth not relate to him; for those who would find Jesus Christ in those Places where he is not spoken of, give an occasion to the Unbelievers to doubt of those where he is. *Genesis* is the first and principal of *Moses*' Books, because it is necessary before a Law be established, that the Power and Authority of the Law-giver be made known, and the Rewards which he will give to those that keep his Commandments, and the Punishments which he will inflict upon those that break them, be discovered: Both of which are laid down in the History of *Genesis*, *l. 4. 176.* In reading the three Books of *Solomon*, we must begin with the *Proverbs*, proceed next to *Ecclesiastes*, and end with the *Canticles*: And that for this Reason. The First of these Books teaches us Moral Vertues; the Second shews us the Vanity and Falseness of worldly things; and the Third inspires us with the Love of Spiritual Things, and represents the Happiness of that Soul, that is in possession of them. If we should read the *Canticles* first, we might be apt to believe that it speaks of a Carnal and Terrestrial Love, but when we are fitted for the reading of this Book by the two others, there is no fear that we shall have any such Thoughts, for the Mind being furnished with Moral Precepts, and loosened from earthly things, easily understands that the good Things and Beauties which that Book inspires us with the love of, are altogether Spiritual.

Altho' the Explications which *S. Isidore* gives to the greatest part of the Texts of Holy Scripture, upon which he makes any Reflections, do rather respect Morality and Piety than the literal Sense of Scripture, yet that hinders not but that he sometimes discusses and resolves Critical Questions. As for example, He enquires into the beginning of *Daniel's* seventy Weeks, and explains the History of that Prophecy, *l. 3. 89.* He observes, upon the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, That the Virgin was of the Tribe of *Judah* as well as *Joseph*, *l. 1. 7, 478.* He proves, That the Text of the Gospel of *S. Matthew*, ch. 1. 20. *Joseph knew her not, i. e. Mary, till she had brought forth her first-born son*, doth not prove that *Joseph* knew *Mary* after her Delivery: Whereupon he produces a great many Examples taken out of Scripture, by which he shews, That the Particle *until* doth not signify that the thing was done afterward, but on the contrary it denotes that it never was. He adds, That Jesus Christ upon the Cross recommended the Virgin to *S. John*, because that Apostle was a Virgin, *l. 1. 18.* He asserts, That the Meat that *S. John* the Baptist did eat in the Wildernesses called *agades*, were not, as is commonly believed, Grasshoppers, or a sort of Creatures like Snails, but the Tops of Plants or Herbs, *l. 1. 132.* The Sabbath, called in Scripture *Sabbathus*, or the second Sabbath, *Luke 6. 1.* after the first, hath always seemed a Place hard to be understood. *S. Isidore* gives an Explication of it natural enough: He saith, That it is the first Day of Unleavened Bread, which followed the Feast of the Passover. This was the second Sabbath, or second Festival after the first, on which the Passover was celebrated, *l. 3. 110.* The three Days and three Nights which Jesus Christ is said to remain in the Sepulchre, are very hard to find out: *S. Isidore* gives two explications to solve it: According to the first, Jesus Christ having been crucified on Friday at Noon, we ought to count the first Day from that Hour to the Time when the Earth was covered with miraculous Darknes: This Darknes may very well pass for the first Night. The Darknes being over and gone, about three or four a Clock in the Afternoon, the Day returned; which may be called the second Day. The second Night was from Friday to Saturday. The third Day is Saturday. The third Night is from Saturday to Sunday. This first Explication is not at all natural, not only because it gives the Name of Night to the miraculous Darknes, but because the Question is not about the Time that was spent after Jesus Christ was fastned to the Cross to the Resurrection, but about the Time that his Body was in the Sepulchre. We must then rely upon the second: The first Day is Friday, the second Saturday and the third Sunday, in the Morning of which Jesus Christ rose from the Dead: These three are not whole Days, but ordinarily the Beginning and End of Days are taken for whole Days, when many are reckoned together. As for example, If it be said to a Prisoner on Friday in the Evening, Within three Days you shall come out of Prison; it is meant, That he shall come out on Sunday, because whether it be in the Morning or Evening, it is true in some Sense to say, That he hath been three Days in Prison. As for the three Nights, it will be more difficult to find them out: We can count but two, and they are from Friday to Saturday, and from Saturday to Sunday. There is neither beginning nor

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end of the third Night; but neither is it necessary, because when Jesus Christ said, That he should be three Days and three Nights in the Bowels of the Earth, as *Jonas* was three Days and three Nights in the Belly of the Whale, it ought not to be understood literally, it being the usual way of speaking among the Jews, not to distinguish the Night from the Day. It is sufficient to prove the Truth of the Prophecy, That Jesus Christ was as long in the Sepulchre as *Jonas* was in the Belly of the Whale, *l. 4. 114. l. 2. 212.* There is a Place which hath much perplexed all our Interpreters. 'Tis that in which *S. Paul* speaks of Baptism for the Dead. *S. Isidore* resolves this Difficulty after a very intelligible and rational manner. To be baptized for the Dead, faith he, is to be baptized into the Hopes of being changed into an incorruptible State, *l. 1. 221.* Some have taken great Pains to know, What *S. Paul* means, and what we are to understand in the Creed by the *Quick and the Dead*, which shall be judged at the last Day. *S. Isidore* tells us, That it is either the Body and the Soul, or perhaps the Good and the Sinner, or rather those who shall be then alive, and those who shall be dead before, *l. 1. 221.* Several Authors have confounded *Philip*, one of the seven first Deacons, who baptized the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, with *S. Philip* the Apostle. *S. Isidore* is not guilty of that Mistake, but distinguishes the two *philips*, *l. 1. 447.* The curious enquirers after the Greek Antiquities, have taken much Pains to know the Original of the Altar erected to the Honour of the unknown God, of which mention is made in the *Acts*: Some affirm, faith he, That the *Athenians* having required assistance of the *Lacedaemonians*, their Messenger was stopp'd near a Mountain of *Parthenia*, by a Ghost, who commanded him to return home, and bid the *Athenians* be of good Courage; for they should have no need of the Help of the *Lacedaemonians*, he would assist them: That the *Athenians*, after this, having obtained the Victory, built an Altar to that Unknown God, which had given them that Advice, and had helped them. Others say, That the City of *Athen* being afflicted with a Raging Pestilence, the *Athenians* having invoked all their other Gods, to no purpose, bethought themselves to build an Altar to the Unknown God, and immediately the Plague was stayed, *l. 4. 69.* There are a great number of other of *S. Isidore's* Letters upon several Texts of Holy Scripture: But as a Proof of his Acuteness and Ability to interpret Holy Scripture, it is sufficient to observe, That he gives ten Explications of one Text of *S. Paul*, *l. 4. 129.* And that in one Letter, of a few Lines, he explains eight several Texts of Scripture, *l. 4. 112.* So ready and familiar was it to him. He sometimes unfolds those Texts which the Hereticks did abuse to uphold their Errors, and maintains against their false Glosses those Texts which the Orthodox alleged. He often enlarges upon such Maxims of Piety and Principles of Morality as are contained in those Texts of Holy Scripture which he quotes. He likewise very commonly explains it in a Spiritual Sense, that he may raise out of it some Moral Observations and useful Instructions.

Of his Letters of Doctrine.

Altho' *S. Isidore* hath not professedly treated of any Doctrine of Religion, yet in many of his Letters we find them very strongly confirmed and proved. He shews, That the Heathen Religion hath evident Marks of Falseness, *l. 1. 95. l. 4. 27, 29, 30, &c.* And that Christianity hath all the Signs of Truth, and opposes those who accuse it of Novelty, *l. 2. 46.* He affirms, That if we do but compare the Holy Scriptures with the Heathen-writers, we may soon discern on which side the true Religion is, *l. 1. 21.* That the former contain sublime Truths, which beget Reverence, whereas the latter are full of Fables and despicable Fooleries and Cheats, *l. 2. 4, 5.* Among the Proofs of the Christian Religion he forgets not to infer that of the confirmation of the Gospel by Miracles, and the destruction of Paganism, *l. 1. 271.* He confutes the Jews in several places, not only by demonstrating, That the Prophecies of the *Messias* are fulfilled in Jesus Christ, but also by confirming the truth of the Conception of Jesus Christ in the Womb of the Virgin, *l. 1. 141. l. 4. 17.* He proves, That God hath created Angels, Men and all Beings, *l. 1. 343.* That all Things are over-ruled by Providence, and not by the influences of the Stars, or by Fate, *l. 3. 135, 154, 191.* That Things do not come to pass, because God foreknows them or foretells them, but God foreknows and foretells them because they will so happen, *l. 1. 56.* He explains the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation in so many Letters, that it is needless to cite them all. Among others, these are worthy of our Consideration about the Trinity, *l. 1. 67, 138, 139, 327. l. 4. 99.* About the Incarnation, *l. 1. 323, 403.* He confutes the Error of the *Arrians*, *l. 1. 246, 353. l. 4. 31, 334.* and of the *Sabellians*, *l. 3. 247.* He proves the God-head of the Holy Ghost, *l. 1. 20, 60, 97, 109, 499, 500, &c.* He condemns the Error of the *Nestorians*, and shews that the name of the Mother of God ought to be given to the Virgin *Mary*, *l. 1. 54.* He also opposes those, who confounded the two Natures, as well as the *Manichees*, who asserted, That the Flesh which appeared in Jesus Christ, was a mere Phantom, *l. 1. 124, 323, 102, 303.* He refutes the *Marcionites*, *l. 1. 11.* the *Manichees*, *l. 4. 13.* the *Montanists*, *l. 1. 242.* to the 246. and the *Novatians*, *l. 1. 100, 338.* He maintains the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, both before and after her Conception, *l. 1. 23.* He is of Opinion, That Jesus Christ came out of her Womb, as well as out of the Sepulchre, without opening the Passage, *l. 1. 404.* He proves the Soul to be Immortal, *l. 3. 295. l. 4. 125.* But he confutes the Doctrine of *Origen* about the eternal Praeexistence of Souls, *l. 4. 163.* He also disproves the Opinion of those who believed, That the Soul is part of the Substance of God himself, *l. 4. 124.* He shews, That the Resurrection of the Body is certain, but the manner of it and time, is uncertain, *l. 1. 234. l. 2. 43.* He holds, That after the Resurrection, the Bodies of the damned shall be Spiritual, as well as the Bodies of the blessed; that is to say,

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ſay, as he explains it, active, and of the nature of the Air. He believes, That the damned ſhall be puniſhed in different manners, according to the difference of their Sins, l. 4. 42. He defends the freedom of Man's Will, l. 1. 271, 303, 352, 363, &c. He allows, That Grace is neceſſary to perform that which is good, but he will have Man on his part to uſe his diligence and labour, that Grace may be operative. The Nature of Man, ſaith he, hath received ſeveral Graces which it is in Man's power to make good uſe of. Man's labour muſt concur with Grace, as the Induſtry of Sailors is helpful to the prosperous Winds. It is of God's Providence that our help comes, but we muſt alſo join our endeavours with it, l. 2. 2. We are our ſelves, ſaith he in another Letter, the cauſe of our own Damnation, and Jeſus Chriſt is the cauſe of our Salvation; for it is he that hath juſtified us by Baptiſm, who hath delivered us from the Punishments we have deſerved, and hath enriched us with his Gifts; but all his Graces will be of no advantage to us, if we do not what we are able to do on our part, l. 2. 61. Man, ſaith he in another place, ſtands in need of the divine Affiſtance to accompliſh thoſe very things, which ſeem to be in his Power; but that Grace is never wanting to thoſe, who on their part do what they are able; for if the Divine Providence excites, and ſtirrs up thoſe, who have no deſire to do good, with what reaſon can it deny neceſſary helps for doing good to thoſe, whoſe Will is well inclined, and do what they are able? l. 4. 171. Nevertheless, Man muſt not attribute the good he doth to himſelf, but muſt refer all to the Grace of God, otherwiſe his bet Actions will be of no uſe to him, l. 2. 265, 242. In ſum, no Man lives upon Earth, and fins not, l. 1. 435. S. Iſidore delivers himſelf upon the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, in a way altogether conformable to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the preſent Church. The Baptiſm of Infants, ſaith he, doth not only waſh them from their natural Pollution, cauſed by the Sin of Adam, but it alſo confers Graces: It not only obliterates the Sin of thoſe that receive it, but alſo makes them God's adopted Children, l. 3. 195. The Veil, that covers the Sacramental Elements, doth undoubtedly overſpread the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, l. 1. 123. And the Holy Spirit turns the Wine into the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt, l. 1. 314. The ſcandalous Life of Miniſters, their Sins and Impieties do not hinder the effect of the Sacraments which they adminiſter, l. 1. 120. l. 2. 37, 52. l. 3. 34, 394. He approves of the Honour which is given to the Martyrs, and the reſpect which is beſtowed on their Relicks. He diſallows not the preſenting of Offerings at their Altars in honour of them; but the principal reſpect, which we can give them, is to imitate their Lives, l. 1. 55. l. 2. 89. He prefers a ſingle Life before Marriage, l. 2. 133. He obſerves, That the Polygamy of the ancient Patriarchs was then very excuſable, becauſe it was neceſſary that they ſhould have a numerous Poſterity; but it may not be now uſed as a pretence to cover our Incontinence. We will conclude with the Idea and Definition which he gives the Catholick Church: The Faithful, ſaith he, diſperſed throughout the whole World, make up the Body of the Univerſal Church; every particular Church is a Member of it, l. 4. 103. This Univerſal Church hath often been aſſaulted, but it never was, nor ever ſhall be utterly extinguiſhed, l. 3. 5.

Letters concerning the Diſcipline of the Church.

In the Letters of S. Iſidore there are a great many important things worthy of our Obſervation touching the Diſcipline of the Church. He condemns Symony in an infinite number of them, l. 1. 26, 29, 30, 45, 106, 111, 119, 120, 136, 145, 158, 315. l. 2. 125. l. 3. 17, &c. He taxes all thoſe Exactions which were uſed upon the account of Ordinations, with this Crime. He condemns, in ſeveral places, thoſe who ambitiouſly fought for Biſhopricks. He reminds the Prieſts about the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of Penance, that they have Power to bind as well as looſe; That they neither may nor ought to looſe thoſe, who bring no Medicine for their Sins, and who do not endure a Penance proportionable to the greatneſs of their Crimes. He advertiſeth them, That they ought to be Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and not Fellow-Criminals; That they are Interceſſors with God and not abſolute Judges; That they are Mediators and not Matters, l. 3. 260. He tells the Deacons, That they are the Biſhop's Eye, and that they ought to be very careful in the management of the Church's Revenue, l. 1. 19. He orders all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to carry themſelves modestly, and avoid the familiarity, converſe and ſight of Women, l. 1. 89. l. 2. 284, 278. l. 3. 11, 66. He requires them to be ſubject to Princes, and pay them Tribute, l. 1. 48. He obſerves, That in the Apoſtle's time the Chriſtians had no Churches, but that in his time they were become very ſumptuous and fine, l. 2. 246. He blames the Biſhop of *Damiata* for having built a ſtately Church, with the Money which he had ſcraped together by ſelling Ordinations, and other Exactions of the People. He tells him, That it is to build Zion by Blood, and eſtabliſh *Jeruſalem* by Iniquity, as it is ſaid in the Prophet *Micah*; That a Sacrifice made up of another Man's Subſtance, is an Horror and an Abomination to the Lord. He adviſes him to give over building that Church at the expence of the People, if he would not have that lofty Temple convince him of Injuſtice before God, and be a Monument, that ſhall cry eternally againſt him, and which ſhall require the reſtitution of what he hath taken from the Poor, and Vengeance for oppreſſing of them, l. 1. 37. We find alſo ſome Ceremonies of the Church taken notice of in S. Iſidore's Letters. In his time the Biſhop wiſhed Peace to the People, and the Congregation answered, *And with you alſo*, l. 1. 122. The Deacons which miniſtered at the Altar wore a Linen Veſtment, and the Biſhops had a kind of Cloke made of Woollen, which covered their Neck and Shoulders, which they put off when the Goſpel began to be read. The firſt of theſe Habits, according to Iſidore, denotes the Humility of Jeſus Chriſt; and the ſecond, repreſented the wandering Sheep, which the good Shepherd brings home upon his Shoulders, l. 2. 246. The Cu-

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ſtom then was to allow Women to ſing in the Church; but S. Iſidore ſays, That they had abuſed that practice, by cauſing themſelves to be admired for the ſweetneſs and harmony of their Voice, and were no leſs blame-worthy, than if they ſang prophane Songs, and that they ought to be forbidden ſinging in the Church for the future, l. 1. 90. Divorce was only allowed in caſe of Adultery. The Reaſon which S. Iſidore gives for it, is this, That Adultery is the only Sin by which conjugal Faith is violated, and which brings into a Family the Children of Strangers, l. 2. 376. He could not bear thoſe who affirmed, That Comedies might be of good uſe to beget a detraction of Vice, and make Men more virtuous. The aim and deſign of Comedians, ſaith he, is clear contrary; and their Art hath no other end, than to hurt and corrupt Manners, l. 3. 336. Thoſe, who are pleaſed to ſee counterfeit Paſſions repreſented, ordinarily become paſſionate; it is then neceſſary to keep from going to Comedies; for it is eaſier to avoid the occaſion, and to oppoſe the ſirſt approaches of Vice, than to ſtop the courſe of it, when it is once begun, l. 5. 433. He ſays, That a Perſon condemned by his Biſhop ought no where to be received into Communion; but he obſerves, That altho' this were the regular courſe, yet many Biſhops of his time had neglected it; and that was the reaſon, that the good Biſhops dare not take upon them to correct their diſorderly and vicious Clergy.

Letters of Pious Advice and Inſtruction.

There never was in the Church a more ſtrict, or free Cenſor of Manners than S. Iſidore of *Damiata*. The Church of *Damiata* was then governed by a Biſhop, called *Eufebius*, who fought his own advantage more than that of Jeſus Chriſt. Altho' S. Iſidore looked upon him as his Superior, yet he was not afraid of violating the reſpect due to him, by telling him with all the freedom imaginable, That he did not lead a Life as became a Biſhop. He made no ſcruple to reprove him for his Vices, to write of them to his Friends, to diſcover them to the publick, that he might make him aſhamed of them, and to lament the unhappineſs of the Church of *Damiata* in having ſuch a Biſhop. In his other Letters, he ſpeaks the ſame things for the moſt part; ſometimes he accuses him of ſelling Ordinations, ſometimes he reproves his Covetouſneſs, ſometimes he taxes his Pride and Ambition, and ſometimes he ſuſpects him to be guilty of living diſorderly. In a word, he gives him every where the Character of a Biſhop altogether unworthy of his Miniſtry. He hath no more regard to the reputation of his inferior Miniſters. His Arch-deacon *Panſophius*, and his Steward, called *Maro*, are taxed with the Crimes of Symony and unjuſt Exactions. The Monks, *ſylmus* and *Palladius* meet with no better Treatment; he deſcribes them as Debauchees who led a lewd and diſorderly Life. Another Prieſt, called *Martinianus*, who after the Death of *Eufebius* ſtrove to get himſelf ordained into his place, is alſo accused of many Crimes by Iſidore. He wrote alſo of him to S. Cyril to hinder him from ordaining him Biſhop of *Damiata*. If we will take the pains to read the Letters which he hath written to the Perſons already named, and to his Friends upon the ſame Subject, we ſhall find therein excellent Inſtructions for all Biſhops. Particularly we may fee againſt thoſe that Hunt after Biſhopricks, l. 1. 23, 28, 104. l. 2. 127, and many others againſt the Biſhops, who confer Ordinations for Money, l. 1. 26, 29, and others which we have cited in ſpeaking of Symony. Againſt proud and covetous Biſhops, and who make not a good uſe of the Revenues of the Church, l. 1. 38, 44, 57, 215. Againſt their lordly and tyrannical Humour, l. 2. 208, 209. He deſcribes the excellency of the Prieſthood, l. 2. 200, and prefers it before the temporal Government; becauſe Biſhops govern the Soul, whereas Princes have Power only over the Body. He ſpeaks, in ſeveral places, of the neceſſary Qualifications of a Biſhop, and of the difficulty that there is in diſcharging that Miniſtry well, l. 1. 104, 151. l. 3. 216, 259. l. 4. 213, 145. He admoniſhes thoſe that deſire to be Biſhops, that they ought to purſue themſelves before they undertake to purſue others, l. 2. 65. He thinks, That there are two Things abſolutely neceſſary for a Biſhop, Eloquence and Holineſs of Life; that if theſe two go not together, 'tis impoſſible that a Biſhop ſhould do any good in his Place, l. 1. 44. l. 2. 235. l. 3. 259. That Gravity, and a Conſtancy in his Actions, ought alſo to be joyned with theſe two Vertues, l. 1. 319. l. 2. 290.

But S. Iſidore did not only uſe ſuch Admonitions and Reproofs towards his own Biſhop and Clergy to amend them, but alſo he dealt in the ſame manner with S. Cyril, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in writing to him about the Troubles that happened at the Council of *Ephesus*. He accuses him for acting too raſhly and fiercely, and tells him, that many of thoſe who were aſſembled at *Ephesus*, boldly affirmed, That he fought more to be avenged of his Enemy, than ſerle the Orthodox Truth. He is, ſay they, a true Nephew of *Theophilus*, he hath the ſame Spirit and Behaviour; and as this laſt thundered out his Fury againſt the Bleſſed *John*, his Nephew hath done the ſame, altho' there be a great deal of difference between the Perſons accused, l. 1. 310. He wrote to him after the ſame faſhion in another Letter. The Examples of Holy Scripture, ſaith he, create in me ſuch an horror as obliges me to write to you. For whether I look upon my ſelf as your Father (as you call me) I am afraid leaſt if I do not admoniſh you, I ſhould be puniſhed as the High-Prieſt *Eliz* was, for having not reprov'd his Sons. But if I conſider my ſelf rather as your Son, upon the Account of S. Mark, whom you repreſent, the puniſhment of *Jonathan*, who was ſlain, becauſe he did not hinder his Father from conſulting the Witch of *Endor*, is a Warning to me. Wherefore, to avoid my own and your Condemnation, I am obliged to admoniſh you to lay aſide the Diſputes now on foot, and not engage the Church of Chriſt in a particular and domeſtick Quarrel, and ſo raiſe a perpetual Schiſm in the Church under the pretence of Religion, l. 1. 370.

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It was the Grief that S. Isidore had, to see the Orthodox Bishops divided among themselves, that made him speak thus. He imagined that S. Cyril's Rashness was the Cause of it. He thought that he sought to revenge an old Quarrel: And it appears likewise, that he suspected him, not to have a thorough-found Opinion about the Incarnation, l. 1. 323. But, afterwards, being better informed, he approved his Doctrine, and exhorted him to continue steadfast in it, and not contradict himself, as it appears by Letter, 224. l. 1. S. Isidore wrote not only to S. Cyril, to endeavour a Pacification between the Bishops of the Council of Ephesus, but thought himself obliged to write to the Emperor Theodosius. He advised him to go himself to Ephesus, to appease the Troubles; and admonishes him, Not to espouse the Animosities of either Side, nor suffer his own Officers to intermeddle with Matters of Doctrine, l. 1. 311. Thus did S. Isidore, without leaving his Retirement, engage himself in the greatest Affairs of the Church, and joined with the Prayers, which he made to God for the Peace of his Church, the most effectual Counsels and Advice.

So that he was none of those Monks who were contented to bewail their own Sins, and pray to God for others in secret, and who remain in perpetual Silence, without concerning themselves with what happens, or having any Commerce with other Men. He found out a way to join the Love of Solitude with the Knowledge of what happens in the World; Piety and Silence with Charitable Advice and Admonitions; Mental Recollection with a continual Observation of other's Actions: And, to speak in one Word, all the Exercises of a Monastick Life, with the Care and Vigilance of a Pastor. There were no Persons, of whatsoever State and Condition they were, but he gave them Advice and Instructions about their Employments and Duties. We have already seen after what manner he gave them to Bishops and Ecclesiastical Persons, let us now take a view of some of them, which he gives to the Laity.

Advice to Kings. If you will obtain the Eternal and Incorruptible Kingdom, which God will give to those who govern well here below, as a Reward, you must make use of your Power with Moderation and Goodness, and liberally dispense your Riches to the Poor; for 'tis not a Prince's Power that saves him, but his Justice, Goodness and Piety: He cannot avoid being counted an Idolater, if he unjustly hoards up his Temporal Riches, without distributing them to the Poor, l. 1. 35. to Theodosius.

Advice to Magistrates and Governors. They ought to think with themselves, That the Time of exercising their Offices is short; That Life it self is not of long continuance; That the Rewards or Torments of another World are Eternal; That they ought to Administer Justice freely to all the World, use their Authority with gentleness, and give no Man a just Ground of Complaint, l. 1. 31, 47, 48, 133, 165, 191, 208, 290.

Advice to Courtiers. Not to mislike the Favour of their Prince, but to employ it for the Good and Safety of the People, and to imitate Daniel, l. 1. 36, 47, 48.

Advice to Soldiers. Not to take too much upon them, to do no Violence nor Injustice, &c. l. 1. 40, 78, 297, 327.

Advice to Subjects. Jesus Christ submitted himself to the Laws of the Emperours, and paid Tribute, to teach us Obedience to Kings, and not to exempt our selves from paying their Dues, upon the Pretence of Poverty, l. 1. 206, 408.

Advice to Women. If they would be commended as *Judith*, *Susanna* or *S. Thecla*, they must imitate the Vertues of those Illustrious Women, l. 1. 187. That Christian Women should modestly apparel themselves, and that they should not use the Adornings and Finery of the Women of the World. Upon this occasion he relates a remarkable Story of a Young Woman, who coming into the Sight of a Young Man, who was extremely in Love with her, cured him of that fond Passion, by presenting her self before him with her Hair cropp'd, and her Head covered with Ashes, l. 2. 53, 145. He recommends Modesty also to them, but more especially to Widows, l. 1. 179.

Advice to Parents. Concerning the Education of their Children, l. 1. 316.

Advice to those that take the Holy Sacrament with a defiled Conscience, l. 1. 170.

Advice to Sinners. The most perfect State is not to sin, but it is good to repent when we have sinned, and to rise again, as soon as may be, from our Fall. Since you are fallen from your first Estate, which is above your Strength, have a care that you do not neglect the second means of gaining your Salvation, and take heed that Despair do not entirely ruin you, l. 1. 381. l. 2. 160. l. 3. 62. Yet the Hopes of Pardon ought not to encourage us in Sin, for it is much easier to preserve Innocency than to restore it, so far as some Scar always remains after the Cure, and it can never be recovered but with much Pain, l. 3. 157.

Advice to a Physician, who lived piously. You profess a Science which requires a great deal of Prudence and Wisdom, but you have a Spirit of Contradiction; you cure small Wounds for others, but do not heal your own Distempers, which are very great and dangerous: If you will be a True Physician, begin to cure your own diseased Soul, l. 1. 391, 437.

There are an infinite number of such like Instructions in the Letters of S. Isidore. They are full of Maxims of Piety and the Rules of a Spiritual Life. He, in several Places of them, recommends Charity, Humility, Vigilance, Holiness, Modesty, Sobriety, Patience, Contempt of the World, Repentance, Labour, Prayer, and other Christian Vertues, of which he teaches the Practical Part. He renders the contrary Vices detestable, and propounds fit Remedies for us to apply to them. He principally inveighs against Three Vices very common in his Time, Ambition, Covetousness and Intemperance. Lastly, All his Letters are full of most solid and profitable Christian

Maxims.

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Maxims: This is an excellent one, which he often repeats; Our Lives must correspond with our Words, and we ought to practise our selves what we reach others, for it is not enough to say, but we must do what we say.

Letters concerning the Discipline and Life of the Monks.

As S. Isidore professed a Monastick Life, so 'tis to the Monks that the greatest part of his Instructions, which we have already spoken of, are directed. He extols a Monastick State in general, l. 1. *Lec.* 129. and gives the Description of a true Monk, l. 1. 200, 298, 308, 319. He makes that estate to consist principally in two things; In Retirement and Obedience, l. 1. 1. The Apparel of the Monks, according to him, ought to be like S. John Baptist's; that is to say, Of Hair, and their Food ought to be nothing but Herbs: But if they are not able to undergo so great Authorities, they ought to live in that Way which the Bishop commands them, and follow the Rules which he shall prescribe them, l. 1. 5, 74. They ought not to live as they list, but put themselves under the Government of some Superior, l. 1. 193, 260. They ought not to concern themselves with worldly Affairs, nor maintain any Trade or Commerce with the World, l. 1. 25, 75, 92, 220. When any Man hath once embraced a Monastick Life, he ought to persevere with Zeal, l. 1. 91, 110. Inconstant and fickle Monks are blame-worthy, l. 1. 41, 173, 314, 318. They ought not to be allowed to live in Idleness, but they must be employed and labour, l. 1. 49. They may not read the Books of Profane Authors, nor affect to speak or declaim elegantly, l. 1. 62, 64. I omit to speak of the Practice of such Christian Vertues as he recommends to them, and of those Vices which he reproves in some Monks of his Time, because that were to repeat what we have already said.

What we have spoken of S. Isidore of *Damiata*, may suffice to inform us of his Style and Person: Nothing remains more to be spoken of, but the Editions of these Letters, which I shall do in a few Words. The three first Books were translated into Latin by the Abbot *Bilius*, and printed after his Death in *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Paris* in 1585. with a Collection of the excellent Observations of that Learned Man, as well upon S. Isidore as upon other *Greek* Fathers. *Ritterhusius* added a Fourth Book to these, and caused it to be printed with [the other Three, and] his own large Notes [upon all the Four Books] by *Commelinus* [at *Heidelberg*] in 1605. The Jesuit *Scharius* joyned a Fifth Book to them, which was printed in *Greek* at *Antwerp* in 1623, in *Latin* at *Rome* in 1624. and in *Greek* and *Latin* [illustrated with Notes, Glosses and Arguments] at *Frankfort* in 1629. They are all collected into one Volume, and printed in the last Edition at *Paris*, in 1638.

JOANNES CASSIANUS.

JOANNES CASSIANUS, a Native of *Scythia* (a), having devoted himself to God in his Childhood, withdrew himself into the Monastery of *Bethlehem* (b); afterward, being desirous to attain the utmost perfection of a Religious Life, he departed from thence, with another Monk named *Germanus*, with whom he had contracted an intimate Friendship, to go into *Aegypt* and *Thebais*, to see the Solitaries and Monks of that Country, and gather some Advantage by their Example and Instructions. Having lived Seven Years (c) in that Country, and conferred with the most Spiritual and most eminent Abbots of those Quarters, they re-

J. Cassian.

(a) A Native of *Scythia*.] *Gennadius* says plainly, That he was a *Scythian*. *M. Hostenius* and *F. Norris* endeavour to prove that he was a *Frenchman*; and this they pretend to do from *ch. 1. conf. 24.* but that Place doth not prove what they assert, nor destroy the Testimony of *Gennadius*, which is of great weight. *Photius* says, That he was a *Roman*, but he means it of the Place of his Abode, and the Tongue he wrote in. *Honorius* calls him an *African*, perhaps because he thought *Scythia* was in *Africa*. Some say he was a Native of *Scythia* and born at *Carthage*, but this is without Ground. What some say, That he wrote too elegantly in *Latin* to be a *Greek*, is not to be regarded. It is very possible that a *Greek*, living among the *Latins*, might write *Latin* as well as he hath done: Besides, he lived in an Age, when almost all Learned Men were skilled in both Tongues.

(b) He withdrew himself into the Monastery of

Bethlehem.] He says so himself in the Preface of his Institutions, dedicated to *Cassius*; where speaking of his First Exercise in that Monastery; he says, *A pueritia nostra consuevit*.

(c) Having lived seven Years:] In his First Conference, *ch. 1.* he tells us, That it was the Desire he had to visit the Monks, and profit by their Instructions, that made him undertake that Voyage: *Germanus*, with whom he travelled, had been longer in the Monastery than he; they always were very intimate. He relates, in his Conferences, the principal Discourses which they had with the most Spiritual Religious all-a-long their Voyage, and the Places whither they went, in the seventeenth *Conf. ch. 31.* He says, That at the end of seven Years they performed their Promise, which they had made, of returning to the Monastery; and then went into the Desert of *Scythia*.

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turned to their Monastery, as they had obliged themselves; and having discharged this Duty to their Ancient Brethren, they went from thence into the Desert of *Scythia*. It is probable, that the Contentions of the Monks of *Egypt* with the Bishop of *Alexandria* forc'd them, as well as many others, to retreat to *Constantinople*: But however that be, it is certain that they were at *Constantinople* when *S. Chrysostom* was banished, and that they were sent to *Rome* to carry the Letters of the Clergy of that City thither; containing Complaints of the Violence which had been used against their Bishop, as we read in the Life of *S. Chrysostom*, written by *Palladius*. *Germanus the Priest*, saith he, and *Cassian the Deacon*, Persons of eminent Piety, who were for *S. Chrysostom*, came after *Palladius*, and brought Letters from all the Clergy of *Constantinople*, relating, how that their Church had suffered intolerable Oppression and Tyranny, their Bishop having been driven out by Force, &c. *S. Innocent* returning an Answer to this Letter, says also, That it was brought by *Germanus* the Priest and *Cassian*. It cannot rationally be said, That this *Cassian* is a distinct Person from this of whom we are speaking, since he not only bears the same Name, and hath a Companion of the same Name, but also because we understand by *Cassian* himself, That he was the Scholar of *S. Chrysostom*. *Gennadius* also takes notice, That he was ordain'd by that Holy Bishop. Afterward he was promoted to the Order of Priesthood, it is likely in the West, and never returned again into the East. But however that be, it is out of doubt that he spent the latter part of his Life at *Marfeille*; where he founded two Monasteries, one for Men and another for Virgins: There he composed all the Works which he left us. He dyed under the Empire of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, about the Year Four hundred and forty. The first of his Works is his *Institutio Monachorum*, i. e. Instruction of Monks, divided into Twelve Books: The first Four which treat of the Habit and way of Living used by the Monks of *Egypt*, are look'd upon by *Gennadius* and *Phobius* as a distinct Treatise. The Eight last are so many Precepts against the Eight Capital Sins; nevertheless, it appears by the Preface and the sequel, that *Cassian* intended these two Parts for one entire Work only. This Treatise is dedicated to *Cassian* Bishop of *Apra*; who desiring to model the Monasteries in his Province, like to the *Egyptian*, requested *Cassian*, who had conversed a long time with those Monks, to lay down a Platform of their way of Living; to be, as it were, a Pattern for the Western Monks. In the first he speaks of the Habits of the *Egyptian* Monks, and describes them much after this Manner. Their Habit was merely to cover their Nakedness, and secure them against the Injuries of the Weather: It had nothing extraordinary either in the Colour or Fashion, left the singularity of it should give them an occasion to be Proud. They wore a Girdle about their Loyns, and a Cowle upon their Heads. Their Linen Coats had short Sleeves, which reached no further than their Elbows, the other part of their Arm was naked. They had over their Habit a kind of Scapular, and a little short Cloak, which came down no further than the Shoulders. They had also a kind of Safe-guard of Leather, which they used in bad Weather. They carried a Staff. They wore no Shoes. They had only single Breeches to save themselves from Heat and Cold, and those also they put off when they went to Celebrate, or Receive the Holy Sacrament.

In the 2d. Book, *Cassian*, to obviate the great diversity which was in the Monasteries touching the Multitude of *Psalms*, which were sung at Divine Service, relates the usages of the Monks of *Egypt* and *Thebais*. First, he observes, That these Monks at their entrance into the Monastery, forsook all things, laboured with their Hands, and lived in obedience. He then speaks of the Divine Offices of the Monks of *Egypt* and *Thebais*: They recited their Evening-Service, and their Night-Service, the 12 *Psalms*. On *Saturday* and *Sunday* they read two Lessons, which, during the whole Lent, were both taken out of the New Testament: On other days, one out of the Old, and another out of the New Testament. At the end of every *Psalm* they made a pause, and all the Monks rising up, made a Prayer with themselves; then they cast themselves flat on the Ground, and being risen again, they made another short Prayer, without singing the *Gloria Patri*, as is the custom in the West. The *Psalms* were not sung by the Monks in a Quire, but one of them sung them, and the rest, sitting in silence, harkened to him; now and then he made stops, that they might lift up their Hearts to God. Divine Service being ended, they betook themselves to their Cells modestly and silently, and went to their Labours there. They who committed any Fault, were excluded the Service, and it was not allowed any other to pray for them. They did not kneel down, nor Fast from *Saturday*-evening to *Sunday*-evening, nor from *Easter* to *Whitsontide*, following the ancient Custom of the Church.

In the 3d. Book he speaks of the Offices of the third, sixth and ninth Hours, in every of which they recited 3 *Psalms*. The first Office which *Cassian* calls the *Mattins*, was never used in *Egypt*; but he tells us, That it was newly settled not only in the West, but also in his Monastery of *Beethlehem*. They that came to the Church, which he calls an Oratory, after the first *Psalm* was ended, did not enter at all, but stayed at the door till the rest came out, and then cast themselves flat on the Ground to beg pardon for their Sloth. In the Night-service it was allowed to go in, till the end of the second *Psalm*. Besides these Offices there were Vigils on *Friday*-night to *Saturday*, in which they rehearsed three Anthems and three *Psalms*. They never Fast in the East on *Saturday*, as they do at *Rome*. *Cassian* thinks, That this Fast was appointed at *Rome*, because *S. Peter* fasted to prepare himself for the encounter with *Simon*

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Maga; but he adds, That such a Custom ought not to be established upon that Example. On *Sunday* they celebrated but one Mass only, to which they joyned the Offices of the Third and Sixth: They recited some *Psalms* before and after Dinner. At Supper, they contented themselves to make a short Prayer, because that was an extraordinary and unusual Meal among the Monks.

The 4th. Book contains the Qualifications required in that Person, who desires to be admitted into a Monastery. He that offers himself for this end, must remain at the Gate, and beseech the Monks many times to receive him. He must give Proofs of his Patience, Humility, and Contempt of the World, and be tried with Denials and Affronts. They by no means will allow that he give his Estate to the Monastery into which he goes, for fear that afterward it should give him an occasion to exalt himself above the other Monks. They make him to lay aside his former Garb, and the Abbot must give him another, to shew him that he ought to be entirely stripped of all. Nor will they immediately after admit him into their Society. They put him with an old Monk into an Apartment near the Gate, where they receive Guests; and when he hath served him a long while, they put him under the government of another Senior, who hath the care of Novices; there they teach him to subdue his Passions and renounce his own Will. They oblige him to reveal all his Thoughts to this Senior, and exercise him with the meanest Works, to try his Obedience. They give him no other Food but boil'd Herbs, with a little Salt: But *Cassian* observes, that this austerity in Eating is not practicable in the West. These Holy Monks are so subject to the sound of the Bell, that they are obliged to leave whatsoever Work they are about, to go whither it calls them, altho' it be a Letter. They can possess nothing of their own. They make them do Penance for the least Faults. They read in the Hall at Dinner-time. It is forbidden them to eat any where but in the Hall. They wait upon each other at Table. Lastly, they perform a blind obedience to their Superior, who commands them to do things which seem impossible. *Cassian* relates some Examples which seem incredible, and it would be dangerous to imitate.

This is the Subject of the Four first Books of *Cassian's* Institutions, which *Gennadius* and *Phobius* have looked upon as a distinct Work from the Eight last. And, indeed, these are upon another Subject. He teaches us, in them, to resist the Eight principal Vices, with which Men are tempted, (viz.) Gluttony, Uncleanliness, Covetousness, Anger, Sorrow, Trouble, Vainglory and Pride. In every Book he gives us the definition of these Vices, shews us the pernicious effects of them, propounds Examples to confirm it, how much they ought to be detested. He prescribes Rules for the contrary Vertues, and teaches us fit Remedies to defend our selves from them. He maintains, That without Grace Man can do no good thing, nor resist any Temptation; but he believes, That this Grace is given to all that use their endeavours.

But *Cassian* doth not think it enough to propound the Life of the *Egyptian* Monks as an Example to the Western, and propose Methods of resisting the most ordinary Temptations. He hath also collected the Instructions, which he had heard from the Mouths of the most Illustrious Abbots of those Deserts, in the Conferences he had with them. *Cassian* hath made 24 Books of these, which he intitles, Collations or Conferences. The Ten first are dedicated to *Lemnius* Bishop of * *Frejus*, and *Helladius* the President of the Abby built by *Cassor*, who * *Faram* was dead. The first and second contain the Discourses of *Moses*, Abbot of the Desert of *Jullis*, † *Sebe*, in which, having spoken in general of the end of a Monastick Life, and the means of arriving at the end, he treats of the Spirit of Prudence. In the third, the Abbot *Paphnusius* explains in what Particulars the forsaking of the World consists. *Germanus* the Companion of *Cassian* having put some Questions to him touching the abilities of the Free-will, he speaks of the necessity of Grace, even for the beginning of Faith. In the fourth the Abbot *Daniel* shews of what use Temptations and the Motions of Conscience are. He teaches us the means to resist them; always owning, That without Grace all humane Attempts and Industry are to no purpose. In the fifth, *Serapion* discovers the Eight principal Vices, and teaches us fit Remedies to be applied against them. In the sixth, a Monk, who had a Cell between the Deserts of *Scythia* and *Nitria*, endeavouring to explain the Question which *Cassian* had propounded, Why God did permit that the Monks be taken and put to Death by the *Arabians*? treats of the Happiness of the Death of the Saints. The Abbot *Serenus* explains in the seventh Conference the various Temptations of the Devils, and the Stratagems which they make use of to draw the Soul of Man into Sin. They cannot force or constrain it, but they stir it up to evil. They do not certainly know the secret Thoughts of Man, but guess at them by the Motions of the Body. Every evil Spirit is appointed to excite some passion, they know one another's designs to do Man a mischief, yet they cannot possess him without the Divine Permission: The Vertue of the Cross drives them away. They could not possess Mens Bodies, if they had not gotten some footing in the Soul, or God did not permit them to enter to punish some Fault. It is better to be tormented in our Bodies by the Devil, than to have the Soul subject to his power by Vice. We ought to pity the Case of such as are tormented by Devils; *Serenus* thinks it not reasonable, that they should be deprived wholly of the Communion; which is contrary to the ancient discipline of the Church. Lastly, he makes some Observations upon the nature and differences of Devils, but he handles this Matter more largely in the 18th. Conference, where he speaks of the fall of Devils and the Sin of the first Man. He

believes, That the Devils have subtle airy Bodies, and every Man hath a good and a bad Angel. In the Two following Conferences is related, the Discourse of the Abbot *Iaac* upon Prayer. This Holy Man having taught us how we must prepare our selves for Prayer, distinguishing it into 4 sorts as the Apostle *S. Paul* doth, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks, he shews for what Persons every one of these Prayers is necessary, and the fittest Seasons when we need them. He afterward expounds the Lord's Prayer, and from thence passes to private Prayers, which proceed from the bottom of the Heart, which are often accompanied with Tears, and an assurance of being certainly heard. The Second Conference is prefaced with a relation of the Troubles raised among the Monks by the Paschal Letters of *Théophrastus*, written against the Error of the *Antiochianophiles*. *Cassian* tells us, That the greatest part of the ancient Monks explaining the Words of *Genesis* in a gross sense, *Let us make Man in our Image and in our Likeness*, imagined, That God had a Body like ours, and so did represent him to themselves in their Prayers.

The Bishop of *Alexandria* had a Custom of publishing on what day *Easter* should be celebrated every Year. And this he ordinarily did on the Feast of *Ephraim*; upon which, according to his Remark, they kept not only the Festival of Christ's Baptism, but also his Nativity in *Egypt*. Having given notice in his Church, in his Sermon, he made it known to the Churches and Monasteries of *Egypt* by his Letters, which were called, *Paschal Letters*. *Theophilus* having taken an occasion to write in one of these Letters against the Error of these Monks, they were extremely disturbed at it; and all the Monks of the Monastery of *Sebaste*, except *Paphnutius*, treated their *Antiochianophiles* as *Heretics*, and undertook to confute his Letter. These good Monks had accustomed themselves to represent God in the figure of a Man, and they could not free themselves from this Imagination, which was so strongly engrained in their Minds, that an old Man named *Serapion*, (who was convinced of his Error by the Abbot *Paphnutius*) and a certain Deacon of *Cyprius* called *Phonimus*, going to Prayers, and not representing God to himself in a bodily Shape, as before, fell to Weeping and Crying, Oh miserable Man that I am! They have taken away my God, inasmuch that I know not how to adore and pray unto him more! This having passed after the first Conference which *Cassian* and *Germanus* had had with the Abbot *Iaac*, they thought at their return to find him full of the fancy of the Abbot *Serapion*, and asked him, What he would do, since to hold a Man was fallen into so gross an Error? The Abbot *Iaac* having answered them, That that Error was a Relic of *Paganism* which the Devils still preserved in the Minds of many ignorant Persons; adds, That those that are perfect and well instructed have no such thing for the object of their Prayers, the only end of which is spiritual Love, which hath nothing carnal. Afterward he recommends a very useful practice to them, which is to say every moment and in all the actions of Life, this short Prayer of the Psalmist, *O God, haste thee to help me, make haste, O Lord, to deliver me*. He speaks in the Last place of the way to avoid distractions, and to restrain the Thoughts from wandering.

The Seven following Conferences are dedicated to *Honoratus* the Abbot of * *Levin*, who was after ordained Bishop of † *Marzeilles* in 426.

The Three first contain the Discourses of the Abbot *Cheremon*. In the First he treats of the State of Perfection, and the way to attain it: Charity is the principal. In the Second he speaks of Chastity, and the means of obtaining it. The third is that famous Conference of the Protection of the Divine Assistance, wherein he treats of Grace and Free-will. These are the Principles, which *Cassian* lays down in it under the Name of the Abbot *Cheremon*. 1. He supposes that Grace is the source not only of our good Actions, but also of our good Thoughts. He adds, That this Grace is always present with us, and sometimes goes before the beginning of our good desires, but always follows them: That the Free-will is much impaired by the Sin of the first Man, but is not utterly extinguished: That there remain in us some knowledge of Goodness and Seeds of Vertue: That Grace is given to perfect this Knowledge, and strengthen these Beginnings: That altho' Man can naturally chuse good, yet he hath need of Grace to accomplish it: That this Grace goes sometimes before the desires and first motions of the Will, but most commonly follows them: That these two things being usually mixt together, it is hard for us to know whether God shews us Mercy, because we have good inclinations in our Hearts, or where God's Mercy is precedent to those Motions: That it is safest to say, That sometimes Grace inclines the Will to good, as it did in the Conversion of *S. Paul* and *S. Matthew*, but there are some Occasions when it follows it, as it happened in the Conversion of *Zacchaeus*, and the good Thief: That Man may of himself have a desire to be converted, and of the beginnings of Repentance and Faith: That he may Pray, seek a Cure, fend for the Physician, resist Temptation; but he can't be cured, he can't be just, he can't be perfect, and he can't be a perfect Conqueror without Grace: That this Grace is a Free-gift, altho' God never denies it to those that are laborious on their part: That we ought not to believe that no good proceeds from Man: The good we do depends partly on Grace and partly on Free-will. These are the Principles which *Cassian* delivers in his 13th Conference under the Name of the Abbot *Cheremon*, which have given *Proper* an occasion to write against him, in defence of *S. Austin's* Doctrine, which *Cassian* seemed to oppose in this Conference.

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The 14th. Conference is a Discourse of the Abbot *Nestorius* touching Knowledge and Spiritual Sciences. The 15th. is another of his Discourses about the Miracles done by the *Angels*. Having discoursed upon them for some time, he makes two Reflections, the first is That Humility is to be preferred before the Power of doing Miracles. The other is, That it is more for our advantage to banish Vice from our Hearts, than Devils from the Bodies of others.

The 16th. is a Discourse of the Abbot *Isidore* about Friendship grounded upon Charity, Humility, Kindness and Christian Piety. In his 17th. the same Abbot doth endeavour to persuade *Germanus* and *Cassian* not to return to the Monastery in *Palestine*, altho' they had promised to undertake to demonstrate by Letters, Arguments taken out of Scripture, that it is sometimes lawful and profitable to lay down the eyes, but he writes to four Abbots after the Occupation, and yet before the Death of *Ephraim*, that as to lay, between the Years 426 and 428, *Isidore* made to speak it. He discusses the Monks into three sorts: 1. *Canobites*, who live in common under an Abbot, imitating the Acts of all the Apostles. 2. *Anachorites*, who after they have been instructed and educated in the Monasteries, withdraw into the Deserts, in order to retire from the World, and to employ themselves together by two or three in a Company, to live after their own Humour, not being subject to any Man. He looks upon these last as a corruption of the Monastic State, rather than a distinct Office, and adds to these a 3d. sort of Monks, made of those, who, not being able to endure the Monastic Life in a Convent, retreated alone into certain Cells to live more at liberty. This Discourse concludes with some Instructions about Humility and Patience, and against envy. The Abbot *Isidore*, who speaks in the following Conference, having been an *Anachorite*, had betaken himself to a Monastery. It was therefore demanded of him, which of the two Orders was to be preferred. He thought the Life of the *Canobites* to be best for those, who are not absolutely perfect; and he shews, that none but those who have attained to a degree of eminent Perfection, are capable of living as Hermits Life.

The 20th. Conference is a Discourse of the Abbot *Pimphus* about true Repentance. It consists in his Judgment in never committing those Sins of which we repent, or which our Consciences accuse us of: Also we ought to believe, That our Sins are pardoned, when we have renounced our Reasons and our Desires of this World. It is good for a Man to call to mind his Sins at the beginning of Repentance, but he must afterward forget them. There are many other ways of blotting out Sin besides by Baptism and Martyrdom; Charity, Sorrows, Confusion, Alms-giving, Prayers, &c. are means of obtaining Remission. If we are ashamed to confess our Sins to Men, it is sufficient to acknowledge them before God; which ought to be understood of ordinary Sins. When our greater Sins are remitted, and we feel no more the Motions nor Desires to commit them, we must quite forget them. But we must not forget the little Sins, into which we fall every day; and therefore must repent of them daily.

The 21st. Conference is the Abbot *Theonas*'s. He describes his own Conversion, and relates how he left his Wife against her Will to retire himself into a Monastery. But *Cassian* is careful to advertise us, That he doth not propound this Example as lawful to be imitated. Lastly, the Question is put, Why the Monks observe no Fasting-days from *Easter* to *Whitsonide*? For resolution of this Question, he lays it down, That Fasting is in it self a thing indifferent, and not always convenient to be used; and maintains, That it is an Apostolick Tradition not so fast in those days of Joy. This Question gives an occasion for another, Why Lent, in some places, is kept six Weeks, in others seven, since neither way, if we take away *Saturday* and *Sunday*, it is not of forty days continuance? *Theonas* answers, That the 36. days of Lent contained in the 6 weeks, make the tenth part of the Year which is Holy to God. That those whose Lent is seven weeks long, have 36 Fasting-days, without counting *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, because the Fast of the Holy *Saturday*, which they continue without interruption to *Easter-Sunday*, may well pass for two: That those, who keep a six weeks Lent only, fast on *Saturday*.

In sum, That that time is called *Quadragesima*, altho' we Fast but 36 days, because *Moses*, *Eliaz* and *Jesus Christ* fasted 40 days: That the Perfect are not tied to this Law, which was ordained for those only who spend all their Lives in Pleasure and Delights, that being forced by a Law they may at least spend that time in God's Service. But as to those who give their Life entirely to God, this Law was not intended for them, they are freed from paying these Tythes. Upon this ground he affirms, That there was no Lent observed in the Primitive Church, and that it was established for no other reason but because of the negligence of the Faithful. Lastly, *Theonas* concludes, That it is Love that makes the Precepts of the Gospel lighter and easier to be born than those of the Law. About the end, *Germanus* asks him, Why those, who fast much, do find themselves often troubled with the Temptations of the Flesh? The resolution of this Question is put off to the next Conference, where he treats of Nocturnal Pollutions, which happen either through immoderate Eating, or through Negligence, or lastly, by the craft of the Devil. These last are no Sin; and if the judgment of this Abbot may be followed, they need not hinder us from approaching the Holy Sacrament, altho' we ought to receive it not without much dread, and believing our selves unworthy; That we must be truly Holy, that we may approach it; but it is not necessary to be without Sin, be- cause

* *Levin*, an
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† *Marzeilles*.

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cause then no Body may receive it, since none but Jesus Christ is free from all Sin. In the 23^d. Conference the same Abbot explains this Text of S. Paul, *The good that I would, I do not; and the evil that I would not, that I do*; and some other places of like nature. He holds, That we must understand them of S. Paul and the Apostles, and not of Sinners. For the explication of them, he says, That the Good which Man cannot do, is absolute Perfection, and a total freedom from Sin. He adds, That those that aim at a State of Perfection offer all themselves, drawn away by the motions of the Flesh and Passions, and therefore acknowledge the necessity of Grace. He owns, That Conscience is an effect of Adam's Sin, which hath brought Mankind into Bondage. That Jesus Christ came to deliver him from it, and that he hath done it, by restoring him again his Liberty entire, and not by clogging it. That also we have the knowledge of Goodness, and desire of spiritual and celestial Goods, the Flesh often pulls us down to the Earth, and fills us with earthly desires, that do not indeed hurry good Men into enormous Sins, but yet makes them fall into venial Sins; and so the most Holy and Just Men do truly call themselves Sinners, and desire of God every day the pardon of their Offences. That it is almost impossible to avoid all Sin even in our Prayers, either through distraction or carelessness; but yet their Sins ought not to discourage us from receiving this Communion. Germanus and Cassian having declared to the Holy Old Man Abraham, that they had a desire to return into their own Country, alleging that they might do much good there both by their Example and Exhortation. This Holy Abbot divers times from this Design, and tells them plainly, that it was nothing but an haughty Mind, that they had to the World. He then enlarges upon the necessity of retirement, and an entire separation from the World. He speaks also of the Mortification of the Senses, and Lusts of the Flesh, which renders Jesus Christ's Yoke pleasant and easy to be born. He confesses, That we must allow our selves sometimes Recreation. Lastly, he proves, That those who have renounced the World entirely, enjoy Riches, Pleasures and Honour, infinitely more real and substantial than those that Worldlings enjoy; and that for the Promise of Jesus Christ, which gives all those, who leave any thing for him, hopes of receiving an hundred fold, is accomplished in them, even in this present World.

Cassian having finish'd this Work before the Year 429. was resolved to continue silent, and write no more; but he was over-perswaded by S. Leo, who was then Archdeacon of Rome, to write a Treatise upon the Incarnation, against the Heresy of Nestorius, which then began to spread it self; in which he confutes the first Sermon of Nestorius. This Work is divided into seven Books. In the First, having compared Heresy to an Hydra, he makes a Catalogue of the principal Heresies: And, insinuating upon the Pelagian Heresy, he observes, That the Error of those who hold, That it was not a God, but a Man that was born of the Virgin Mary, was taken from the Principles of the Pelagians. Leporius was the first Author of that Erroneous Doctrine; and preached it to the French, but retraced it in Africa. In the Second and Third Book he proves, That Jesus Christ is God and Man, and the Virgin may be called the Mother of God. In the Fourth he endeavours to shew, That there is but only one Hypostasis, or Person in Jesus Christ. In the Fifth he comes to a close Examination of the Error of Nestorius: He confutes his Thesis, and shews, That the Union of the Two Natures in one Person alone, makes it lawful to attribute to the Person of Jesus Christ, whatsoever agree to both Natures. In the Last Place he proves, That the Union of the two Natures is not a Moral Union only, nor a Dwelling of the Divinity in the Human Nature as in a Temple; as Nestorius asserts: but it is a real Union of the two Natures in one Person. In the Sixth he falls upon Nestorius with the Creed of the Church of Antioch, where he was brought up; taught and baptized. Some have needlessly enquired, by what Council of Antioch that Creed was made: Cassian speaks of the Creed which was usually recited in the Church of Antioch, and not of a Creed composed by any Council of Antioch. But we must not forget here what Cassian observes, That the Creed (*Symbolum) is so called, because it is a short Collection of all the Doctrine contained in Holy Scripture. He urges Nestorius extremely with the Authority of the Creed of his Church, which contained the Faith which he had embraced when he was baptized, and which he had always professed. "If you were, faith he to him, an Arian, or a Sabellian, and I could not use your own Creed against you, I would then convince you by the Authority of the Testimonies of Holy Scripture, by the Words of the Law, and by the Truth of the Creed acknowledged by all the World. I would tell you, That tho' you had neither Sense nor Judgment, you ought to yield to the Consent of all Mankind, and that it is unreasonable to prefer the Opinions of some particular Men before the Faith of the Church. That Faith, say I, which having been taught by Jesus Christ, and preach'd by the Apostles, ought to be received as the Word and Law of God. If I should deal thus with you, what would you say? what would you answer?" You could certainly have no other Evasion, but to say, I was not brought up in this Faith, I was not so instructed, my Parents taught me otherwise, I have heard another thing in my Church, I have learned another Creed, into which I was baptized: I live in that Faith of which I have made Profession from my Baptism. You would think that you had brought a very strong Argument against the Truth upon this Occasion. And I must freely own, 'Tis the best Defence that can be used in a bad Cause. It discovers at least the Original of the Error: And this Disposition were excusable if it were not accompanied

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F. CASSAN

with Obstinacy. If you were of the same Opinions which you had imbibed in your Infancy, we ought to make use of Arguments and Perswasions to bring you from your Error rather than severity to punish what is passed; but, being born, as you were, in an Orthodox City, instructed in the Catholick Faith, and baptized with a true Baptism, we must not deal with you as an Arian or a Sabellian. I have no more to say but this. Follow the Instructions you have received of your Parents, depart not from the Truth of the Creed which you have learned, remain firm in the Faith which you have professed in your Baptism.

'Tis the Faith of this Creed which hath gained you admittance to Baptism; 'tis by that that you have been regenerated; 'tis by this Faith that you have received the Eucharist and the Lord's Supper. Lastly, I speak it with Sorrow, 'Tis that which hath raised you to the Holy Ministry, to be a Deacon and Priest, and made you capable of the Episcopal Dignity. What have you done? Into what a sad Condition have you cast your self? By losing the Faith of the Creed, you have lost all; the Sacraments of your Priesthood and Episcopacy are grounded upon the Truth of the Creed. One of these two things you must do; either you must confess, That he is God that is born of a Virgin, and so desert your Error; or if you will not make such a Confession, you must renounce your Priesthood, there's no middle way; if you have been Orthodox, you are now an Apostate; and if you are at present Orthodox, how can you be a Deacon, Priest or Bishop? Why were you so long in an Error? Why did you stay so long without contradicting others? Lastly, he exhorts Nestorius to reflect upon himself, to acknowledge his Error, to make Profession of the Faith into which he was baptized, and have recourse to the Sacraments, That they may regenerate him by Repentance (these are Cassian's very Words) as they have heretofore begot him by Baptism. With this Discourse he mingles Arguments against the Error of Nestorius, whom he undertakes to confute in the last Book, by answering the Objections which he proposed, and by alledging the Testimonies of the Greek and Latin Church against him. He concludes with a Lamentation of the miserable Condition of Constantinople, exhorting the Faithful of that Church to continue steadfast in the Orthodox Faith, which had been so learnedly and eloquently explained to them by S. Chrysostom. He seems to be much troubled for the Misery of that Church. "Altho' I am very little known, faith he, am of no worth, and dare not rank my self with the great Bishop of Constantinople, nor assume the Title of a Master, I have the Zeal and Affection of a Scholar, having been Ordained and Presented to God by S. John of blessed Memory. And altho' I am far distant from the Body of that Church, yet I am united in Heart and Spirit, which makes me to sympathize in her Grief and Sufferings, and pour out my self in Complaints and Lamentations. This and the foregoing Place reach us, That this Treatise of Cassian's was composed before the Deposition of Nestorius, or at least before it was known in the West. They also give us ground to conjecture, That the Reason why S. Leo imposed this Task upon him, to write against Nestorius, was this, That being known at Constantinople to be S. Chrysostom's Scholar, his Work might have more Weight, and be more effectual than if any other had written on the same Subject.

The Institutions of Cassian, faith the learned Photius, are very useful, especially for those who have embraced a Monastick Life. It may likewise be said, That they have something too Powerful and Divine, that the Monasteries which observe that Rule are flourishing, and make themselves eminent for their singular Vertues; but they that do not observe it have much-a-do to uphold themselves, and are always near a Dissolution: And indeed of all the Rules for Monks there are none in my Judgment that are more Useful, Spiritual, and tend more to Perfection and true Devotion. He meddles not with Actions and Observances of little consequence. He insists upon Substantials, and the Ends of a Monastick Life, by explaining the principal Vertues, which they ought to practise, and discovering the most dangerous Temptations in which they are likely to be engaged, and by giving them Rules to avoid and resist them. He never delivers Rules and Maxims taken out of Holy Scripture, and backed with an infinite Number of Holy Testimonies. This is it that makes them generally esteemed by all those who have written of a Religious and Spiritual Life. His Conferences themselves, although they be in my Opinion much inferior to his Institutions, have been commonly read by the Monks. S. Benedict, Cassiodorus, S. Joanner Climacus, Rabanus, S. Gregory, Petrus Damianus, S. Dominick, S. Thomas, and some other Founders of Orders, have recommended the Reading of them. Nevertheless, this very Work, so much praised, commended and esteemed by these Holy Men, hath been strongly opposed by S. Prosper, in a Book made on purpose, as containing Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of S. Austin concerning Grace, and the Strength of the Free-Will. It is easy to judge, because we have said, That 'tis the Thirteenth Conference which he principally disputes against. It is true, Cassian doth not deliver these Principles in his own Name. The Abbot Cheremon pronounces them, but it is lost Labour to make use of that Excuse to defend Cassian; for as Prosper observes, 'Tis Cassian that makes him speak, and who relates this Discourse, and sufficiently evidences that he approves and fully follows the Opinion of that Abbot. Besides, it is certain that Cassian was one of the Clergy of Marseike, who discovered, That S. Austin in defending the Church's Cause against

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the *Pelagians*, had pushed things too far. This was the Reason that induced Pope *Gelasius* to reckon the Works of *Cassian* among the *Apocryphal* Books. Some affirm, That he changed his Opinion, otherwise *S. Leo* would not have invited him to write against *Nestorius*: But this is a Conjecture for which they bring no Reason, and which doth not appear probable in the least. *Cassian* finished his Conferences in 429. He wrote his Books of the Incarnation in 430. Is it credible, that he could be brought from his Error in so small a Time? Have any Re- cantation extant? Doth *S. Prosper* any where mention it? Is it spoken of in any Author? But, say they, Is it likely that *S. Leo* would intreat a Man who was in an Error, and who had published an Heresy, to write in the Defence of the Church? This Objection would have some probability, if the Opinion of *Cassian* concerning Grace had been look'd upon as a 'Condemned Heresy': And if *Cassian*, and those that were of the same Judgment with him, had been declared Hereticks. But *S. Prosper* himself owns, That there was no such thing; but, on the other hand, that those who did not fully approve of *S. Austin's* Doctrine were in the Church and of the Church, were eminent Men, preferred to the Church-Dignities, endued with much Learning, and made a great shew of Virtue and Piety; that they were generally esteemed and acknowledged virtuous Men: That *Cassian* was a Man of Worth and Learning. Lastly, That these Persons not being severed from the Church, we ought to bear with their Judgment, and not despair of their Amendment. This is what *S. Prosper* himself speaks of *Cassian*, and those who were of the same Sentiments. After all this, may we count them for Hereticks, since their greatest Adversary owns that they were not so? So that nothing hinders but that *S. Leo* might desire *Cassian* to write against *Nestorius*, although *Cassian* were always of the same Opinion which he delivered and approved in his Conferences. Nothing hinders but that we may give him the Title of *Blessed* and *Saint*, which several Authors have freely bestowed on him, and which seems to be acknowledged at *Marseille*.

The Style of *Cassian's* Books is suitable to the things that he treats of, if we believe *Photius*; for, besides the Elegance, it is very fit to insinuate into the Mind the Maxims which he propounds, and also to persuade Men to follow them: He orders the whole with so much Art and Prudence, that the Second Book, i. e. the Eight last Books of Institutions contain not only Moral Instructions, but also fit Motives to allure to Virtue, and to terrify and affright, so as to stir Men up to Repentance. All that have spoken of *Cassian* agree, That he had a very free Elocution: But there is nothing lofty nor Great in his Style. He wrote in *Latin*, as it appears both by the Style and his Prefaces. There is some probability that his Works were translated into *Greek*, since *Photius* had read them, and does not say that they were written in *Latin*. *S. Eucherius* abridged them, as *Gennadius* observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, ch. 63. After him *Vittor*, an *African*, undertook to take out what was contrary to the Doctrine of *S. Austin*, and add to it what he thought wanting in it. *Cassiodorus* is witness of this Fact, and says, That he expected this Book; which, perhaps, was the cause that *Ado* attributed this Correction of *Cassian* to him. We find the Extracts of *Cassian* in the Fourth Book of the Lives of the Fathers, published by *Reswaid*, but it is not known who was the Collector of them.

The Twelve Books of Institutions were printed at *Lyons* in 1516. And with the Paraphrases of *Dionysius Carthusianus*, at *Basil* in 1559. And at *Colen* in 1540. His Conferences also were published at *Basil* in 1559. And his Seven Books of the Incarnation reprinted in 1571. *Ciacconius* procured them to be printed all together, the First Edition is at *Rome* in 1590. [1580. It was also printed at *Rome* in 1611. in Octavo.] The Second at *Lyons* in 1606. *Cuequinus*, a Divine of *Lovain* put out a New Edition of them at *Amwerp* in 1598. Since *Alvius Garceus*, a *Benedictine* Monk of the Abbey of *S. Vaast* at *Arras*, caused them to be printed with long Commentaries [of his own and others.] The First Impression was made at *Doway* in 1616. [Two Volumes in Octavo,] the Second at *Arras* in 1628 [Folio,] the Third at *Paris* in 1642. by *Conrercinus*.

S. NILUS.

S. NILUS.

S. NILUS, a Governor of *Constantinople*, and Scholar of *S. Chrysostom*, having withdrawn himself from the World, from living with his Wife, with his Son *Theodulus*, betook himself to a Solitary Life, in the Desert of *Sinai*. He suffered there an inhuman Persecution by the Incursions of the Barbarians; who put to Death many of those Monks, and carried his Son *Theodulus* captive. He flourished under the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Theodosius*, and lived to the Empire of *Marcian*, in the beginning of which he died, about the Year 451. (a).

The Works of this Holy Religious Man, known and esteemed by the Ancients, have been printed several Times, as well by themselves as in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and not long since were published in *Greek* and *Latin*, by the Care of *Suarez*, at *Rome* [1673.]

The First is a Treatise of the Monastick Life, which had been translated already by *Zinus*, and was printed at *Venice*, with some other Works of the same Author, anno 1637. and since put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *S. Nilus*, in this Treatise, reproves the Vices and Disorders of the Monks of his Time, which he describes in a very smart manner. He condemns those who were ambitious to be Superiors and Governours of others, not having acquired by long Exercise such Virtues as were necessary to discharge that Office well. He also gives them many very useful Precepts and Instructions, which he delivers by Allegories. He exhorts the Religious to renounce their Estates wholly, and all worldly Pleasures, and to practise the Virtues that are becoming Monks; recommending in an especial manner Retirement and Solitude. This Treatise is written with much Fervor and Acuteness, and is full of very judicious Observations. What he says in the beginning concerning the Rule, Perfection and Decay of the Monastick State, is well worth our Consideration. Having shewed, That neither the *Heathens* nor the *Jews* had any true Philosophers nor perfect Sages; That Jesus Christ, the First who manifested to Men the true way of Virtue and Wisdom, and that the Apostles and First Christians imitated their Master in all things, and following his Steps, have given us Examples of a most Wise and Regular Life and Conversation. He Adds, That the Zeal of Christians, who should follow that Example, being cooled, some Persons have taken up a Resolution to abandon the perplexing Business of the World, and the Tumults of the Cities, to retire themselves in Solitude; that these Persons have exactly imitated the Apostles, in curbing their Passions and renouncing the Riches and Pleasures of the World, in contenting themselves with meer Necessaries, in living in great Union, and having all things in Common; but that at length this Profession, so Holy in the Original, had degenerated by degrees, and was now become clear another thing. That the present Professors of it disgraced their State, and the Memory of their Predecessors by their Disorders and Irregularities.

The Second Treatise dedicated to the Monk *Agathius*, is entitled *Perisberia*, from the name of a noble Lady, whom *Agathius* had propounded to *S. Nilus*, as an eminent Example of Virtue and Piety, in an Age which he affirmed to be as Corrupt as his. This Treatise contains in it several moral Considerations about Temperance, Humility, Prayer, Contempt of the World, and the Obligation of doing Alms. He describes the miserable condition of the Worldly-minded Man, when he comes to the Point of Death. He advises them that are Rich, to distribute to the Poor their Estates, rather than Bequeath or Leave them to their Heirs. He bewails the Misery of those, who being at the Point of Death, think of nothing but Worldly Business. He derides the Folly of those Persons, who give the Poor Legacies after their Death, but enjoy their Estates as long as they live, without bestowing any thing on them. He inveighs against the Luxury, Covetousness and Injustice of the Rich Men of his Time. The rest of his Discourse is about the Life of Good Men, and the Temptations, Persecutions and Misfortunes, which they must endure. And he gives us several Famous Examples of this, taken from the Old and New Testament.

(a) He died about the Year 451. It is certain, that he lived under *Arcadius*; and that he was likewise a Recluse from that Time, since he wrote two Letters to that Emperor, about the Banishment of *S. Chrysostom*, which happened in 405, which are Letter 279. lib. 3. and 265. lib. 2. He must needs be pretty ancient, since he had been Governor of *Constantinople*. He was about Fifty Years Old when the Monastery of *Sinai* was afflicted by the Incursions of the Barbarians, as he himself says. Now this must needs happen about the Year 410, or 411. He could not then live to the Empire of *Mauricius*, which did not begin till the Year 583. Wherefore we must correct the Menologist's, where it is said, That he lived under, or, to the Empire of *Maurice*, and put the

Name of *Marcian* instead of that of *Maurice*. *Alsius* affirms, That he lived in the Sixth Age, because in *Let. 70. lib. 1.* directed to *Tribunus Zozarius*, he proves, That the Kingdom of the Jews is destroyed for ever, because there have passed Five hundred Years since the Death of Jesus Christ, and yet it hath not been re-established, nor have the Jews had any Help. But *S. Nilus* doth not precisely say, that the Five hundredth Year was passed, but that it drew near; *ἵνα πορευθῇ πενταετηρίῃ*. That is to say, *so! it draws near to Five hundred Years*. Four hundred Years are quite pass'd, and we are going on in the Fifth Age. We have placed this Author after *Isidore* and *Cassian*, because he hath written upon the same Matters.

S. Nilus.

The Third Treatise of S. Nilus, is a Discourse of Voluntary Poverty, dedicated to a certain Deaconess of the Church of *Amara*, called *Magna*. It treats at large on the Happiness of those who have forsaken their worldly Possessions for the Service of God. He commends that Estate, and recites many Passages of Holy Scripture in praise of it, but many of them do not at all prove what he designs, and also recommends Obedience, Concord and Humility.

The Following Discourse is a Sermon of Mortality, whose Subject is no special Matter, and in which there is nothing remarkable.

The Manual of *Epiphanius*, which follows in the *Roman Edition*, is nothing like the Works of S. Nilus. He that published this Edition affirms, That this Manual was extracted out of *Epiphanius* Works by S. Nilus; but he brings no Proof of it: And *Simplicius* affirms, That it was *Arian*: that made this Manual, we have already observed. That the Book call'd *Pachy*, and another *Dogmatical Discourse*, belong to *Evagrius Ponticus*.

The Treatise which begins at Page 99, is upon this Question, viz. Whether the Life of the Anchorites or Hermites, which S. Nilus has set forth, is better than that of the Quietists, who dwell in the City, is to be preferred before the Life of the Religious who dwell in Cities. This is a very Curious Question, about which the Judgment of the Spiritual Men is much divided. S. Nilus takes the affirmative for the Hermites; but many others, as he confesses, were of a contrary Opinion. There are Reasons of both sides: They who prefer the Religious who live in Communities in Cities before the Anchorites, say: That they have more Worth, because they meet with more Opposition, whereas they that live in Solitude, being at Quiet, and not subject to Temptation, have not so much Virtue. S. Nilus answers to this Reason, which seemed very plausible; That there are as many Temptations in Solitude as in Cities; and that the Reason why some Persons argue for it, is because they mind outward Sins only, not considering that there are infinite Temptations and Spiritual Sins, which encounter us as well in Privacy as in Cities. The Reason which S. Nilus brings for his Opinion is, That those who are in Cities are exposed to Danger, and can with more difficulty preserve their Virtue, being continually assaulted with irregular Passions and Motions. He supports this Opinion with Comparisons and Examples.

The First Treatise to *Eulogius* is a Discourse of an uncertain Argument, which contains useful Counsel and Advice for Monks. The Second is an Opposition of Vices to Virtues.

The Treatise of the Eight Vices is of the same Nature. There are two that bear that Title, both attributed to S. Nilus: The First is that which is meant here, which was translated by *Nilus*, and hath been published by *F. Comestis* and *M. Bignonius*; who hath joyned to it a very ancient Version, which he found at *Florence*. The other Treatise, which is translated into *Latin* by *Billius*, among the Works of S. *John Damascene*, hath been published by *Cotelierius* in *Greek*, in his Last Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*. I believe that the First is the Original of S. Nilus, and that this Last was made by some other, who hath taken his Sense and Expressions from this Saint and several others.

To these Treatises may be joyned the Discourse of Evil Thoughts, or of the Temptations of the Devil; where he prescribes the Means of conquering them. *Phorius* makes mention of a Treatise of S. Nilus concerning Prayer, divided into One hundred fifty and three Chapters or Sentences: They are very useful Directions or Maxims to learn to pray well. They were put out in *Latin* by *Turrian*. The greatest part of the Sentences, from page 543, to 575, are rather *Evagrius*'s than S. Nilus's, or perhaps both of them; for these ancient Monks had such particular Sentences and Thoughts, which they would often repeat, which were common to them with many others. Moreover, the greatest part of these Collections of Sentences, for the use of the Monks, were made by mean and obscure Monks, who writing down the Sentences which they had learned from their Masters, or taken from their Works, did put, in one Collection, the Sentences and Maxims of several Persons, inasmuch that we cannot tell exactly to what Author the greatest part of these Sentences belong. There are also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* Two hundred twenty nine Sentences in *Greek* and *Latin* attributed to S. Nilus, which are of the same nature with those before-mentioned, published by *Turrian*, and printed at *Florence* in 1578, in *Greek*, and at *Amstercp* in 1590, in *Latin*, and in several other Places, as at *Colen*, *Basil*, *Hamburg* in 1614, at *Naples* in 1604, with the Commentaries of *Paul Minerva*, a *Dominican*, who attributes these Sentences to another Nilus, a Bishop and Martyr, but he gives us no proof of it. This Volume of S. Nilus's Treatises concludes with a Sermon of this Author's upon these Words of the Gospel, But now be that hath a Scrip let him take it, &c. To which may be added some large Fragments of Two Sermons upon the Feast of *Easter*, and Three other Sermons upon *Pentecost*, recited by *Phorius* in the Two hundred seventy and sixth Volume of his *Bibliotheca*.

These are all the Works of S. Nilus contained in the Edition printed at *Rome* in 1683, [1673.] To which we must add the Seven Narrations of the Persecutions of the Monks of *Sinaï*, published by *F. Poussinus*, and printed at *Paris* in 1639 [Quarto.] with a Discourse of the same Author, in the praise of one named *Abimianus*. There is a Commentary upon the *Canticles*, which is said to be taken out of S. Nilus, *Gregory Nyssen* and *Maximus*, but these

Abimianus a Monk of Syria, &c.

sort of Works are of no great Authority. S. Nilus hath written a Book Of Contrition, of which he speaks in the Eleventh Epistle of the Third Book of his Letters: And he observes, in the beginning of his Book Of Repentance, That he had spent some Labour upon the *Psalm*, *Sixtus Senensis* saith, That he made a Commentary upon *Job*, but I can find no Body else that makes mention of it. There are also some other Treatises about the Monastic Life, in the Libraries, bearing S. Nilus's Name, which are not yet published, as the *Manual of Repentance*, *The Monk's Dial*, &c. The Seventh Council, *Act* 4. cites some of his Letters, which the *Iconoclasts* had alleged for themselves. Some of his Sentences also are to be seen in the *Scala Paradisi* of S. *John Climacus*, and in other modern *Greek* Authors.

Only the Letters of S. Nilus remain to be spoken of, which are very numerous. *F. Poussinus* hath published 335, [335. Cave] of them out of the *Florentine* Library, which were printed in *Greek* and *Latin* in Quarto [at Paris] in 1657. And since that Time *Allatius* hath put out a far greater number from the Manuscripts of the *Vatican* Library. He hath divided them into Four Books, turned them into *Latin*, and caused them to be printed at *Rome*, in Folio, anno 1668. [with a Dissertation of Nilus.]

The greatest part of these Letters are Papers, which contain Moral Sentences, Precepts, Instructions, Reproofs, and Explications of the Doctrines of the Church, and of some Texts of Holy Scripture. They are written with much Ingenuity; the Sentences are Witty and Noble, and the Style is very fine. He speaks to the Persons of Quality, and Dignitaries of the Church, tho' his Superiors, with a great deal of Freedom. He instructs his Inferiors with much Love: He reproves Sinners with a Confancy that hath nothing sharp and cruel: He says nothing disagreeable to the Condition of the Person to whom he writes, or to the things he treats of. He is serious when he ought to be so: He derides handsomely when the Subject requires it: He uses pleasant or smart Terms, according as the Persons are with whom he has to do. In a Word; He never recedes from the Character which he ought to have, but all-a-long a free Air and a wonderful Readiness of Speech is discernable in him. There are a great many of his Letters which manifest his Learning and Knowledge. He explains the Myteries of Religion very elegantly. He confutes the Heretics neatly. He relates ancient Histories, and gives very Spiritual Explications to some Places of Scripture. He makes many curious and solid Remarks. Lastly, it may be said, That his Letters are as a Magazine, of an infinite number of excellent and fine Thoughts upon all sorts of Subjects. He explains the Myteries of the Trinity against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*; and of the Incarnation, against the *Apollinarians*, in several of his Letters. In some of them he derides the Error of the *Valentinians*: In others he scoffs at the Vanity of *Paganism*. He faith, in the Forty fourth Epistle of the First Book, That the Bread and the Wine of the Sacrament, after the Words of the Priest, are no longer common * Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He adds, in the One hundred forty and fourth Letter, That the Christians were nourished with this Body and Blood: He commands them to receive it in a state of Holiness; and to shew with what Reverence it ought to be approached. He tells us in the Two hundred ninety and fourth Letter of the same Book, That S. *Chrysostom*, celebrating the Divine Myteries, saw the Angels assisting the Bishops, Priests and Deacons at the Distribution of the adorable Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He often recommends Penance. In the Two hundred forty and third Letter of the Third Book, he admonishes a Priest not to deal too roughly with a Person who had confessed his Sin publicly; and advises him to give him Absolution, not requiring any other Penance; not that he thought that he ought always so to deal with Offenders, for, on the contrary, he acknowledges that it is good and necessary for a Sinner to fast, watch, to lie on the Ground, to cover himself with Sack-cloth and Ashes; and, Lastly, to perform rigorous Penance: But he requires that it be remitted for the sake of those who are not able to endure those Austerities, and that Absolution be given them immediately after the Confession of their Crime. He observes, upon that occasion, That a Priest ought to be active, to plant the Vine of the Lord, and slack to pluck it up. He dislikes the cruel Treatment of Sinners, lest thereby they be driven to Despair. In the One hundred and nineteenth Letter of the Second Book, he reproves a Bishop who would not receive Heretics into the Church: And to render him inexcusable, he relates a Story, which he says happened in the Apostles Time to one *Carpus* a Bishop, who having used too much Rigour toward the Younger sort, who had sinned, was rebuked miraculously. He speaks of the Usefulness of the Sign of the Cross, and commands Christians to make it often, in Letter Eighty seven Book One, and in Letter Three hundred and four, Book Two. In Letter Sixty four, Book Four, inscribed to *Olympiodorus*, and recited in the Second Council of *Nice*, he blames this Lord, That he had caused the Shapes of Beasts and other strange Figures to be painted upon the Walls of the Church. He tells him, That we may only paint the Cross in the Chancel, and round the Church place Pictures of the History of the Old and New Testament, that those that cannot read may learn the History of the Bible. The *Iconoclasts* had falsified this Passage; and whereas it is said in that place, That we may paint Pictures, they put instead of it, We must white-over the Walls of the Church. The Last Letter contains the Relation of a Miracle done by the intercession of a Martyr called *Pluto*, who freed the Son of a certain Monk of Mount *Sinaï* from the Captivity he was in; and a History which proves that the Intercession and Invocation of Saints was in use at

* Not common but holy Bread, because it still Bread and Wine.

that Time. I have forgotten to observe what *S. Nilus* maintains in Letters Two hundred sixty and nine and Two hundred and seventy, Book One; That *Mary*, the Mother of Jesus Christ, was always a Virgin, before, after and in her Delivery. He exhorts Men to labour, yet acknowledges, That all our Labour is of no use, without the Affiance of God. These are the principal Points of Doctrine which may be gathered out of *S. Nilus's* Letters. There are an infinite Number of Moral Points, which it would be too long to recite particularly. It may suffice to say, that he commends Charity, Peace, Vigilance, Mortifications, Watchings, Obedience, Humility, Alms-givings, and other Christian Vertues. He gives also many useful Counsels to those who profess a Religious Life, and who may be very serviceable to Superiors; as also to those who are charged with the Government of others: Read upon this Subject, Letter Three hundred and three, Book Three; and Letter One, Book Four. In several Places he extols the State and Condition of the Monks, and observes very well, in Letter One, That Princes and great Personages are obliged to desire the Help of their Prayers to obtain the Graces they stand in need of. Among all the Excellencies that we have taken notice of in *S. Nilus's* Letters, there are some false Notions, forced Allegories, impertinent Comparisons, and Apocryphal Stories. This, for example, is laughed at by *S. Jerom*, and that with good reason. He says, in Letter Two, Book One, That Palestine was the Place of Adam's Habitation; that he dyed in Mount Calvary; and that from thence it had that Name; for Men wondering to see a bare Skull in that Place, called the Place Calvary. *S. Jerom* says truly; That that Explication is plausible, and pleases credulous People, but is by no means true. *Favorabilis interpretatio, & mulcens aures populi, non tamen vera*: Yet *Origen*, *S. Ambrose* and *S. Epiphanius*, in *Har. 46*. agree to it. But *S. Jerom's* Opinion, who assures us, That 'twas the Place of Execution of Malefactors, is much more probable.

The Author of the Confessions of Faith, attributed to RUFINUS.

F. SIRMONDUS published, in 1650. a long *Confession of Faith*, which bears the Name of *Rufinus*, and which *Joannes Diaconus* hath attributed to him, that was a Priest of *Aquileia*. But this learned Jesuit, at the same Time, assures us, That it cannot be his, because it expressly contradicts the Doctrine of *Origen*, which *Rufinus* never condemned. In the Manuscripts of the *Abby of Corby*, *Pelagius* is said to be the Author of that Writing which he published under *Rufinus's* Name.

F. Garner hath also put out since another *Confession of Faith*, much shorter than the former, made up of Twelve *Anathemas*, which is found at the beginning of the Collection of Pieces composed by *Marius Mercator*. This also condemns the Opinions of *Origen*, and particularly that of the Pre-existence of Souls, which the Priest of *Aquileia* never would condemn: So that this cannot be *Rufinus of Aquileia's*, no more than the former. Nevertheless it appears to be him to whom it is commonly attributed, and not another *Rufinus*, as *F. Garner* affirms. 1. Because the Author, who hath preserved it, hath put it at the end of *Anastasius's* Letter to *Rufinus of Aquileia*. 2. Because the same Author tells us, That it is this *Rufinus* which is spoken of in *Anastasius's* Letter by this Title, *Incipit fides ejusdem Rufini: Here begins the Sum of Rufinus's Faith*. 3. Because it is said of the Author of that *Confession of Faith*, That he held and defended heretofore the Doctrines which he now condemns. This agrees to *Rufinus*, who had defended the Opinions of *Origen*. 4. Because the Opinions of *Origen* condemned in that *Confession of Faith*, are the very same that *Rufinus* is accused to have held, and about which he defends himself in his Apology to Pope *Anastasius*, and in his Invectives against *S. Jerom*. It is true, he doth not condemn them in those Places, as it is noted in that *Profession of Faith*; nor will I ascertain you that it is infallibly *Rufinus's* of *Aquileia*, but I say it belongs to him to whom it is attributed; for I am apt to believe, That it is a Form of *Confession of Faith* which Pope *Anastasius* made for *Rufinus of Aquileia* to sign.

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that Time. I have forgotten to observe what S. Nilus maintains in Letters Two hundred sixty and nine, and Two hundred and seventy, Book One; That Mary, the Mother of Jesus Christ, was always a Virgin, before, after and in her Delivery. He exhorts Men to labour, yet acknowledges, That all our Labour is of no use, without the Assistance of God. These are the principal Points of Doctrine which may be gathered out of S. Nilus's Letters. There are an infinite Number of Moral Points, which it would be too long to recite particularly. It may suffice to say, that he commends Charity, Peace, Vigilance, Mortifications, Watchings, Obedience, Humility, Alms-givings, and other Christian Vertues. He gives also many useful Counsels to those who profess a Religious Life, and who may be very servicable to Superiors; as also to those who are charged with the Government of others: Read upon this Subject, Letter Three hundred and three, Book Three; and Letter One, Book Four. In several Places he extols the State and Condition of the Monks, and observes very well, in Letter One, That Princes and great Personages are obliged to desire the Help of their Prayers to obtain the Graces they stand in need of. Among all the Excellencies that we have taken notice of in S. Nilus's Letters, there are some false Notions, forced Allegories, impertinent Comparisons, and Apocryphal Stories. This, for example, is laughed at by S. Jerom, and that with good reason. He says, in Letter Two, Book One, That Palestine was the Place of Adam's Habitation; that he dyed in Mount Calvary; and that from thence it had that Name; for Men wondering to see a bare Skull in that Place, called the Place Calvary. S. Jerom says fitly; That that Explication is plausible, and pleases credulous People, but is by no means true. *Favorabilis interpretatio, & mulcens aurem populi, non tamen vera*: Yet Origen, S. Ambrose and S. Epiphanius, in Her. 46. agree to it. But S. Jerom's Opinion, who assures us, That 'twas the Place of Execution of Malefactors, is much more probable.

The Author of the Confessions of Faith, attributed to RUFINUS.

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THIS Deacon of *Africa*, and Scholar of S. *Austin*, hath written the Life of his Master in a plain Style, and hath joyned to it a Catalogue of his Works. We have nothing more to note about this Work, besides what we have written of it in the Life and Works of S. *Austin*.

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URANIUS.

URANIUS the Priest, a Scholar of *S. Paulinus*, hath also written the Life of his Master, in a Letter, directed to *Pacatus*. This Letter hath been published by *Surius*, by *F. Clajfius*; and Lastly in the last Edition of *S. Paulinus*. The Style of it is plain, clear and elegant: This is all the Goodness it has in it.

S. COLESTINE.

ST. COLESTINE was chosen Bishop of *Rome* after the Death of *Basilace*, in the beginning of * *November*, in 432. This Election was made without contending and division; and he governed the Church of *Rome* peaceably, till April anno 432. The Bishops of *Nepesin*, and the assembling the Council of *Ephesus* have made his Popedom famous, and given him occasion to write several Letters, of which we shall defer to speak, till we come to the History of the Council of *Ephesus*, where they have a more fit Place; so that we have nothing more to speak of here, save Three Letters, which have no relation to the Bishops of *Nepesin*.

The First was written in 431. after the Death of *S. Austin*, and is addressed, To *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, *Leontius* Bishop of *Fresus*, and some other of their neighbouring French Bishops who tolerated and also favoured those who opposed some of the Opinions of *S. Austin*, concerning Predestination and Grace: *S. Prosper* and *Hilarius*, Scholars of *S. Austin*, and close Adherents to his Doctrine, finding themselves the weaker Side among the French, went to *Rome*, to complain to Pope *Celestine*; "That the Priests of their Country were suffered to raise Disputes and Divisions in the French Church, and to Maintain, That *S. Austin* and his Scholars had promoted Opinions contrary to the Truth. *Celestine* blames the Bishops, "Who ought, saith he, to hinder these Disputes, and not allow these Persons to take upon them to teach: That the Silence which the Bishops kept, upon this occasion, might pass for a kind of Approbation: That it was enough to declare their own Opinions, not to suffer others to speak; so that upon such like occasions Silence is a strong Presumption, because the Truth could not but oppose it self to Error, if Error it self did not please. Lastly, That the Bishops themselves were guilty of the Error which they favoured by their Connivance and remaining in Silence. He admonishes the Bishops, in the next Place, "To reprove those who viewed their new Doctrines, contrary to the Opinions of *S. Austin*. Let them not be permitted, saith he, to speak for the future according to their own Fancy: Let not Novelty be so bold as to oppose Antiquity: Let those anxious Spirits not trouble the Peace of the Church: 'Tis your Business to keep your Churches quiet. Let those Priests know, That they ought to be subject to you: Let those that do not reach the Truth, know, That they ought to learn, and not proceed to teach. What Power have you in your Churches, if they are Matters to reach what they please? But it is no Wonder, adds *Celestine*, if they are not afraid to attempt such things against the Living, since they dare assault the Memory of our Brethren after their Death. We have always had *S. Austin*, of blessed Memory, in our Communion, whose Life and Merit is very well known; his Fame hath not received the least Blemish, and his Knowledge is so well known, that my Predecessors have looked upon him as one of the most excellent Doctors of the Church. All Orthodox Christians have ever thought well of him; he hath been generally honoured and revered through the whole World. Resist therefore the Enemies of his Memory, whose Number increaseth every Day. Suffer not those Religious Persons who defend him to be afflicted and persecuted: He that is attacked by such a Novelty, suffers in the Cause of the Universal Church. Shew, That those that displease us displease you; which you will appear to us to do, if having imposed Silence upon such Offenders, you cause that there be no future Complaints upon this Account.

To this Letter of *S. Celestine* is usually joyned a Collection of the Decisions of the Popes, *Celestine's* Predecessors, and of the Councils of *Africa*, upon the principal Points touching Grace and Free-will, entitled, *The Authorities or Sentences of the ancient Bishops of the Holy Apostolic See, concerning Grace and Free-will*. It is also called, *Rules of the Holy Apostolic See*: But the most common Name which is given it, is, *Articles or Aphorisms about Grace*. This Writing is cited under the Name of *S. Celestine*, in the beginning of the Sixth Age; for *Dionysius Exiguus* hath put it into his Collection, among the Decrees of this Pope: And *Petrus Diaconus*, writing to *S. Fulgentius* about the Year 519. cites a Passage of it, as taken out of the Decrees of this Pope. *Crescentinus* Bishop of *Africa*, who wrote toward the end of the same Age, attributes it also to *S. Celestine*. And ever since it hath always been cited

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under the Name of this Pope, as by the Church of *Lyons*, by *Marinus*, by *Lupus*, of *Fez*, by *Remigius* of *Lyons*, by *Joan Carnotensis*, and many others. It is very probable, that it is this Collection of Testimonies, &c. which Pope *Hormisdas* speaks in his Letter to *Agathus*, written in 529, where he says, That this is easily known, what is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, touching Grace and Man's Free-will, by the Vitings of *S. Austin*, yet he saith more, &c. if he hath them not, and thinks it necessary. These Authorities seem to prove very strongly, That this Collection is the Work of Pope *Celestine*. Yet this Opinion is opposed by many, who say, that almost all the Critics in these later times have abandoned *S. Celestine's* Name, and that these Aphorisms are not of the same Style with the Epistle of *S. Celestine*. This Reason, concluding with these words, *Deus in volumine custodiat, fratres, charissimi, et deo preserve, you in safety, dear Brethren*. *Altho'* *S. Celestine* doth not say thus, he added nothing more, yet it is not credible that these Articles were any part of it, or were added by way of Postscript. The Author of these Sentences doth not speak as a Pope, he doth not give his Judgment or Advice with Authority: He declares, that he had no other design but to collect the Judgments of the Bishops of the Holy See, and of the African Councils, which the Holy See had made hers by its Approbation. 4. Speaking of the Popes, he always calls them the Bishops of the Holy Apostolic See, without giving them the Name of his Predecessors, which no Bishop of *Rome* would have omitted. 5. *S. Prosper* bringing the Decisions of the Popes concerning Grace, and *Agathus* against *Cyrtian*, cites fully *S. Celestine's* Letter, but says nothing of these Sentences, &c. It is probable that he would have forgot them, if they were this Pope's: This is a most degrading piece; *Placitus* and *Vincentius Lirinensis* make mention of this Letter of *S. Celestine*, but speak nothing of the Aphorisms of Grace, &c. Is it credible, that *Vincentius Lirinensis* would have cited *S. Celestine's* Letter for the defence of the *Semi-pelagian* Party, if this Pope had condescended them to manifestly do so. If we consider the manner how these Aphorisms are inserted in the *Dionysian* Code, we shall easily guess, that he did not attribute them to Pope *Celestine*, (as some think); for altho' he puts them at the end of his Letter, yet he distinguishes them by this Title: *Here begin the Authorities of the Bishops of the Holy See, concerning Grace*. And the same Remark is added to the end, &c. There are the Conjectures which may balance the Authorities which seem to prove that this Collection is *S. Celestine's*; and by these have the Critics been obliged to search out some other Author of them, than this Pope, and having found none to whom this Work agrees better than *S. Prosper*, many have confidently attributed it to him, altho' they have neither MSS. nor ancient Author for them. It is true, that they quote a Passage of *Hinemar*, taken out of a Book he made against this Heresy, *Trina Deita*, "The three-fold Gospel, where he says, that *S. Prosper*, by the Order of *S. Celestine* did confute and overthrow the Heretic which began to spread among the French, as well by the Authority of Scripture as by the Doctrine of *S. Austin*. They suppose, that it is of this Writing that *Hinemar* speaks, and conclude from thence, That it was *S. Prosper* that wrote it by the Order of *S. Celestine*. But this Proof doth not seem to me to be solid: 1. Because *Hinemar* could not be a very good Author of a fact of this nature. 2. Because the same *Hinemar* attributes the Aphorisms to *S. Celestine*. 3. Because 'tis not certain, that the Work spoken of in that place is the Collection of Authorities, nor is it indeed certain that he speaks of any particular Work. 4. If he speaks of any particular 'tis likely to be some other, for what he says of it, That *S. Prosper* did overthrow the Heretic which began to spread among the French, by the Authority of Holy Scripture and the Doctrine of *S. Austin*, doth not agree to our Aphorisms, in which the Author contents himself to relate the Decisions of the Popes and Councils, without disputing with the Enemies of *S. Austin*, and where not so much as one Passage of *S. Austin* is alleged. But say they, it can't be said, that any other Work of *S. Prosper* was written by the Order of *Celestine*. It appears by his Works themselves that he wrote them as a private Author, and as a Person who defended the Doctrines he thought true, without condemning any Man. It cannot therefore be said, That it was by the Order of the Pope, and as *Hinemar* says, *Ex delegatione Pontificis*, by the Pope's Commission, that he wrote them. There is none but the Aphorisms that it agrees to; & he speaks therefore of these. This is the sum of the Objection. They confirm it by a Passage of *S. Prosper* taken out of his Answers to the Objections of *Vincentius*, where he says, That he recites the very words of the Faith and Opinions, which he defended against the *Religians* by the Authority of the Holy See. *Propositis sigillatim sexdecim capitulis sub unoquoque eorum Sensu nostri & Fidei, quam contra Pelagianos ex Apostolice Sedis Auctoritate defendimus, verba ponemus*; Having propounded sixteen Heads severally, we will set down under every one of them the words of our Sense and Faith, which we have defended by the Authority of the Holy See. Which refers, say they, that they take the words of *Hinemar* too strictly, and perhaps *S. Prosper's* too. The first never affirmed, That *S. Prosper* had an express Command from *S. Celestine* to write some particular Work about Grace. His meaning only is, That this Pope had approved what he wrote for the defence of *S. Austin's* Doctrine; and this is evident from *S. Celestine's* own Letter. *S. Prosper* boasts so of defending *S. Austin's* Doctrine by the Authority of the Holy See, because he was certain, That it was approved by the Holy See, and that the *Semi-pelagians* would destroy the

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contrary to the Discipline of the Church; but being appointed by God to watch over his Church, he is obliged by his Charge to restrain all evil Practices, and order what ought to be observed; for his Pastoral Care ought to have no Bounds, but is extended to all Places, where the Name of Jesus Christ is known.

The First Practice which he reproves, is that of some Bishops, who apparelled themselves after a particular manner, in wearing a Cloak and a Girdle. The thing seems in it self to be indifferent, but S. Cyprian finds the best Arguments in the World to condemn that Usage. "We must, saith he, make our selves remarkable for our Wisdom, Prudence and Fidelity, not by our Garb and Cloathing. We must reach the Faithful, and give them a good Example by our Lives, and not impose upon them by outward Shews. We ought not to seek how to please their Eyes, but to fill their Minds with Divine Precepts. Nevertheless he doth not blame those who clothed themselves so in the Places where such a Custom was settled, but those who through a Superstitious Affectation would change and alter the manner of Cloathing which was then in use.

The Second Disorder concerns the Administration of Penance. There were among the French some severe Rules of the ancient Church Discipline, which obliged them to deny Absolution to Sinners, who requested it at the Point of Death: S. Cyprian condemns that Rigor, and maintains that they ought not to deny Absolution to Sinners at any time, when they demand it.

The Third respects the Qualifications of those who may be ordained Bishops: S. Cyprian complains, That Lay-men were made Bishops, not having passed through the inferior Orders. Which, tho it was contrary to the Rule, and against all Reason; yet he adds, That they were contented to ordain Lay-men, but it happened likewise, that they did chuse such Persons for Bishops as were guilty of open Crimes. He gives an Example of one named Daniel, who having been Head of a Monastery of Virgins in the East, was come to retire himself in France. All the Monastery, where he lived, accused him of scandalous Crimes, and sent the Informations of them to S. Cyprian, who dispatched a Letter by Fortunatus the Deacon to the Bishop of Arles, in which he summoned this Man to his Council, to answer to the Heads of Accusation brought against him. But at the same time that the Pope cited him, he was ordained Bishop. S. Cyprian discovers how much that Business troubled him: He blames him that had ordained him, and scruples not to say, That he had lost his Episcopal Dignity himself, by bestowing it upon a Person so unworthy. Lastly, he exhorts the Bishops, to whom he writes, To observe the Discipline of the Church exactly, which was not unknown to them, because many among them had lived sometime at Rome. But to put them in mind, he prescribes them some Laws, which he thought most necessary.

The First, That every Province should suffer it self to be governed by its Metropolitan, and that no Bishop attempt any thing out of his own Province.

The Second, That when a Bishop is to be chosen, the Clergy of the same Church, whose Defects are known, and who have already merited well, be preferred before Clergymen, who are Strangers and unknown.

The Third, That a Bishop be not imposed upon any Persons against their Consent, but that the Votes and Agreement of the Clergy, People and Magistrates be followed.

The Fourth, That no Clergyman be chosen out of another Diocese, when there is any in the same Church which may fitly be ordained.

The Fifth, That none be ordained Bishop who hath been married twice, nor hath married a Widow; which he ordains as a Rule not only for the future, but he requires, That the Ordinations already made, in prejudice of this Law, be looked upon as unlawful Ordinations, which may not be allowed in Force.

As to that Daniel, whom we mentioned above, he commands, That he shall be separated from the Communion of the Bishops, until he be freed from his Accusation before him. And as to the Bishop of Marseille, who was accused of being an Accessary in the Death of his Brother, he leaves the Judgment of him to the Bishops, to whom he directed that Letter.

The Third Letter of S. Cyprian, written to the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria, begins with a general Advertisement to all Bishops; which imports that it is not allowable for any Bishop to be ignorant of, nor do any thing contrary to the Laws of the Church; for, saith he, in what a Case shall we be, if Liberty be allowed to private Men to change the Form of the Holy Decrees, according to the Will and Fancy of the People?

Upon this Ground he forbids them to ordain such Lay-men Bishops as the People demand. He advises the Bishops, not to follow the People's Judgment in this, but to oppose themselves courageously against what they desire, when 'tis contrary to the Rules. This Letter is dated, July 19th. in the Year 429.

This Pope writes in an earnest and close way. His Style is full of Sentences and intricate

S. CYRIL Patriarch of Alexandria.

S. CYRIL, Nephew (a) of Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, was ordained in his Place (b), three Days after his Death, Oct. 18. Anno 412. The Bishop of Alexandria had already gotten a great Authority and Power in the City, and exercised it with a great deal of Majesty. S. Cyril was so far from remitting any thing of this Authority, that he sought all Opportunities to confirm and enlarge it. He was no sooner made Bishop but he banished the Novarians, and deprived their Bishop Theopemprus of all he had. A little Time after, the Jews having committed some Outrages upon the Christians of Alexandria, S. Cyril having put himself at the Head of his People, went to assault the Synagogues of the Jews, took them away from them, and drove them out of the City, and suffered their Estates to be plundered by the Christians. This Action much displeased Orestes, Governour of the City, who was already much troubled to see that the Bishop of Alexandria had an Authority, which extremely lessen'd the Governour's. This began to put all things in Confusion, and rendred them professed Enemies. They had each of them their Party; and as the People of Alexandria are naturally very seditious, this Division caused frequent Skirmishes in the City. One Day, as Orestes went in his Coach, he was encompassed with Five hundred Monks, who sallied out of the Monasteries, to revenge the Quarrel of their Bishop; they pursued him, wounded him with the Blow of a Stone, and had slain him, if his Guards had not come to his Assistance, and the People had not stopp'd their Fury. Orestes caused one of these Monks to be apprehended, named Ammonius, and examined him upon the Rack, with so great Severity, that he died in the Torments. S. Cyril honoured him as a Saint, and publicly commended his Zeal and Constancy. There was at that Time in Alexandria a famous Heathen Philosopher, named Hypatia, whose Fame was spread so far, that they came from all parts to see her, and consult her. Now because Orestes went often to see her, it was imagined, that it was she that cherished him in the Aversion which he had toward the Bishop. Some of the Seditious, headed by a certain Reader *, set upon her, as she returned home, dragged her through the Streets, and cut her in a Thousand Pieces. This Story is not only related by Socrates, but is also attested by Damascius, who, in the Life of Isidore, the Philosopher, describes the tragical Death of this Illustrious Woman, and accuseth S. Cyril to be the Author of it. But we must not believe that Historian. S. Cyril was no ways concerned in her Death. They were some Seditious Persons, who took the Opportunity of the Division between him and Orestes, to commit this cruel and bloody Murder.

The Contest with Nestorius was that which made S. Cyril so very eminent: This Bishop of Constantinople having delivered in his Sermons, That we ought not to give the Virgin Mary the Name of Mother of God, gave great Scandal in the Church; some of his Homilies being brought into Egypt, and there causing great Disturbances among the Monks. S. Cyril wrote a Letter to them; in which he maintained, That the Virgin Mary ought to be called the Mother of God. Nestorius knowing that S. Cyril had written against him, declared openly, That he looked upon him as his Enemy, and would not have Communion with him. S. Cyril wrote a very courteous Letter to him, yet without approbation of his Doctrine. Nestorius also returned him a civil Answer, but without retracting his Opinions. They also wrote two other Letters to each other, wherein they disputed of the Question in Controversy, but without coming to an Agreement; yet these Writings which passed pro and con between them exasperated their Spirits. The Business was brought before S. Celestine. S. Cyril, fortified with his own Authority, proceeded against Nestorius, and composed Twelve Anathemas against his Doctrine; which became a fresh Subject of Contest. The Eastern Bishops disapproved them. Lastly, the Quarrel grew so great that a General Council at Ephesus was forced to be called, to quench the Flame. S. Cyril presided in it, and was much crossed in his Designs: But this is not the place to write that History, which shall be found at the End of this Tome. We must here betake our selves to S. Cyril's Works. They have been collected together, and printed in Greek and Latin at Paris, in 1538. in Six great Volumes. In Folio, by the Care of Johannes Aubertus, Prebendary of † Laudunum, President of the † Lay. College of the same Name, and Regius Professor.

The Fifth contains Seventeen Books, of the Adoration and the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth Translated by Antonius Agellius, a Theatin Priest of Naples, who caused them to be printed at Lyons and Rome, and his Books called Glaphyra, or a curious and elegant Commentary upon

(a) Nephew.] Socrates, l. 7. c. 5. Theodoret, l. 3. c. 35. Isidore of Damiana, l. 1. ep. 310. Alpha, in a Letter which he wrote to him, r. 3. Corp. p. 788. say, That Theophilus was his Uncle. Nestorius thinks it was by his Father's side, but Facundus, c. 2. l. 4. and Epiphanius Scholasticus l. 1. ep. c. 25. say, That S. Cyril was his confobrinus,

i. e. the Son of Theophilus's Sister.

(b) Ordained in his Place.] After the Death of Theophilus, which happened Oct. 12. 412. There time.]

was a great Contest about the Election, some stood for Timotheus the Arch-deacon, others named S. Cyril; this last carried it, although the * Captain of the Army in Egypt was against him.

* E 2

the Five Books of *Moses*, which are Translated by the Jesuit *Schoetus* [and printed by them. *Cyrl* selves at *Antwerp* 1618.]

The 17 Books of *God's Worship in Spirit*, are composed in form of a Dialogue. The design of this Work is to show, That all the Law of *Moses*, as well as the Precepts, and all the Ceremonies which it prescribes, being understood aright, relate to the adoration of God in Spirit and in Truth; which the Gospel hath discovered. To prove this Proposition, the books run all the Allegories in the Histories of the Old Testament. In the first Book he shews, That that which happened to *Adam*, *Abraham* and *Lot*, reaches Men how they fall into Sin, and after what manner they may raise themselves again. The Pleasure which allures them, is figured by the Woman, by the delights of *Sodom*, by earthly good Things: The Grace of our Saviour by the calling of *Abraham*, by the Protection which God vouchsafed *Lot*, by the care which he takes of his People; *Isaiah*, Repentance, flight from Sin, love of Vertue by the Actions of the ancient Patriarchs; In the second and Third, he makes use of several places of the Law to shew, That the Fall of Man could not be repaired but by the coming of Jesus Christ; That he alone can deliver him from the insupportable Consequences of Sin, which are Death, the tyranny of the Devil, an inclination to Evil and Conscience; *Isaiah*, That he alone can redeem and justify Man. He finds Baptism and Redemption by Jesus Christ figured in many places of the Law and Prophets. In the Fourth, he uses the Exhortations, Promises and Threatnings laid down in the Law, to exhort Christians whom Jesus Christ hath redeemed, to follow their Callings, renounce Vice and embrace Vertue. In the Fifth, he affirms, That the Contancy and Courage of the Ancients in suffering Evils and opposing their Enemies, is a figure of the Strength and Vigour with which Christians ought to resist their Vices and irregular Passions. In the Sixth he demonstrates, That the Law commands the Worship and Love of one God only, and that it hath condemned all Superstitions and Prophecies contrary to that Worship. In the Two following Books, he also prescribes Charity towards our Brethren and Love towards our Neighbour. In the Ninth and Tenth he finds infinite resemblances between the Tabernacle and the Church. The Priesthood of the Old Law, the Consecration of the High Priests, the Sacerdotal Vestments, the Ministry of the Levites, &c. furnish him with abundance of Matter for Allegories, which he treats of in the Three following Books. The Prophane and Unclean Persons under the Law, who were shut out of the Tabernacle and Temple, are the figure of Sinners, which ought to be expelled out of Churches and to reach us; That none but those that are pure may present themselves before God. Clean and Unclean Beasts are the subject of some Allegories: These are the subject of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Books. Lastly, The Obligations and Sacrifices of the Law are Types of the Spiritual Obligations which we ought to offer to God; and the solemn Festivals of the Jews denote to us the Celestial Rewards: This is the subject of the Two last Books. It is easy to judge, by what we have said, how mystical a Work this is, and how full of allegorical and unusual Explications. He must needs have an inexhaustible Fund of them to furnish out Seventeen Books, so long as these are, which are all-a-long carried on with continual Allegories.

His *Glaphyra* upon the *Pentateuch* are not less full of Mystical Notions: In them he refers to Jesus Christ and his Church all that is said in the *Pentateuch*. There is not any History, Circumstance or Precept which he applies not to Jesus Christ or the New Testament. These sorts of Commentaries are of little use, for they help nothing towards the literal Explication, they reach little Morality, they prove no Doctrine, all passes into Metaphysical Considerations and abstract Comparisons, which are not proper either to convince Unbelievers, or edify the Faithful.

The long Commentary upon *Isaiah*, which is contained in the Second Tome, is much more rational: *S. Cyrl* therein applies himself to the literal Sense of this Prophet, and doth not digress so much from the Natural Sense, to find out Jesus Christ, because the Prophecy of *Isaiah* agrees more naturally to him. This Commentary is divided into Six Parts. The same Judgment may be given upon the Commentary upon the Twelve Prophets; in which also he sets himself to the literal Explication, so that there is a great deal of difference between the Commentaries of this Father upon the Prophets, and his Writings upon the *Pentateuch*. *M. Simon* doth not think so, but having spoken of the Commentaries of this Father upon the *Pentateuch*, as a Work purely allegorical, he adds, That he passes over in silence his Commentaries upon the Prophet *Isaiah*, because this Father is very uniform in his Method. But whosoever will give himself the trouble to read any Place of his Commentaries upon *Genesis* and *Exodus*, and compare them with some other Place of his Commentary upon *Isaiah* or the Minor Prophets, he will find in them a very considerable difference.

The Commentaries upon the Gospel of *S. John*, which make up the Fourth Tome, do explain all the Letter and Connexion of the Gospel; but he now and then intermixes with it some Theological Questions. And because those which concern the Trinity, come in naturally in the Gospel of *S. John*, he ordinarily treats of them in proving the Divinity, Consubstantiality and Equality of the Son of God. He also speaks of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and observes that it proceeds from the Son, and takes his Nature of the Son. Sometimes he proves, that the Law was Figurative, and that Salvation and Grace are passed from the Jews to the Gentiles. There is also a Chapter in it about Liberty and Man.

These

These are the principal Points he treats of. This Commentary is very long, and divided into Twelve Books. We have only some Fragments of the Seventh and Eighth. The Fifth and Sixth are not extant in this, no more than in the preceding Editions. But *Yodocus Chrobocensis*, a Doctor of *Paris*, who hath translated this Commentary of *S. Cyrl*, hath composed Four Books, to supply those that are wanting; which hath given occasion to some Authors to quote them as *S. Cyrl's*: It is true, that they are almost all taken out of the ancient Fathers, but was *Chrobocensis* that collected them, not *S. Cyrl*.

The Fifth Tome of *S. Cyrl's* Works, hath Two Parts, which make Two Volumes. The first contains his *Theaurus*, and Dialogues upon the Trinity and Incarnation, and the Second is made up of his Homilies and Letters.

His *Theaurus* is a Work upon the Trinity, in which he lays down Thirty five Propositions about the Divinity and Consubstantiality of the Son and Holy Spirit; which he proves exactly after the manner of the Schools, by Texts of Scripture, upheld and supported by Arguments and Syllogisms in Form, which he uses to subvert the *Arians* and *Eunomians*; and to rest upon them those Testimonies of Holy Scripture, which they commonly alleged. He propounds their Objections in the same manner, and answers them with the like Subtilties.

Georgius Trapezuntius hath published a very imperfect Version, or rather a Latin Abridgement of this Book; in which he hath taken out, changed and added several things, and quite inverted the Order of *S. Cyrl*. But since *Fulcanius Brugensis* hath made a faithful Translation, which was published at *Basil* in 1576. There can be no doubt that this Work is *S. Cyrl's*, since *Plotius* had read it, and described it to be such as we have in the 136th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*.

S. Thomas often quotes a Passage in favour of the Court of *Rome*, as being taken out of the Second Book of *S. Cyrl's Theaurus*, which is not to be found entire in that Work: But we need only to read it, and we shall be satisfied that there was never any such, nor ever could be found there. This is the famous Passage, as he cites it: *We must remain as Members in our Head, in the Apostolick Throne of the Roman Bishop, from whom we ought to request whatsoever is necessary to be believed and held, having a particular Respect for him, and enquiring of him about all Things, because it belongs to him to reprove, correct, order, dispense things, loose in his stead, who hath founded him, and given him a subjection of Power, him alone and not any other, to whom all the Faithful are obliged by Divine Right to be subject, and whom the Princes of the World should obey. Who of all the Greek or Latin Fathers ever spake thus? Who of them ever flattered the Bishop of *Rome* at this rate? But how is it possible for it to enter into the *Theaurus* of *S. Cyrl*, which is nothing else but a contexture of Texts and Arguments upon the Trinity? What coherence hath our pretended Passage with that Subject? What doth this Phrase mean, *That we may remain as Members in our Head, which is the Apostolick Throne of the Roman Bishop*? Did ever any Author speak any thing like it? To whom doth he speak these Words? And of whom are they spoken, *That we may remain Members*, &c. Are they the Bishops of *Aegypt* that speak them? Could it find a Place in a Theological Treatise of one Father only?*

S. Thomas is the first that cited this Passage; and we know with how much carelessness, and with how little Judgment he quotes the Works of the Fathers. It likewise appears, that he had never seen *S. Cyrl's Theaurus*, because he quotes the Second Book of that Work, which was never divided into Books. *Urban IV.* hath alleged it after *S. Thomas*, but upon the Credit of that Author. In the Council of *Florence S. Cyrl's Theaurus* is quoted in general, but when it was seaforable to produce this Passage, there is nothing said of it. All this makes evident, That neither this Passage nor any other like it, cited by the same *S. Thomas*, in his *Quæstions* upon *S. Matthew*, as being in *S. Cyrl's Theaurus*, which is not found there no more than the former, are not, nor can be this Father's, nor are taken out of his *Theaurus*. I wonder that *F. Labbe* should so openly profess himself a Defender of these two superstitious Passages.

The Style of *S. Cyrl's* Dialogues is not so rough and scholastick as that of the foregoing Book. There are Seven of them upon the Trinity, and Two upon the Incarnation. He proves in these last, That Jesus Christ is one only Person, made up of the Humane and Divine Nature. At the end of this Volume we find some clear Resolutions upon the Mystery of the Incarnation, where he answers the Objections which were propounded to him. *Phoebus* speaks of this little Book, in the One hundred sixty and ninth Volume of his *Bibliotheca*.

To this Treatise may be joyned, a Discourse of the Orthodox Faith to *Theodosius*; the Treatise addressed to the Empreſſes, the Sermon which is annexed to it, which are in the Second Part of this Tome: In them he proves, That Jesus Christ is God, and that all the Properties of the Divine Nature may be attributed to him. To prove this he makes use of a great number of Texts of Holy Scripture, and the Testimonies of some Fathers. These Treatises are also in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*.

Paschal Homilies are not peculiar to *S. Cyrl*. It was the Custom of the Bishops of *Alexandria*, whom the Council of *Nice* had particularly charged with the care of publishing, *Easter-day*; I say, It was the Custom to declare it in *Alexandria* by a solemn Discourse.

Theo-

S. Cyrl of *Alexandria*

But he ascribed them to *S. Cyrl*, as the Fathers, and not made by himself.]

S. Cyril of Alexandria Theophilus, S. Cyril's Predecessor, had made them. Ulag very famous, and S. Cyril kept it up with great deal of Splendor, so that so long as he was Bishop, there passed not a Year but there was a Sermon, at the end of which he gave notice of the beginning of Lent, and of the day of the Forty which he made we have Twenty nine. The ordinary subject of these Sermons was the Life and Advantage of fasting, and the way how Christians ought to fit themselves for the celebration of Festivals. In them also he sometimes exhorts the Faithful to join Alms-giving and Charity with fasting. He speaks in some of them of double-mindedness, in many of them he treats of the Trinity and Incarnation, against the *Arians* and *Nestorians*. He sometimes speaks also against the *Jews* and *Idolaters*. These Sermons are flat and tedious; they are nothing else, almost, but a contexture of Texts of Scripture, which he mingles with mystical Explanations.

There are also here some other Discourses of this Father, which are for the most part against the Heresies of *Nestorius*. The First and Second are entirely upon that Subject. They were preached at *Ephesus*. The Third is a small Discourse, which he made after the Sermon of *Paul*, Bishop of *Emesa*, about the Time that the *Oriental* and *Egyptian* Bishops were reconciled to each other. The Fourth and Fifth are two Sermons, preached at *Ephesus* against *Nestorius*. The Sixth is against *John* Bishop of *Antioch*. The Seventh is a Discourse, which he delivered also at *Ephesus*, when he was imprisoned. The Eighth is upon the Transfiguration. The Ninth upon the Lord's Supper. In this he speaks very strongly for the Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, as well as in his Commentary upon *S. John's* Gospel. The Tenth is a Discourse in praise of the Virgin *Mary*, preached at *Ephesus*. The Eleventh upon the Feast of the Purification. The Twelfth upon the Feast of *Tavernacles*. The Last is upon the Day of Judgment. These Sermons are written in a close Style, and more succinct than the former. They are full of Points, Allusions and Jingles of Words. There is also a short one upon the Incarnation, which is extant in Latin only.

Almost all his Letters concern the History of the Council of *Ephesus*, and the Difficulties which S. Cyril had with *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and the other *Eastern* Bishops; for which Reason it is that we intend to speak of them, when we come to treat of the Council of *Ephesus*, where they are inserted. Nevertheless, there are Five or Six at the end, which relate to other Matters. The First is the Letter of *Atticus*, Bishop of *Constantinople* to S. Cyril; wherein he exhorts him to put the Name of S. *Chrysostom* into the *Diptychs*, among the Bishops that died in the Communion of the Church, as he had done by the Example of *Alexander*, Bishop of *Antioch*. S. Cyril returns him answer, That he disapproved his Action, being contrary to the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and that *John*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, having been deprived in his life-time, by the Judgment of the Church, he could not put him among the Bishops in the Communion of the Church, after his Death: That what he had done had given great Offence in all the Provinces of *Aegypt*. He takes notice, that they were counted but Six, viz. *Aegypt*, *Augustannicum*, *Arcadia*, *Thebais*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis*. The Third of the Letters, of which we are speaking, is written to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Antioch*. *Atbanasius*, Bishop of a City belonging to the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, although far distant from that City, being offended by some of his Clergy, who would expel the Stewards of his Church, against his Consent, made his Complaint to a Synod held in *Constantinople*, where S. Cyril was: But since *Atbanasius* was not subject to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of that Synod, they would not judge of his Cause. But S. Cyril wrote in his behalf to *Dionysius*, relating to him the Trouble which this Bishop unjustly suffered, and desiring him to constitute Judges, who might summon the Stewards accused, and their Accusers, and condemn the Guilty. He tells him, That the Metropolitan was mistrusted by the Bishop, and that the City, of which he was Bishop, was far from *Antioch*. These Circumstances are remarkable, for otherwise the Judgment of it did in the first Place appertain to the Metropolitan, or if he were excepted against, to the Patriarch. In this Example we see, 1. The Authority of Patriarchs over their Patriarchate. 2. The Antiquity of making such Persons Judges as were near to the Accused and Accusers. 3. How exactly the Bishops of one Patriarchate kept themselves within the Bounds of their own Jurisdiction, without meddling in others. 4. That this Caution did not hinder them from helping Persons afflicted and persecuted, which fled to them, but yet only by Intercessions for them, without attempting any thing contrary to the Laws of the Church.

The next Letter, written to the same *Dionysius*, furnishes us with another Proof of this Episcopal Charity. Another Bishop, belonging to the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, named *Petrus*, was deprived of the Government of his Church, and likewise plundered of all his Goods. This Bishop, who was very aged, complained heavily of this Condemnation, and maintained that he was unjustly thrust out of all: *Dionysius* writing to S. Cyril and *Proclus*, gave this Prelate the Name of a Religious and Holy Bishop. S. Cyril takes occasion from hence to write in his Favour, and shew *Dionysius*, That if this Bishop deserved to be deprived of his Church, he also deserved to lose the Name of Bishop. He then admonishes *Dionysius* to pacify the Complaints of this Bishop, and to suffer him to appear before him and his Suffragan Bishops, to be judged there according to the Custom. He desires him also to give him the Liberty to reject those Bishops, which may be suspected by him; for, saith he, although we do not believe that any Bishop

is an Enemy to his Brethren; nevertheless, we remove all Pretences of Complaint against the Sentence, which shall be given, it is convenient; that those whom he suspects should withdraw themselves. As to the Money that had been taken from him: S. Cyril thinks, it ought to be restored to him, for Two Reasons: 1. Because he ought not to be deprived after such a manner. 2. Because it is an Abuse to demand an Account, as they do, of the Revenues of the Church, of the Bishops: It is sufficient, that they cannot dispose either of the precious Vessels or Lands. The management of the Revenues ought wholly to be trusted to them. Lastly, whereas it might be said, That this Bishop had given a Writing, in which he had renounced his Claim to his Church, and so was not to be received again; S. Cyril answers, That he did not give it voluntarily, but it was extorted from him by Force and Threatnings; and since it was so, such Acts of Abjuration ought not to be regarded, nor ought Bishops to be suffered to give them; for if they are worthy of their Ministry, they ought not to renounce it; if they are not worthy, they ought not to be deprived by a Renunciation, but by a Canonical Sentence.

The last Letter contains a Prescription, directed to the Bishops of *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, to prevent a Disorder, which the Monks of *Thebais* complained of. Some Persons, newly married, had a desire to be ordained Clerks or Priests, and the Bishops very easily admitted them, without obliging them to renounce their Marriage: Others who had been expelled out of the Monasteries for their Debaucheries, found means also to get themselves ordained, and then got into Monasteries again, where they would celebrate the Holy Sacraments, and perform the Sacred Functions of the Ministry; which occasioned so great Scandal, that those that knew them would neither be present, nor communicate at their Ministrations. S. Cyril, to put a Stop to this Scandal, ordered, That every Bishop, before he ordaineth a Clergyman, shall inform himself of his Life. If he be married or not, How long since, and How long he hath departed from his Wife; Whether he hath not been driven out by his Bishop, or expelled some Monastery; And that he shall not ordain him, unless he find his Conversation unblameable; for, saith he, This is the only way of discharging our Duty, and preventing that the Holy and Venerable Mysteries be not profaned by the Impurities of the Ministers. He adds a Rule concerning those, who being separated from the Church, or Catechumens, fall into a mortal Disease; and orders, that according to the Custom they should be allowed the Communion and Baptism. This Tome concludes with a Letter of S. Cyril's to the Bishops of *Africa*, when he sent them an Authentick Copy of the Canons of the Council of *Nice*.

The Sixth Tome begins with the Five Books against *Nestorius*; in which he confutes what *Nestorius* had written against the Name of the Mother of God, given to the Virgin, and against other such like Expressions. He recites *Nestorius's* Words, and in answering to them labours to convince him of Error and Imposture. Of Error, because he divides Jesus Christ into Two, and denies the Union of the Two Natures in One Person only: Of Imposture, in attributing to the Orthodox such Opinions as they never thought on, accusing them of Teaching, That the Two Natures in Jesus Christ are mingled and confounded, and that the Divinity is made subject to Humane Infirmities. He maintains, That the two Natures remain in Jesus Christ without Mixture or Confusion, but are united in so strict an Union, that what only agrees to God may be predicated of Man, and what agrees only to Man, of God; altho' the Properties of the Humanity may not be attributed to the Godhead, nor the Attributes of the Godhead to the Manhood.

Next to this Treatise follow the Writings made by S. Cyril for the Defence of his Twelve *Anathemas*. The First contains an Explication of the Twelve Propositions; in which he rejects the bad Sense that might be put on them. The Second is an Apology for the *Anathemas* against the Objections of the Oriental Bishops. The Third is an Answer to what *Theodoret* had written against these *Anathemas*. Lastly, The Apology of S. Cyril to what *Theodoret* is put here; but we shall speak more largely elsewhere of these Treatises.

The Books against the Emperor *Julian* ought to have gone before these we have spoken of, because 'tis one of S. Cyril's principal Works: It is dedicated to *Theodosius* the Emperor, and divided into Ten Books.

In the First he proves, by the Testimony of the ancient Historians and most learned Philosophers, That the *Jews* Religion is much more ancient and rational than the *Greeks*: That the History of *Moses* is true, and that the *Greeks* have taken all their best Expressions out of the *Jews* Books. In the next Place he undertakes to confute the Books of *Julian* closely, and answer all his Objections. He recites them at length, and then answers them. It seems he confuted only the First Book, in which that Apostate assaults the Christian Religion in general. He begins with a Comparison of the *Jewish* and *Heathen* Religion, and of the Books of *Moses* and *Plato*, and extols his Philosophy above the Laws of that Prophet. Next, he opposes the Christian Religion, and propounds some trivial Objections against the History of the Gospel. Lastly, he makes use of the *Jewish* Religion and Books to overthrow the Christian Religion. The Objections which he brings are weak and idle, but he makes them look well by the fine and pleasant Management of them. S. Cyril discovers the Weakness of them, and dispels them entirely. He also often opposes the Heathen Religion, and establishes the Christian. This Work is written with a great deal of Elegancy, but it is nothing so finely written as *Julian's* altho' it be very learned and solid.

S. Cyril of Alexandria The Treatise against the *Antiphrasies* is written against those silly and dull-witted Monks, who affirm, That the Words of *Genesis*, *Let us make man in our image*, and in our likeness, ought to be understood of Man's Body, because they did not conceive that there was any Spiritual Essence, but imagined that God himself was Corporeal. *S. Cyril* wrote to *Calistus*, in the Letter which is set before the Body of this Work, to stop the Course of this impertinent Doctrine, and to forbid the Monks to argue about a Matter so far above the reach of their Understandings. He reproves these Monks also, who thought that the Eucharist had no virtue to sanctify, when it was taken from One Day to Another. He condemns also the Monks, who did not follow their Labours, pretending that they gave themselves wholly to Prayers, and so used a Pretence of Piety to defend their Sloth and Idleness: He asks them, Whether they are more perfect than the Apostles? and whether they would enjoy a more Happy Condition than they? He tells them, That the Church doth not receive them, who live as they do; that it is good for Solitaries to pray continually, but that ought not to hinder their Labours, that they be not chargeable to others. Lastly, He admonishes *Calistus* not to suffer the *Meletians* to receive the Sacrament among the Orthodox, if they have not abandoned their own Sect, to unite themselves with the Church, and have not given evident Signs of their Conversion.

S. Cyril commands *Calistus* to publish these Rules in the Monasteries of Mount *Calamus*, where some Monks were infected with these Errors. At the same time he sent him a Treatise, in which he answers the Objections which these Monks propounded, and solves the Difficulties which they had cunningly framed: Nevertheless he observes, That it is hard to resolve these kinds of abstruse and subtle Questions, and that all that can be done is only to bring such Conjectures as may in some Measure satisfy.

The First is concerning the Breath of Life, which God breathed into *Adam*, after he had formed him: Is it his Soul, or a Breath different from the Soul? Is it a Part of the Divine Essence, or some created Being? *S. Cyril* maintains, That 'tis not the Soul of Man, nor any Creature, but it is the Holy Spirit itself which is given Man for his Sanctification. This Opinion is not very probable.

It is demanded in the Second Question, How Man was created in the Image of God? *S. Cyril* answers, By the Holy Spirit, for by Sin he hath lost that Similitude, and hath recovered it again by Jesus Christ.

The Third is, Whether the Angels were made in the Image of God? *S. Cyril* affirms it.

In the Fourth, It is enquired, Whether there be any difference between the Image and Likeness of God, and he faith that there is none.

The Fifth is upon an abstracted Conceit, viz. Whether Man is the Image of God, or the Image of the Image of God the Father, that is to say, of the Word. He answers, That he is the Image of the three Persons of the God-head.

In the Sixth it is demanded, Whether the Souls of the Blessed receive any Perfection? *S. Cyril* Answers, That it will not have a more perfect Nature, but it will act more perfectly, because it will be delivered from Concupiscence, Ignorance and Vice, and be filled with the Holy Spirit.

The Seventh Question is, Why all Men are subject to Death and Sin, upon the account of *Adam's* Transgression, and why all those who are purified and sanctified by Jesus Christ, do not communicate the Fruits of their Sanctification to their Posterity? *S. Cyril* answers, That we are not punished as having sinned with the first Man, but because he being become Moral by his Sin, hath transferred that Curse to all his Posterity: That Jesus Christ hath redeemed and delivered us all from Death, but that no Man, though he be sanctified, can communicate that Sanctification to his Posterity, because it comes from Jesus Christ, who only sanctifies us. 'Tis by Jesus Christ that every Man receives Remission of his Sins, and 'tis by him that all Men in general are delivered from Death.

In the Eighth Question it is enquired, Whether, when *Ezekiel* saw the Bones of the dead to be joyned together, and resume the Form of a Man; Whether it was, I say, a real Resurrection, or only a Figure of the general Resurrection? *S. Cyril* is for the latter.

The Ninth is, Whether Jesus Christ added any thing to the Flesh of Man, when he was united to it? *S. Cyril* answers, That Jesus Christ, by his Incarnation, hath granted several Graces to the Humane Nature; That he hath restored to Man the Image and Likeness of God, which was defaced by Sin; That he hath revived the Divine Characters of Justice and Holiness, and perfected them; That *Adam* had Ability and Freedom to do good, but he was defective in his Actions and the Effect, whereas those who live in Jesus Christ are just and Holy in the Effect, and in their Actions.

In the Tenth he teacheth, That by the assistance of God we may repulse and weaken the Motions of Concupiscence, but cannot root them out in this Life.

In the Eleventh he maintains, That the Holy Sacrament must not be celebrated but in the Churches of the Orthodox, and they that do otherwise break the Law.

The Twelfth Question is very Metaphysical: It is demanded, Whether God can make that which hath happened, not to be? Whether he can make a common Harlot to have been always a Virgin? *S. Cyril* says, That we must not set Bounds to the Power of God, but

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neither may we attribute to him a Power of doing things Absurd and Contradictory, and that it is good not to move such sort of Questions: That, in Sum, God cannot make that which hath happened, not to have happened; or a common Prostitute to have always been a Virgin, because he cannot make a Lye the Truth; yet it is not a sign of his Impotency, but an effect of his Perfection.

The Thirteenth is against those who dare affirm, That Jesus Christ, as God, was ignorant of the Day of Judgment. *S. Cyril* proves, That that cannot be, because under this Title he hath created all things; he is the Counsel and Will of the Father, and knows all his Purposes: From hence he concludes, That when it is said, That he knoweth not the Day of Judgment, it ought to be understood of Jesus Christ, considered as Man, because under that Title he is subject to all the Imperfections of humane Nature, Sin only excepted.

The Fourteenth, How this Sentence ought to be understood; *The Word was made Flesh*: By the Word *Flesh* *S. Cyril* says, the Scripture undertands the whole Man; as when it is said in the Prophets, That God pours out his Spirit upon all Flesh; and all Flesh shall see the Salvation of God.

The Fifteenth is against those who affirm, That every Man receives his Reward immediately after his Death, before the Resurrection; and to prove it they make use of the Parable of *Lazarus* and *Dives*. *S. Cyril* maintains, That the Judgment ought not to be passed till after the Resurrection; and that it is absurd to say, That the Good or Sinners have received their Reward already: And that what is said of *Lazarus* and *Dives* is a Parable, which signifies only, that Merciless Rich Men shall one Day be grievously punished. This doth not at all agree with the particular Judgment and Blessedness of Souls after Death.

The Sixteenth, How the Angels, if they have no Bodies, can have any Carnal Knowledge of Women, as it is said in *Genesis*? *S. Cyril* answers, That they are not Angels, which are spoken of in *Genesis*, but the Posterity of *Enos*, who had Commerce with the Daughters of *Cain*: And for this Reason it is that Four Interpreters, who have translated this Place after the LXX. have rendered it, *Sons of the Mighty, or Princes*, and not *Sons of God*; Children. That, in Sum, it is a great Weakness, to think, That the Angels can have

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth are against those who affirm, That the Person of the Son being made Man, and descending to the Earth, was not united to his Father, nor did inhabit in Heaven.

In the Nineteenth *S. Cyril* explains his Opinion about the Incarnation, and holds, That it may be said, That the Flesh of Jesus Christ did Miracles, because the Word, and Man being united in the same Person, and in the Son only, both the Divine and Humane Operations may be attributed to him.

In the Twentieth it is said, That Jesus Christ is ascended into Heaven, with the Flesh, which was united to him; but for all that, it cannot be said that the Body of Jesus Christ was mingled with the Trinity.

In the Twenty first he treats also of this nice Question, In what Sense the Flesh of Jesus Christ may be said to do Miracles? and explains it by this Example; although it be the Soul that moves the Body in all its Operations, yet we call it the Action of the Body, as well as of the Soul. The same may be said of the Miracles which the Word doth by his Humanity.

In the Twenty second he says, That the Humane Nature in Jesus Christ was subject to Sin certainly, because he came to deliver Man from Sin.

The Twenty third Question is this, Why the Word was not made Man at the beginning of the World? Why said he till these last Times? *S. Cyril* answers, That he acted the part of a good Physician, who does not undertake the Cure of a Disease in its beginning, but waits till the Disease plainly discovers itself. So did the Word wait till the Sins and Wickedness of Man had fully manifested themselves.

The Twenty fourth imports, That the Head of the Infernal Dragon shall not be entirely broken till after the Resurrection. This puts me in mind of the Title of a very fantastical Book, *A Treatise of the broken Head of the Infernal Dragon*. I believe the Author had not read this Place of *S. Cyril*.

The Twenty fifth is a very obscure Comparison, between the Flame that appeared to *Moses* in the Flaming-Bush, and the Mystery of the Incarnation.

In the Twenty seventh he faith, That *Zacharias* was slain between the Temple and the Altar, for suffering *Mary* to enter into that Place, where the Virgins only had a Right to enter.

The last explains, in a few Words, the Causes of the Joy, which the Angels shewed at the Birth of Jesus Christ.

The following Treatise, about the Holy Trinity, is written by an Author more modern than *S. Cyril*, although it comes very near his Doctrine, and his Method, and Principles, but it is easy to discern that he lived after the Rise of the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, for he thoroughly discusses this Question, Whether there are Two Wills and Two Operations in Jesus Christ. He confutes those that hold the contrary, and explains the Sense of the Ancients,

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who taught. That there was in Jesus Christ but one incarnate Nature, and one Operation as S. Cyril of God-man!

Alexandria The Collection of Expositions upon the Old Testament is not wholly taken out of the Works of S. Cyril only, but also of S. Maximus, and several other Interpreters: So that must not be looked upon as S. Cyril's Work.

Baltazar Corderius published 19 Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, printed at *Antwerp* (in Greek and Latin) in 1648 (*Octavo*) which bear the name of S. Cyril*. As for the Moral Fables put out by the same Author in 1631, under the name of S. Cyril, they belong to a Latin Author. The 16 Books upon *Leviticus*, which were heretofore among S. Cyril's Works, are *Origen's*. It is nothing to the purpose, that some have doubted, whether the Treatise of the Adoration in Spirit be S. Cyril's, since it is his Style, and *Photius* attributes it to him. Nor is there greater reason to doubt of the Letter to *Celsus*, nor of the other Works of which we have spoken.

He made Commentaries upon all the Prophets, but they were never yet printed: His Commentary upon S. *Matthew*, cited several times in the 6th. and 7th. General Councils, and that upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, cited by *Theodoret*, are lost. If we may believe *Cassiodorus*, he made Commentaries upon all the Books of Holy Scripture. *Gennadius* mentions two Treatises of S. Cyril's, which we have not, viz. *A Treatise of the Defect of the Synagogue*; And a Book of Faith against the Hereticks. The same Author assures us, That he composed divers Treatises upon various Subjects, and a great number of Homilies, which the *Grecian* Bishops got by Haire to preach to the People. So that tho' the Works of S. Cyril, which we now have, make up at present 7 great Volumes, yet we should have several others, if we had all that he hath written. It is very wonderful, That a Bishop of so great a See as that of *Alexandria*, busied with so many Affairs, and engaged in so great a Contest as that with the *Eastern* Bishops was, should have time to compose so many Works. But S. Cyril was wonderfully ready at Composing, and applied himself to a way of Writing, which it is easy to furnish out, for either he copied out Texts of Scripture, or made large Discourses, or expounded Allegories. It is easy to make great Works of this Nature in a little time, especially, when we bestow no time to polish our Discourse nor keep it within certain bounds, and we resign up our Hand and Pen entirely to all the Notions that come into our Heads. After this manner did S. Cyril write, and he was so much accustomed to this way of Writing, that he had, as *Photius* observes, a Style altogether particular, which seemed contrary to others, and in which he extremely neglected the exactness and cadency of his Expressions. He had a Subtle and Metaphysical Genius, and readily spake the finest Logick. His Wit was very proper for subtle Questions, which he had to do with upon the Mystery of the Incarnation. He held the See of *Alexandria* 32 years, and died in 444.

There were divers Collections of S. Cyril's Works in Latin, before the Edition in Greek and Latin at Paris, Anno 1638*. The First was at Basil in 1546, in 4 Tom. by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, and again, in 1566. The Second, at Paris [by *Gentian Harvett* in 2 Tom.] in 1573. The Third, by *Sonninus* at Paris in 1605, which is the largest. There are several of his Treatises printed by themselves in Greek and Latin, as the Treatise of the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth, published by *Agellius*, and printed at Rome, in 1588. That of the Orthodox Faith in Greek and Latin by *Beza* in 1570. His Writing against the *Anthropomorphites*, put out by *Vulcanius*, and printed at Amsterdam in 1605. The Commentaries upon the 12 small Prophets [in Greek and Latin] at Ingolstadt in 1607. The Treatise against Nestorius in Greek and Latin by *Agellius* at Rome* in 1607. The Books against *Julian* in Greek and Latin by *Borbonius* at Paris, in 1630. Some small Tracts in Greek by *Mesius*. His Paschal Homilies by *Andrew Salmarius* at Antwerp, in 1618. The Book of the Trinity in Greek and Latin, by *Vegetinus* at Augsburg in 1604, and 1608. And several Letters and Treatises from the Councils.

There is a Lexicon, and a Treatise of Animals, which bears the Name of Cyril, but it is certainly some other Cyril, not the Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

* By the care of Johannes Antonius, in Tom. 7.]

† 1608. Cav.

* 1608. Cav.

MARIUS MERCATOR.

This Author remained a long time in obscurity. The ancient and modern Composers of *Bibliotheca's* have spoken nothing of him. His Works have been but lately recovered. He began to write in S. *Austin's* Life-time, who assures us in his 193d. Letter, written in 418. That M. Mercator, to whom it is directed, had made a Treatise against the New Hereticks; that is to say, against the *Pelagians*. S. *Austin* speaks of him, as a Man of Worth and Learning. It is probable he was an Italian (a), and he seems to have been but a meer Layman (b).

This Man was one of the most zealous Adversaries of the Hereticks of his time, and especially of the *Pelagians*, whom he pursued vigorously, publishing Memoirs against them, and Collections of Pieces to discover their Errors, and bring them to Condemnation.

The first Work which he composed, was a Discourse against the Opinions of the *Pelagians*, in which he hath collected several Texts of Holy Scripture, as S. *Austin* tells us in his 193d. Letter. We have not this Work unless it be the *Hypognosticon*, which bears the name of S. *Austin*, as we have guessed in the first part of this Tome of our *Bibliotheca*, p. 256.

The Second is an Historical Commentary against *Celsus*, which he first made in Greek to publish at *Constantinople*, and which he presented to the Emperor *Theodosius*, Anno 429 (c) that he might inform the *Eastern* Christians of the Condemnation of *Celsus* and his Followers. The Title of this Commentary discovers the time, occasion, and the effect of it. Thus it is expressed; *A Copy of the Commentary, which Mercator published in Greek against Celsus, and which he not only gave to the Church of Constantinople, and disposed to several Persons of Piety, but also presented to the Emperor Theodosius in the Consularship of Florentinus and Dionysius, and which he afterward translated out of the Greek into Latin; which Commentary being discovered the Errors of Celsus, was the Cause that Julian, and his Companions who defended them, were banished from Constantinople as well as Celsus, by the Emperor's Edit, and afterward condemned in the Council of Ephesus, by the Judgments of 275 Bishops.*

This Commentary is an Abridgment of the History of the Condemnation of the Heretic of *Pelagius*. Mercator tells us therein, That *Celsus*, a Scholar of *Pelagius*, being come from Rome, where he had been almost 20 years, went to Carthage, where he was accused by *Paulinus* a Deacon of S. *Ambrose*, of several Errors, contained in 6 Articles, which he transcribes; That the Bishops of *Africa* had condemned them in a Synod, and had enjoined *Celsus* to Anathematize them; That he thought it convenient to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, but neglecting to prosecute the Appeal, he came to *Ephesus*, where he procured himself to be ordained Priest: That from thence he passed to *Constantinople* in the time of *Atticus*, but being known, he was driven from thence by that Bishop, who wrote circular Letters against him; That *Celsus* seeing himself thus thrust out, went to Pope *Zosimus*, and pretending to condemn the Articles which were charged upon him, he obtained Letters in his favour directed to the Bishops of *Africa*. But these Bishops having given *Zosimus* information in writing of all that had passed, *Celsus*, who would not perform what he had promised, durst not appear before *Zosimus* again, and so withdrew himself from Rome. Whereupon *Zosimus* condemned him by a long Writing, which contained the Articles of *Celsus*, and all the Story of his Condemnation. Mercator next speaks of the Errors of *Pelagius*, Master of *Celsus*, which he relates in the very words of *Pelagius* taken out of his Commentary upon S. *Paul's* Epistles. He adds, That these Errors having been condemned by *Zosimus's* Letter sent into all parts, and confirmed by the Consent and Subscriptions of the Bishops of other Countries. *Julian* and his Associates who would not sign them were banished out of Italy by the Imperial Law, and deposed by the decrees of the Synods, and that some of them having acknowledged their Error were received and confirmed by the Holy See.

(a) An Italian.] F. Garner was of that Opinion, but the conjecture upon which it was grounded, was weak. F. Gerbert thought he was an African, and M. Baluzius was of this Mind. The whole Letter of S. *Austin*, published by the *Benedictins*, clears the Matter. For it appears by the beginning that M. Mercator lived at Rome with S. *Isidore* and *Celsus*, to whom S. *Austin* wrote at the same time the two foregoing Letters, which he sent with this last by the same Bearer.

(b) A meer Lay-man.] He was neither Bishop nor Priest when S. *Austin* writ his Letter to him, for he gives him no Title of Honour, tho' he calls him his Son. Nor was he any thing more when he presented his Memoir to the Council of *Ephesus*. Lastly, in his Book to the Priest *Pientius*,

he speaks as a Man inferior to him to whom he wrote. Tu quoque, venerande Presbyter Pienti, iussu, parvi imperavi. Thou also, O Reverend Priest *Pientius*, hast commanded, and I have obeyed.

(c) Anno 429.] All this is taken from the Title of this Memoir. Nevertheless there is a doubt concerning the year, for it is not manifest whether it were in 429, that this Memoir was presented or translated. But he speaks in the Body of the Work of *Theodoret* Bishop of *Antioch*, who died in 428. as a Bishop deceased; and in the Title it self he speaks of the condemnation of *Celsus* in the Council of *Ephesus*, as a thing done; which proves plainly, that he translated it in the year 431.

Marius Mercator

Mercator adds, That *Pelagius* and *Celestius* had been already condemned by *Innocent*, *Zosimus's* Predecessor; and to prove it, he goes back to the Original of the cause of the *Pelagians*. *Pelagius*, faith he, retired into *Palmyra* after the taking of *Rome*. His Writings falling into the Hands of some Bishops, they found many things in them contrary to the Catholic Faith, and they sent them into *Africa*, where they were read and examined in three Councils, who wrote them to the Holy See. The Bishop of *Rome* condemned these Books, and excommunicated *Pelagius* and *Celestius*. *Pelagius* was also accused to a Synod held at *Jerusalem*, but he escaped the Condemnation which he deserved by deceiving the Bishops with his Subtleties and Shifts. He was condemned in a second Synod, wherein *Theodorus* Bishop of *Antioch* was President; as the Letter written in the Name of this Bishop, and *Praxius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, convinces us: He then recites the particular Errors of *Pelagius* condemned in this Synod, and ends his Commentary with an earnest request to *Julian* and his Adherents to condemn *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, who have been convicted of so many Errors.

[* A Scotch-Man.]

The third Work of *M. Mercator* is another Commentary against the same Heretics written after the death of *S. Austin*. In it he describes the Original of the Error of *Pelagius*, of which he makes some *Syrians*, and principally *Theodorus* of *Moplastra*, the Authors. He adds, That *Rufinus* who was a *Syrian* also, who brought it first to *Rome*, not daring to publish it there, taught it to *Pelagius* * an English Monk, who inserted it in his Commentaries upon *S. Paul*. That *Celestius*, a Person of Quality and Wit, but who was born an Eunuch, had joyned himself to *Pelagius*, and had comprized his Doctrine in 6 Articles, which he dispersed among the People. That altho' his Errors had been condemned, *Julian* had undertaken to defend them in large Books, to which *S. Austin* had opposed long and effectual Answers. That after he had read these Works, he had also made some short Observations upon the Writings of *Julian*, which he had collected and made publick to satisfy the desire of *Pianius* the Priest. He chiefly opposes 4 Errors of *Julian* in it. 1. That Concupiscence is not the consequent or effect of the Sin of the first Man, but it is natural to Man. 2. That Death entered into the World by the Sin of *Adam*, but that it passed upon other Men only, because they imitate the Sin of *Adam*. 3. That the Sin of the first Man hath not descended to his Posterity. 4. That Baptism pardons the Sins of those who have them; and as for Infants that have none, it perfects their Natures by the Gifts of Grace. *M. Mercator* recites the Passages of *Julian*, where he expressly lays down these Propositions, and then confutes them by close Notes, in which he mixes sharp and biting Expressions against *Julian*. He passes not over any suspicious Sentence; and whereas he uses the word *Innovation* for *Renovation*, he blames him for it, tho' *S. Austin* hath made use of both. He observes, that the Orthodox do not assert, That Sin is natural to Man, but that Original Sin cleaves to the corrupted Nature of Man. He shews him, That he contradicts himself in saying, That Death passed upon all for *Adam's* Sin, and yet it hath Dominion over them only who imitate his Transgression. Lastly, he proves by all that is said in Holy Scripture concerning the Redemption of Jesus Christ and of Baptism, that it necessarily supposes, That all Men, yea, Infants themselves, are in Sin, before they are renewed and regenerated by that Sacrament.

M. Mercator is not contented to oppose the Authority of the Church against *Julian* and the *Pelagians*, but he also brings the Testimony of *Nestorius* against them, who received them so well, and wrote in their favour to Pope *Celestine*, and sent a consolatory Letter to *Celestius*. Next he produces with the 3 Letters of *Nestorius* written for them, the Extracts of 4 Sermons preached by that Bishop in the presence of the *Pelagians*, wherein he affirmed, 1. That the fall of *Adam* hath been the cause of all the Miseries to which the nature of Man is subject, and of the bondage by which it hath been brought under the Tyranny of Satan. 2. That Jesus Christ is come to redeem Man from his Sins, to blot out the Hand-writing that was against him, and set him at liberty. 3. That it is by the Sacrament of Baptism that he works these things, and that Catechumens are always subject to the Curse of Sin, till they have received this Sacrament. The Third of these Sermons is in Greek among the Works of *S. Chrysostom*, of *Savil's* Edition, Tom. 7. And *F. Garner* hath caused it to be printed with the Extracts of *Marius Mercator*.

But because *Julian* might brag, That *Theodorus* of *Moplastra* Bishop of *Cilicia* was for him, *M. Mercator* undertakes to shew, That this Bishop had Heretical Opinions about the Incarnation. And to prove it, he translates a Creed attributed to *Theodorus* of *Moplastra*; and at the end annexes an Observation, shewing, That the Doctrine contained in that Creed is Heretical; and that it supposed, That Jesus Christ is made of two Natures, and not of two Natures united in one and the same Person. He confutes that Error, and proves the Doctrine of the Church by Texts of Holy Scripture.

He demonstrates also in another Writing the agreement there is between the Error of *Nestorius* and of *Paulus Samosatenus*.

And for the more full Conviction of *Nestorius* and his Followers, he rehearses long Extracts of *Nestorius's* 3 Sermons, a Letter to *S. Cyril*, and the Extracts of his Books, and he opposes to them the two Letters of *S. Cyril* to *Nestorius*, and a third Letter of the same Person to the Clergy of *Constantinople*.

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Marius Mercator

He also examines the Aphorisms of *Nestorius* opposed to *S. Cyril's*, and when he hath confuted them in order, he delivers briefly the Faith of the Church concerning the Incarnation, and discovers the different Errors of those that have opposed it. For the confirmation of what he was about to propound, he produces out of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, whatsoever is most direct and convincing against the Heretic of *Nestorius*. He joyns to this a Translation of *S. Cyril's* two Apologies made for the defence of his Anathema against the Orientals. He endeavours to render the Doctrine and Person of *Theodorus* odious, by reciting the Extracts of his Treatises and Letters. He treats him as an Heretic and a wicked Man, altho' he owns, That he did at last approve of *S. Cyril's* Doctrine, tho' he would not condemn *Nestorius*. He relates a Fragment of the Council against *Dionysius* of *Antioch*, where *Theodorus* is accused to have spoken against the Memory of *S. Cyril*, saying, That the Egyptian Heretic was buried with him. And from hence he concludes, That *Theodorus* ought to be condemned as well as *Theodorus* and *Nestorius*. And to convince *Theodorus* of Error and Heresy, he recites some Fragments of his Books against *S. Austin*, to which he joyns some Extracts out of his Master *Didymus*. He accuses him Bishop of *Edessa* to have published this Blasphemy; 'I do not envy Jesus Christ his Divinity, because I can become so as well as he, for he is of the same nature with my self.' He quotes a Passage taken out of a Sermon of this Author, which contains nothing like it. He adds to all this, an Extract of a Sermon of *Euthymius* Bishop of *Tyana*, which he asserts to have been of the same Judgment with *Nestorius*, and concludes this Collection with a Reflection against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, which are two contrary Heresies equally rejected by the Orthodox. He hath brought against both of them some Testimonies taken out of the Sermons of *John* Bishop of *Tom*, a Province of *Scythia*, but they are not to be found at present in the Collection of *Mercator's* Works. This Conclusion discovers, That this Collection of Pieces was made after the Heresy of the *Eutychians* was known by that Name, i. e. after the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held in 451. Nevertheless the reproachful manner, after which he speaks of *Theodorus*, who was received in that Council, would make us believe, That this Collection was compiled some time before, but that we know that there were always some Persons, who would never forgive *Theodorus* for quarrelling with *S. Cyril*.

There is also at the end of *Marius* a Translation of these following Pieces. The Letter of *Nestorius* to *S. Celestine*, a Synodical Letter of *S. Cyril* against *Nestorius*, and the *Scolia* of the same Father upon the Incarnation against *Nestorius*. These Pieces ought to be joyned to the preceding.

M. Mercator is no very eloquent Author, nor indeed does such Works as he composed require much Eloquence: It is enough in such sort of Memoirs and Collections, that they be exact and faithful. He translated the Greek elegantly and faithfully. His Style is not intricate, but hath nothing noble or lofty, and degenerates into Childishness, when he undertakes to confute others of his own Head. His Collection hath been of great Use in the *Latin* Church; and we see that *Facundus* and *Pelagius* the Second have used his Translation.

There are two Manuscripts of the Works of this Author, the one in the *Vatican*, the other in the Library of the Church of *Beauvais*. *F. Labbe* printed the Historical Commentary of *M. Mercator* first, in his Edition of the Councils [Tom. 2.], and designed to have published the rest of the Works of that Author; but dying before he had performed his Promise, *F. Garner*, his Fellow-Jesuit, publish'd them [with his own large and learned Commentaries, at *Paris*] in 1673. But he has changed the Order, in which his Works were put, in the Two Manuscripts, hath added many other Pieces to them, and increased the Bulk of the Volume much, by long Notes, and a great number of Disquisitions upon the History of the *Pelagians* and *Nestorians*.

At the same Time *F. Gerberon*, a *Benedictine*, put out, under the borrowed Name of *Rigobertus*, the Commentary against *Julian*, the Translation of the Sermon of *Theodorus* of *Moplastra*, with his Preface, the two Letters against *Nestorius*; and the Treatise of a *Nestorian*, he did not put in the First Historical Memoir, because it was printed already in the Second Tome of the Councils, by *F. Labbe*. This Edition of *M. Mercator* is very small, in Twelve, Printed at *Brussels* in 1673. His Notes are not so long as *F. Garner's*, but they are full as useful and learned.

It is easy to see that these Editions were defective, for *F. Garner's* was not so much an Edition of *M. Mercator*, as a great Commentary upon the History of the *Pelagians* and *Nestorians*; *F. Gerberon's* contained but a small part of his Works: Besides, neither of them had consulted the Manuscripts exactly, *F. Garner* contenting himself to follow that of *Beauvais*, and *F. Gerberon* that of the *Vatican*. These Reasons induced *M. Baluzius*, who hath taken so much Pains all his Life-time, to clear and restore the Ecclesiastical Antiquities, to publish a new Edition of *Mercator's* Works, in which he printed the Text, as it is in these two Manuscripts before-mentioned, and explains, by short Notes, those Places which have any Difficulty in them, without digressing into common Places upon the History or Doctrine of the Hereticks, which are spoken of in *M. Mercator's* Works. This Edition was put out at *Paris* in 1684, by *Francis Muguet*, in Octavo.

* *Calistinus*, *Bellouacum*, a City of *Picardy* in *France*.

* Creed, Dr. Cave.

ANIANUS.

ANIANUS, a Latin Author, a Deacon of a City called *Celesta* (a), was one of the Defenders of *Pelagius* (b). *S. Jerom* tells us, That he wrote Books against his Letter to *Crespian*; in which he maintains, by large Discourses, the Doctrines which *Pelagius* taught. He translated Fifteen Homilies of *S. Chrysostom*, viz. the Eight First upon *S. Matthew*, and seven Sermons of the Praises of *S. Paul*; and hath put, at the Beginning of these Translations, Two Letters, the One on *Orontius*, the Other to *Eusebius*. In which, he declares himself openly against the Scholars of *S. Austin*, to whom he gives the Name of *Traducians*. The Ancient Translation of *S. Chrysostom's* Homily to the * *Neophytes*, which was made, as *S. Austin* observes, in his First Book against *Julian*, ch. 6. by a Scholar of *Pelagius*, may be attributed to him. This Author was well skilled in *Greek*, and wrote *Latin* well enough: *S. Jerom* accuses him for using Jingling Words, *verbo simulis et emendicatis*: This appears chiefly in the two Letters, which serve as a Preface to the Translation of *S. Chrysostom's* Homilies. He flourished in the Beginning of the Fifth Age; but we must not confound him, as *Spicer* hath done, with him that wrote the *Theodosian Code*, in the Time of *Alaricus*, at the beginning of the Sixth Age.

(a) Of a City called *Celesta*.] *S. Jerom* in ep. 79. to *S. Austin*, calls him *Celestianus*. It is not known where this City is; some think that it is *Celente*, a City of *Campania*. We have still a Letter of *S. Jerom's* to Mark Bishop of *Celesta*.

(b) Of the Defenders of *Pelagius*.] *Fulgentius* affirms, That he was *Pelagius* himself, who took the Name of *Anianus*; but this Conjecture is false. The Prefaces to the Translation of *S. Chrysostom's* Homilies, make it evident, that *Anianus* is a real Author. *S. Jerom* speaks the like of him, and says, That he defends the Blasphemies of another Person, that is to say, of *Pelagius*. It is true that he defends in his Work such Do-

ctrines, as he would not acknowledge in the Synod of *Diospolis*; but there must needs be some defect in the Text of *S. Jerom*, *Quiaque enim in illa miserabili Synodo Diospolitana dixisse se desuam, in hoc opere profuturum*: Whatever he denied in the wretched Synod of *Diospolis*, that he had said, he asserts in this Work. We ought to add, or understand, the Name of *Pelagius*, and read, *Pelagius dixisse se desuam*: *Pelagius* denies that he had said *Pelagius* was a Priest. The Author of the Books against *S. Jerom*, and of the Translation of *S. Chrysostom's* Sermons, was a Deacon only: Nor is there more reason to confound him, as *Baronius* has done, with *Valerian* or *Julian*.

JULIAN.

JULIAN, born in *Apulia* (a) about the Year 386. the Son of *Memor* or *Memorius*, (b), who is thought to have been Bishop of *Capua* and *Julienne*, married the Daughter of *Emilius*, [Bishop of *Beneventum*,] named *Ja*. Afterward he became a Clergyman. He was a Deacon when *S. Austin* wrote his Thirtieth Letter to his Father: Where he gives a Commendation of Father and Son. He was ordained (c) in 416. by Pope *Innocent*, Bishop of *Eclane* (d), a City situate between *Campania* and *Apulia*. So long as this Pope lived *Julian* did not discover his Opinions, but soon after his Death he declared himself for the Doctrine of *Celestius* and *Pelagius*. *Gennadius* assures us, That before this he passed for one of the most learned Doctors of the Church, but he doth not take notice of any of his Works in particular, and 'tis not certain that he had then composed any. However that be, we have none of his Works but what might have been composed before he declared himself against *S. Austin*; But we have considerable Fragments of the Writings which he made against the Church.

(a) Born in *Apulia*.] *S. Austin*, lib. 6. ep. imperf. c. 18. *Non enim quis te Apulia genuit*: Because *Apulia* brought thee forth. *Fulgentius* says, That he was a Person of Quality.

(b) *Memorius*.] *S. Austin*, in let. 30. *Paulinus* in the Epitaph of *Julian*, *M. Mercator*. This last upbraids *Julian*, as unworthy to be the Son of *Memor* and *Julienne*, and treats him as a Bastard. He also observes, That he had two Sisters. The Ancients do not tell us of what City *Memorius* was Bishop.

(c) Ordained.] *M. Mercator* says, That it was *S. Innocent* that ordained him. In 408. he was no more than a Deacon. He was young, but it is probable that he was Ordained before 416. for Innocent died in 417.

(d) Of *Eclane*.] Some have read *Celene*, but it is *Eclane*. The Testimony of *Mercator* fully determines this Point of History. This City was near the Lake *Ampsanctus*, between *Campania* and *Apulia*, distant from *Beneventum* about Twenty Miles: It is called at this Time *Fringent*.

In

In the Popedom of *Zosimus* he began to maintain the Opinions of *Celestius*, in his Discourses which he held at *Rome*. He then set himself to cry down, by Writing, the Doctrine of *Julian*, *S. Austin*, and the Church, concerning Original Sin.

The First thing he did was, to write in his own Name to Pope *Zosimus*. We have some Fragments of this Letter in *M. Mercator*. Not long after he addressed a Second Letter to him, in the Form of a Profession of Faith, written in the Name of Ten Bishops of that Age: *F. Garner* hath put out this. *Julian* owns, That he was the Author of it, as well as of that which was directed in the Name of the same Bishops, to *Rufinus* Bishop of *Thessalonica*. 'Tis this which *S. Austin* recites, in his Three last Books to *Bonifacius*. These Letters were written in 418.

The First Book of *S. Austin*, concerning Concupiscence and Marriage, falling into the Hands of *Julian*, he wrote, in 419. Four Books, dedicated to *Turbinianus*, against the First Book of *S. Austin*. A little after he was banished out of *Italy*, by the Force of the Emperor's Edict; and was compelled to retire into the *East*. He went into *Cilicia*, to find *Theodorus* of *Mysus*; and there made, if we may believe *M. Mercator*, Eight Books, dedicated to *Florus*, Bishop of *Beneventum*, against the Second Book of *S. Austin*, concerning Concupiscence and Marriage. Sometime after he withdrew from *Cilicia*, and, if we give credit to what *Mercator* says, he was condemned, after his Departure, in a Synod of the Province of *Cilicia*. It may be, he returned into *Italy*, but being again banished from thence, he retreated to *Constantinople*; where he was rejected by *Atticus*, and afterward by *Sisinnius*. But *Nestorius*, a Scholar of *Theodorus*, being chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, favoured them, and sent two Letters in their behalf to *Celestine*. At this time it was that *M. Mercator* presented his Memoir against *Celestius*, *Julian*, and his Companions; and obtained thus much by his Sollicitations, that they were banished from *Constantinople*. They went to the Council of *Ephesus*, where they were received by *John* Bishop of *Antioch*: But the Council condemned them, and confirmed all that had been done against them in the *West*; so that *Julian* always remained excluded from the Church, and banished from *Italy*. He used his utmost Endeavours to gain Entrance into them under Pope *Sixtus*, but all in vain. *Gennadius* says, That he died under *Valentinian*, i. e. before the Year 455. after he had given all his Estate to the Poor, to relieve them by that means in a Famine, and so drew over several Persons to his Party. Some hold, That he was in *Sicily*, where he spent the last part of his Life in teaching a School, and that this Inscription was put on his Tomb.

Here lieth in Peace JULIAN an Orthodox Bishop.

Which Epitaph was to be seen in the Ninth Age. These are the Works of *Julian*, of which we are now coming to speak.

Some Fragments of the Letter to *Zosimus*, in *M. Mercator*, lib. subn. c. 6. n. 10. & c. 9. n. 3. He owns, in these Fragments, That Death entered into the World by the Sin of *Adam*. A long Profession of Faith, published by *Father Garner*, in *Dissert. 5. Par. 1.* of the Works of *M. Mercator*. This Profession of Faith hath Four Parts. The First contains the Articles of the Creed explained; among which he placeth the Necessity of Baptism for all Ages. The Second is an Abridgment of his Doctrine about Grace and Free-will: Which may be reduced to Five Propositions. 1. That Man is absolutely free, to do Good or Evil. 2. That to do Good, he hath need of Grace, but that Grace is never wanting to him. 3. That the Nature of Man is good and perfect. 4. That there is no such thing as natural Sin, or by whatever Name else it may be called. 5. That the just Men of the Old Testament were justified by their Works, and by Faith in Jesus Christ. The Third Part rejects the Errors of the *Arians*, *Sabellians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Apollinarists* and *Novatians*, to whom are joyned the *Jovinianists*, such as assert, That Man, justified by Baptism can never sin. Next, he comes to the *Manichees*, with whose Errors he confounds the Doctrine of the Orthodox, which he exposes after an odious Fashion. "They, faith he, who defend natural Sin, affirm, "That the Devil is the Author of Marriages; That Children that are born of them are "Children of the Devil; That all Men are born in his possession; That the Son of God did "not begin to pour down his Graces upon Men but from the time of his Incarnation; That "Sins are not entirely forgiven by Baptism; That the Saints of the Old Testament are dead "in a State of Sin; That Man is necessitated to Sin; That Sin cannot be avoided, even with "Grace. Lastly, he condemns the gross Errors of the *Pelagians*, viz. Those, who said, That "Men can avoid Sin without the help of God; That Infants ought not to be baptized, or "that other Terms ought to be used in baptizing them; That they, who are born of baptized Parents, have no need of the Grace of Baptism; That Mankind died not by *Adam*, "and is not raised by Jesus Christ. In the last part, the Bishops, in whose name this Profession was written, declare to *Zosimus*, That if he still persists to molest them, they will appeal to a fuller Synod; That they could not sign a condemnation passed against the absent, but were ready to suffer the worst rather than forsake Justice and Truth. He ends with a Passage of *S. Chrysostom's* Sermon to the Novices.

The

The Letter of Julian and other Bishops to Constantine of the *Thematica*, is recited almost entire in the 3 last Books of *S. Austin* to Boniface. It contains the Heads of the Accusations, which we have delivered in speaking of that Treatise of *S. Austin*.

The first Book to *Turbantius* is recited entire in the second Book of *S. Austin* of Marriage and Concubinage. There are Fragments of 3 other Books in the 6 Books of *S. Austin* against Julian. Lastly, all the 7 Books of *Julian* to *Florus*, are copied out whole in the 6 Books of *S. Austin* imperfect Works.

* This is a kind of Prefatory Discourse to the Commentary upon *Conciliabula*, and is not a different Book. † De his Constantia.

Beda makes mention also of three Books of *Julian*, * A Treatise of Love; A Commentary upon the *Canonicæ*, and, A Book of Controversy. It appears by the Fragments which *Beda* hath taken out of those Works, That he delivers the same Principles in them, as in his other Books; That we are absolutely free to do good or evil; That the love of Man inclines him naturally to do good; and, That Man is not born in Sin. He cites in his Last Book a little Treatise of *S. Chrysostom*, which bears this Title, *No Man is Hurt but by himself*.

Lastly, some ascribe to *Julian* the Translation of the Profession of Faith, which bears the Name of *Rechnus*, but they bring no proof of it.

NESTORIUS.

NESTORIUS born at *Germanicia* a City of *Syria*, brought up and baptized at *Antioch*, withdrew himself into the Monastery of *Euprepis*, which was in the Suburbs of that City. He was ordained Priest by *Theodorus*, and in a little time acquired a very great Reputation by his way of living and by his Sermons. *Sisinnius* Archbishop of *Constantinople* being dead in 437: the Ambition which the Clergy of that City had to obtain the Government of that Church, made the Emperor resolve not to suffer any of them to be chosen Bishops, and to cause a Clergyman of some other Church to be chosen, notwithstanding the Pains that were taken to procure it by some, for *Philip* of *Sida*, and by others, for *Proclus*. He cast his Eyes upon *Nestorius*, chose him * by common consent, caused him to come from *Antioch*, and 3 Months after his Election he was ordained, and put in possession of the See of *Constantinople* in the Month of April in the year 428.

In his first Sermon, which he made in the presence of the Emperor, he declared the design he had to make War with the Heretics, speaking boldly to the Emperor; *Sir, Free the Earth from Heretics, and I will give you Heaven; join in the War against them with me, and I will assist you against the Persians*. Altho' the hatred which many of the People had for the Heretics, made them approve of this Discourse; yet the wiser sort, such as *Socrates*, condemned the Pride and Perverseness of it, and were amazed to see a Man before he had tasted, as he says, the Water of the City, declare, That he would persecute those who were not of his Opinion. These Threatnings were followed with a suitable effect; for 5 days after his Consecration, he attempted to demolish the Church where the *Arians*, tho' secretly, celebrated their Assemblies, and reduced them to so great despair, that they set it on Fire themselves, which being consumed, the Flame took the Neighbouring Houses. This Fire shined up an unusual Disorder, and from that time he was called, *An Incendiary*. He did all he could to vex the *Novatians*, but the Emperor kept his Fury. He exercised also so great Severities against those People of *Asia*, *Lydia* and *Caria*, who kept the Feast of *Easter* upon the xiv day of the Moon, that many Murders happened by them at *Miletum* and *Sardis*. He persecuted also the *Macedonians*, and took their Churches from them. He did not spare so much as the *Pelagians*; but at length prevailed with the Emperor to make a Law against all Heretics. He brought the Memory of *S. Chrysostom* into Veneration. He lived in a very regular and strict manner, and applied himself diligently to the Duties of his Ministry. In a word, he might have passed for a great Saint, if he had not engaged himself to maintain an Opinion, which made him condemned as an Heretic. Which came this way to pass.

He had brought from *Antioch* a Priest called *Anastasi*, for whom he had a very particular esteem, and whom he made use of in all Affairs of Importance. This *Anastasi* preaching one day in the Church, ventured to say, *Let no Man call Mary the Mother of God; Mary was a Woman, and God cannot be born of a Woman*. This Proposition gave great offence among the People, who accused this Priest of Impiety. A Bishop called *Dorotheus* confirmed the Opinion of *Anastasi*, by saying *Anathema* to all that call the Virgin the Mother of God; and *Nestorius* himself, discoursing upon this Question in his Sermons, took his Priest's part, and always rejected the Name of the Mother of God.

The People being accustomed to hear this Expression, were much inflamed against their Bishop, being persuaded, That he revived the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus* and *Photinus*, and believed, That Jesus Christ was a mere Man. The Monks declared themselves openly against him, and separated themselves from his Communion. The People, and some more, considering Men followed their Example, inasmuch that in a short time the Church of *Constantinople*

was in a strange confusion; a Monk preached against his Bishop, *Eusebius*, afterwards Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, made a solemn protestation against his Doctrine. *Proclus* Bishop of *Nepesin* did preach 3 Sermons against him; and all the ancient Clergy of *Constantinople* opposed *Nestorius*; yet he still maintain'd what he had delivered, and made several Sermons more upon that Subject. His Party made a Collection of them, and sent them into *Egypt*, which falling into the Hands of the Monks of those Parts, raised Difficulties among them. This obliged *S. Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, to write a large Letter to them, in which, having acknowledged, That he had much rather not meddle with such subtle Questions, which are above the reach of humane Understanding, he declares against *Nestorius*'s Opinion; and shews, by several Reasons, That the Virgin *Mary* may be called the Mother of God. *Nestorius* having seen this Writing of *S. Cyril*'s, which was dispersed up and down *Constantinople*, and much confirmed his adverse Party, complained greatly of this carriage of *S. Cyril*. But he excused himself in a Letter written to *Nestorius*, exhorting him to confess, That the Virgin *Mary* may be called the Mother of God. *Nestorius* answered him with much Civility, but did not approve of that Term. *S. Cyril* wrote a second Letter to him, to which *Nestorius* returned an Answer, but did not fully approve of *S. Cyril*'s Expressions about the Incarnation. He likewise wrote against the Letter, which *S. Cyril* had sent to the Monks of *Egypt*, altho' *Anastasi* declared at *Constantinople*, That he held nothing which was not in that writing of *S. Cyril*; since he himself owned, That no Council had used the Term of the Mother of God. I will not in this place relate what passed in the Conference of this Business; how it was carried to the Council of *Ephefus*; after what manner *Nestorius* behaved himself there; how he was condemned, and what was the Conclusion; because I shall be obliged to do this in speaking of the Acts of the Council of *Ephefus*. I shall content my self to observe, That after the sentence of this Council, *Nestorius* never durst return to *Constantinople*, but hid himself in his ancient Monastery at *Anioch*, from whence he was taken four years after, in 435, by the Emperor's Order, and banished to *Oasis*. But the *Barbarians* having taken and destroyed that City, he was obliged to go into *Thebais* to the City of *Panopolis*, where he was not suffered to remain long; yea, he was so often removed from place to place, that he died in his Journey, being mortally bruised by a fall. *Evagrius*, who relates these Accidents, tells us, that he met with an Author who assured him, That before *Nestorius* died, his Tongue was eaten with Worms, as a punishment of the Blasphemies which it had uttered. But he brings no confirmation of this Circumstance, which may well be thought an invention of this Anonymous Author, because it was commonly supposed, That all Heretics had a Tragical end.

Nestorius had a great freedom of Speech, and *Gennadius* assures us, That he had composed a great number of Treatises and Discourses before he came to *Constantinople*. We have none of these left; but there remain a great number of Fragments of his Sermons preached at *Constantinople*, and some whole Sermons also, with some Letters and other Works; of which this is the Catalogue.

A Fragment of his first Sermon that he preached at *Constantinople*, recited by *Socrates*, lib. 7. chap. 29. of his History.

Some Latin Fragments of 4 Sermons preached at *Constantinople* before *Julian* and the other *Pelagian* Bishops, in which he delivers Principles contrary to their Errors. These Fragments are recited in Latin by *M. Mercator* in *F. Garner*'s Edition, Part 1. pag. 73. and in *M. Baluzius*'s, pag. 119. The third is perfect in Greek among the Works of *S. Chrysostom*, Tom. 7. of *Savil*'s Edition, p. 301. and with a Latin Translation in *M. Mercator* by *F. Garner*, pag. 85. Part 1.

The first Sermon which he made to maintain what *Anastasi* the Priest had asserted, is translated whole almost by *M. Mercator*, and confused by *Cassian*.

He preached several other Sermons upon the Mystery of the Incarnation, of which a Collection was made at the same time. Out of this Collection the Orthodox took several Extracts to discover his Doctrine. And for this reason it is that when they cite them, they ordinarily set down the Sheet. We have 4 Collections of these Extracts. The 1st. is that which was presented to the Council of *Ephefus* by *Petrus Diaconus*, Act. 1. Conc. tom. 3. p. 520. The 2d. is *M. Mercator*'s, where the Extracts are only in Latin in *Baluzius*'s Edition, p. 109. The 3d. is taken out of *S. Cyril*'s Books of Contradictions against *Nestorius*; and the last is composed of the Extracts of *Nestorius*, recited in the other Works of *S. Cyril*. *F. Garner* hath taken the pains to have these Collections printed in the 2d. part of his Edition of *M. Mercator* from p. 95. to p. 112. He hath also attempted to restore these Sermons by putting these Extracts together, and by adding other Fragments to them, to bring them into their natural Order.

After the Sermon of Providence he hath put that *De Theognosia* or of the knowledge of God, which he frames out of several Passages quoted by *S. Cyril*, and in the Council of *Ephefus*, Part 2. pag. 8. These follow.

Some Fragments of a Sermon against the *Macedonians* and *Arians*, taken out of the Books of *S. Cyril* and the Extracts of the Council of *Ephefus*. This Sermon is cited by *Amphibius* Junior, in his Dispute against *Serapion*, which may convince *F. Garner* that he hath put two Sermons into one. So hard is it to put these Fragments exactly together.

Nestorius. A Sermon of the Incarnation against *Proclus*. It is recited in Latin by *M. Mercator* in the Edit. of *F. Garn.* part. 2. pag. 26. of *Baluz.* p. 70.

Another Sermon against the same Person taken out of the Extracts of *S. Cyril*, and of the Council of *Ephesus*, by *F. Garn.* p. 29.

Another Sermon upon these words, *Consider Jesus Christ the Apostle and High-priest of our Profession*, *ibid.* p. 30.

A Sermon against those, who upon the account of the Union of the two Natures in *Jesus Christ* do render the God-head Mortal, or the Manhood Divine. This is a large Treatise rehearsed entire in Latin by *M. Mercator*, of which also we have some Extracts in *S. Cyril* and the Council of *Ephesus*, in *F. Garn.* Edit. p. 34. *Baluz.* p. 56.

A Fragment of a Sermon upon *Judas* against the Hereticks taken out of *S. Cyril's* Books against *Nestorius*, and *M. Mercator's* Collection of Fragments, by *F. Garn.* p. 65.

A Fragment of a Sermon upon these words of *Jesus Christ* in *S. Matth.* c. 5. v. 23. *If thou hast ought against thy Brother*; taken out of the Council of *Ephesus* and *M. Mercator's* Collection, p. 66. *ibid.*

A Fragment of a Sermon against the *Macedonians*, recited in the Council of *Ephesus*, and translated by *M. Mercator*, *ibid.* p. 67.

Another Fragment of Sermons recited in the Council of *Ephesus* and by *M. Mercator*, of *F. Garn.* Ed. p. 68. of *Baluz.* 109. &c.

A Sermon of *Nestorius* when he had received *S. Celestine's* Letter, and the Bill of Complaint which was made by *S. Cyril*, translated and recited entire by *M. Mercator* in the Edit. of *F. Garn.* p. 85. and of *Baluz.* p. 74.

Another Sermon preached the next Sunday, recited also in Latin by *M. Mercator*, of *F. Garn.* Ed. p. 93. of *Baluz.* p. 87.

The Fragments of two Sermons taken out of the Collection, Intituled, *Of the Illustrious Institution*, recited in the 6th. Council, Tom. 6. of the Councils, pag. 318.

These are all his Sermons. His other Works are,
His first Letter to *S. Cyril* in Greek and Latin in the Council of *Ephesus*, part 1. ch. 7. pag. 316.

The second Letter to *S. Cyril*, *ibid.* ch. 9. p. 321.

Two Latin Letters to *S. Celestine*, *ibid.* ch. 16. and 17. pag. 349. and 351. and in *M. Mercator* of *F. Garn.* Edit. part 1. pag. 65.

A Letter to *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, of which there is a Fragment in the 6th. Council, pag. 319.

A Consolatory Letter in Latin to *Celestine* related by *M. Mercator* in *F. Garn.* Edition, part 1. pag. 71. *Baluz.* p. 85.

The Anathematism of *Nestorius* opposed to those of *S. Cyril* in the Acts of the Councils of *Ephesus*, part 1. ch. 29. p. 424.

The Letter of *Nestorius* to *John* Bishop of *Antioch* before the Council of *Ephesus*, in *Lupin's* Collection, p. 15. with a Sermon at the same time, *ibid.* p. 17.

The Declaration of *Nestorius*, wherein he puts a good fence upon what he had delivered in his Sermons, *ibid.* p. 23.

His Letter to the Emperor concerning what passed at *Ephesus* in the beginning of the Council, *ibid.* pag. 30.

A Letter of *Nestorius* to *Scholasticus* the Emperor's Eunuch, written from *Ephesus*, *ibid.* 43. These 4 last Letters are also in *M. Baluzius's* new Collection of Councils, and in the last Tome of *Theodoret* of *F. Garn.* Edition.

A Letter to the *Præfatus-Prætorius* of *Antioch*, about the order he had received, commanding him to retire into his Monastery, *ibid.* pag. 68.

Three Letters of *Nestorius* written in his Banishment, of which *Eugenius* recites some Fragments in lib. 1. of his History, ch. 9.

If we enquire diligently into these Writings, to know what was *Nestorius's* Doctrine about the Incarnation, we shall find, 1. That he rejected the Error of *Elvion*, *Paulus Samosatensis* and *Prohinus*, and elegantly condemns the Error of those who dare affirm, That *Jesus Christ* was but a meer Man. 2. He maintains in express Terms, That the Word was united to the Humane Nature in *Jesus Christ*, and that this Union was most intimate and strict. 3. That these two Natures being united together make but one Christ, one Son only, and likewise one Person only made up of two Natures. 4. That the Properties of the Humane and Divine Nature may be attributed to this Person; and that it may be said, That *Jesus Christ* was born of a Virgin, that he suffered and died; but he always denied that it might be said, That God was born, suffered or died; and herein consisted his Error, for by reason of the Hypostatic Union of the Divine and Humane Nature, the Properties of the two Natures, of which it is compounded, may not only be affirmed of the Person, but it may also be said, That God is born, hath suffered and is dead; and that the Man ought to be adored, is become immortal, impassible, &c. altho' it cannot be said, That the Divinity is born, is dead, or hath suffered; or that the Manhood may be worshipped, is immortal or impassible.

Nestorius did not only reject the last Expressions, used by the *Eusebians* and *Apollinarians*, but he rejected the first, which usage had introduced into the Church, and would not own that it

it might be said upon the Account of the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature in *Jesus Christ* that God is born, hath suffered or is dead. From this Principle it follows, That he must reject the Term of the Mother of God; for if it may not be said, That God is born, it can't be said, That the Virgin *Mary* is the Mother of God. He owned, That he might be called the Mother of Christ, i. e. of the Person made up of the two Natures, but he could not understand, how he could be called the Mother of God.

This Term, as we have seen, was the original of the Quarrel. It was in use in the Church, and all the World was offended to hear it condemned by *Nestorius* and his Followers. The People immediately believed, That he did not acknowledge the Godhead in *Jesus Christ*, since he would not endure that his Mother should be called the Mother of God. But the more Learned knew well enough, That his Error consisted not in that Point, but in this; That by condemning this Expression, he destroyed the Union of the two Natures in one Person only, and seemed to allow of a moral Union only between them. The comparisons which he made use of, did incline them to believe that he was of that Opinion; for he said, That the Humanity was in *Jesus Christ*, the Temple, the Habit, the Veil of the Divinity; and compared the Union of the two Natures to the Union of Husband and Wife. Whence they concluded, That he allowed of no other Union between the two Natures, but an Union of Operation and Will, and not a real, substantial Union, notwithstanding the Protestations he made, That there was but one Christ, and but one Person. It is true, That *Nestorius's* obliquity in rejecting the term of the Mother of God, and other Expressions of like Nature, which are consequent upon the substantial Union of the two Natures, made Men think that he did not acknowledge the Hypostatic Union of the two Natures, although he never durst affirm but that there were Two Persons really distinct in *Jesus Christ*, nor openly discover that he allowed only a Moral Union between the two Natures. He likewise declared, That the Terms of the Mother of God disturbed him, upon no other account, but because he believed that they established the Error of *Arius* and *Apollinarius*, who confounded the Two Natures. But in that he was mistaken, and his Obliquity in refusing to approve an innocent Term, and to receive the Expressions which confirmed the Union of the two Natures in one Person, were a lawful and a sufficient ground to condemn him, and a Proof of his evil Intention. This his Friend, *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, confesses in the Letter, in which he exhorts him to receive the Term of *The Mother of God*: Where he tells him, That though he was persuaded that his Doctrine was Orthodox, his obstinate refusal to acknowledge that the Virgin is the Mother of God, might give cause to suspect that he was in an Error. Nor can we doubt but this Bishop did at length acknowledge that *Nestorius* was in an Error, and that his Obliquity deserved Punishment, since he forsook him, and would not suffer him in his Diocese. *Theodoret* defended him a long time, but he was at last forced to condemn him, as we shall see in the sequel: And indeed what possibility was there to defend him, when his most intimate Friends acknowledged him to be blame-worthy.

The Fragments of *Nestorius's* Works confirm the Judgment which the Ancients have given of his Style and Disposition. It appears, by what we have said, that he spake with Freedom and Elegancy; but that his Genius was mean, which had little Loftiness or Nobleness of Wit. All the Grace of his Sermons consisted in Descriptions, Metaphors and Apostrophes, which are dry and insipid. In sum, they are very good Sense, and the Notions seem very rational, his Error excepted. He had but little Learning or Knowledge, but what he knew he set it out to the greatest Advantage.

JOHN, Bishop of Antioch, ACACIUS of Beræa, and PAUL of Emesa.

THEODOTUS, Bishop of *Antioch*, being dead, in 427, had for his Successor one named *John*, who was not known till after his Ordination, upon the occasion of the Contest which he had with the *Orientalis*, against *S. Cyril* of *Alexandria*. He was summoned to the Council, but came not at the Day appointed; and finding that *S. Cyril* had held a *Antioch* Council without him, he called another Council of the Bishops of his Party, condemned *S. Cyril*, and excommunicated the Bishops who had, with him, condemned *Nestorius*, under took his Defence, and persisted till the end of the Council in this Resolution, so that the *East* and *Egypt* were some time divided: But at last Peace was made, and the *Eastern* Bishops abandoned *Nestorius*, and professed the Orthodox Faith, yet would not approve the *Antioch* of *S. Cyril*. All this gave *John* Bishop of *Antioch* occasion to write several Letters. We have some of them in Greek and Latin, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and several

other in *Latin*, in the Collection of *F. Lupus*. There is also one of his Sermons in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 275.

Acacius, Bishop of *Beras*, was also one of the principal Defenders of the Eastern Party. He was elder (a) than *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and had a great share in all that passed in that Business; but he always loved Peace. During the Council of *Ephesus*, he abode at *Constantinople*, where he did the Eastern Bishops no harm; for 'twas he that advised the Emperor to confirm the Deposition of *Cyril* and *Nestorius*. After the Council, during the great Diffentions, *S. Cyril* never durst break with him. It was to him that he sued to make up a Peace. He composed the Propositions, and at length brought it to a Conclusion. We have One of his Letters to *S. Cyril*, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, Tom. 3. of the Councils, p. 382. and Two Letters to the Bishop of *Alexandria* in *F. Lupus's* Collection, p. 109, and 168.

Pand Bishop of *Emesa*, who supplied the Place of *Acacius* in the Council of *Ephesus*, was also very inclinable to Peace: 'Twas he that concluded it with *S. Cyril*, who prepared the Form of Faith which was to be approved on both Sides, and who made Two Sermons upon the Peace. We have these Monuments in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, Tom. 3. of the Councils, p. 1089, and 1096, and a Letter of his to *Anatolius*, in the Collection of *F. Lupus*.

(a) He was elder.] He was the Scholar of the famous Anchorite *Anthony*, and had for a very long Time professed a Monastic Life, in a Mo-

nastery, in a Village near *Antioch*. He was ordained Bishop in the Year 378, and died in the Year 436.

The Bishops of NESTORIUS's Party.

There were other Bishops, who were more addicted to the Party and Doctrine of *Nestorius* than those of whom we have already spoken, who would by no means hear of a Peace, and whom the *Aegyptians* would not have included in it. Because we have some of their Letters, we will take notice of them in this Place.

Meletius of *Mopsuestia*, Successor of *Theodorus*, who was deposed in the Council of *Ephesus*, and banished. We have eleven of his Letters in the Collection of *F. Lupus*. *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Martianople*, deposed in the same Council, and expelled out of the Council of *Constantinople*: There are Four Letters of his in the same Collection. *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Author of Four and twenty Letters, which are found in the same Collection. *Zenobius* Bishop of *Rephrya* in *Cilicia*, and some other Bishops, of whom we will speak afterward, who would never be comprehended in the Peace, and therefore were deposed and banished.

EUTHERIUS Bishop of Tyana.

EUTHERIUS Bishop of *Tyana*, of all the Bishops of the Party of *Nestorius*, hath left us the most considerable Monument. It is a Work which hath gone a long Time under the Name of *Athanasius*, which *Ptolemy* attributes to *Theodoret*; but *M. Mercator*, who is more to be credited than *Ptolemy*, cites it under the Name of *Euthereus* of *Tyana*. In the First Place, he describes, in the most odious manner, the Persecutions, which he pretends were prepared for those of his Party to suffer. These are his Words: "It is said that our Enemies will not content themselves to go on in their old Courses, to work the Ruine of the Simple and Unwary, but that they have a Design boldly to attempt whatever they please, being supported by the Authority of the Sovereign Power, that they will force others to be of their Opinions: That they will require Obedience to their Commands immediately, and deliver them to Justice that do not perform them; that they will bring them to Punishment, brand some with Disgrace, and banish others; that they will frame false Accusations against them, and deprive them thereupon of their Dignities and Offices. I do not mention the Bonds, Prisons, Disgraces and Torments which they shall suffer, and the tragical Signs of those which they will put to Death. And that which is most to be lamented is this, That the Bishops are the Authors of this Tragedy. O prophane Compulsion! O intolerable Justice! When they begin to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, or to teach the People, they have in their Mouth this heavenly Speech, Peace be with you all. Nothing is so urgently commanded in Holy Scripture as Gentleness and Kindness; Why

" then

" then do they condemn us without taking Cognizance of our Cause? Why do they reject that which they do not know to be false? Why do they give the Name of Farce to their Outrages? Why do they conceal their Cruelty under the Shadow of false Zeal? Why do they cover their detestable Politicks with the Name of Wisdom? What Tragedian is there that can describe these Things in a Style doleful enough? The Lamentations of Jeremiah would not suffice to describe so great Evils.

From hence we may see, that it is not a late Invention, for Persons who are not willing to forsake their Errors, to make those Charitable Severities which are made use of to recover them, to pass for insupportable Violences and unheard of Cruelties; by aggravating them and representing them in such an odious manner, as is proper to stir up Indignation.

The Principles which he lays down in the following Part, are very agreeable with those of the Protestants. In the First Article he opposes those, who will have it determined, where the Truth is, by the Judgment of the greater Number. "Jesus Christ saith, he is the Truth (as *Tertullian* hath a long Time since affirmed) and 'tis he that we ought to consult. This being so, are they not to be pitied who judge of the Force and Authority of a Doctrine only by the Number of those who approve it; without considering that our Lord Jesus Christ chose ignorant and poor Men, whom he made use of to convert all the World. He required, that Millions of Men should yield themselves up to the Doctrines of these Twelve. Thus hath the Truth always triumphed, although it were among the smallest Number, and whoever he be, that despairing to prove what he affirms to be true, flies to the Authority of the Multitude, he confesses himself vanquished. The great Number may affright, but cannot persuade: There are but few that shall be saved. *S. Stephen*, *Phineas*, *Lot* and *Noah* had the Multitude against them; yet who had not rather be on their Side than on that, which did oppose them? 'Tis not, saith the same Author, that I bear not a due respect to the Multitude; but it is to that which proves what it teacheth, and not to that which will not suffer us to examine and search out the Truth: 'Tis to that which does not condemn with Severity, but correct with Gentleness; not to that which loves Novelty, but to that which preserves the Truth, which they have received from their Ancestors. But what is this Multitude which you object against me? It is the Throng of Men corrupted by Flatteries and Prisons: 'Tis the Number of ignorant Men, who have no Understanding to guide them: It is a crowd of weak and fearful Men, who suffer themselves to be conquered: They are the Souls which prefer the Pleasures that Sin affords us in this Life, which are momentary, before Eternal Life and Glory: So that when you object to me this Multitude, to gain Credit to a Lye, you do but discover the extent of Wickedness, and the great Number of the Miserable.

The Second Chapter is of like Nature with this First. In it he opposes those who maintain, That it is needless to search the Holy Scripture that we may know what we ought to believe, either because it is sufficient for every one to believe what his own Reason teacheth him; or, because in searching for the Truth in Scripture, we meet with more Obscurity and Uncertainty. Our Author cannot approve of this Advice: He saith, "That being perwaded of the Truth of the Mysteries, and trusting in the Help of Jesus Christ, who hath promised to those who seek after the Truth that they shall certainly find it, he seeks after the Truth in the manner that he ought, he shall find it without mistaking, that he puts himself into a Condition of proving what he teacheth, of instructing the Faithful, confuting Hereticks, and convincing himself of the Truth, and confirming the Doctrines, so as none can doubt of them. Would you have me, saith he, neglect the Study of Holy Scripture? whence then will you have Knowledge necessary to support your Faith? It is dangerous for this Life to be ignorant of the *Roman Laws*, and 'tis no less dangerous for another Life to be ignorant of the Oracles of our Heavenly King. The Scripture is the Nourishment of the Soul: Suffer not then the inward Man to die with Hunger, by depriving him of the Word of God. There are too too many who inflict mortal Wounds upon the Soul; suffer them to seek Medicines for their Maladies and Griefs.

"But there are, say you, things which pass our Understanding: I own it, but the Scripture teaches us, That we must search, and that there are things that we cannot comprehend: And as it would be a kind of Impiety to desire to thoroughly comprehend it, so it is to have a kind of Contempt for the Divine Truths, to lay aside wholly the search into them: Every one ought to know what it is he adores, as it is written, *We know what we worship*: But it is a Madness to enquire how much? After what manner? By what Means, and where we must adore him? In sum, they who discourage others from reading and studying the Holy Scripture, under a Pretence, That they ought not to dive into Things too profound, do it because they are afraid that they should be convinced of their Errors by it. So when they find themselves pressed by convincing Testimonies of Holy Scripture, they give a Sense clear contrary to the Words; and if they find but one Word which can be brought to their Opinion, although it be nothing to the Sense of the Place, they must use it as an invincible Demonstration. We must own that these Principles are not ill, although Men may offend in the Application they make of them.

In the other Chapters he answers the Objections which the *Egyptians* made against the Eastern Bishops, and opposes some of their Expressions; such as these: The Word hath suffered in an impossible manner: The Word hath suffered in the Flesh. He hath delivered several Expressions agreeable to those of *Nestorius*.

In sum. He hath written with much Elegancy and Reason. This Work is a Doctrinal Treatise, and not a Collection of Sermons. It is in *Tom. 2. of Athanasius's Works* under the Name of that Father, and since it hath been printed at the end of *Tom. 5. of Theodoret's Works* put out by *F. Garner* [at *Paris* in 1684.] There are also some of this Bishop's Letters in *F. Lupus's Collection*.

THEODOTUS Bishop of Ancyra.

THEODOTUS Bishop of *Ancyra* a City of *Galatia*, whom *Gennadius* calleth *Theodorus*, was one of the greatest Adversaries of *Nestorius*. He was present at the Council of *Ephesus*, where he courageously delivered his Opinion against him. *Gennadius* says, That he made a Treatise on purpose to confute him, and that that Work was very Logical, but that it was not sufficiently grounded upon the Authority of Holy Scriptures, but lays down several Arguments before he comes to Scripture-proofs. This description agrees well to the two Sermons of *Theodorus* upon the Feast of the Nativity, preached in the Council of *Ephesus*, and which are recited in the Acts of that Council, where he proves, by several Arguments, That Jesus Christ is God and Man, and that it is truly said, 'That God is born of a Virgin.'

There is also a 3d. Sermon preached at *Ephesus* upon *S. John's* day, where he likewise speaks against the Error of *Nestorius*. The beginning of it is remarkable, wherein he compares a Bishop to a Physician, Error to a Disease; And says, that as a Physician cuts off putrefied and gangrened Members to prevent the spreading of the Disease into the other parts; so Bishops are obliged to cut off the Members of the Church, but yet they ought not to do it but with regret, and in cases of necessity, when there is no other remedy left sufficient, and proper to effect the Cure.

He hath also a 4th. Treatise upon the same Subject, which was published [at *Paris*] in 1675. [in Twelve] by *F. Combefis* out of a MS. copied by *Hollstenius* *. It bears this Title, *An Exposition of the Nicene Creed*, but it is a confutation of *Nestorius* grounded upon the *Nicene Creed*. In it he makes mention of 3 Books, which he had written concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The Iconoclasts having quoted a Testimony of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Ancyra* against *Images*, *Epiphanius* maintained in the 7th. Council, Act 6. That that place was supposititious. And to prove it invincibly, he says, That he had collected all the Works of that Author, but never met with the Passage which they alleged. And then gives us the following Catalogue of them, viz. Six Books against *Nestorius* dedicated to *Lausus*: The Exposition of the *Nicene Creed*: A Sermon upon the Feast of the Nativity: Another upon the Purification: Another upon *Elia* and the Widow: Another upon *S. Peter* and *S. John*: Another upon the Lame Man, who lay at the Gate of the Temple: Another upon him that had received the Talents: And, lastly, upon the two blind Men. Altho' *Epiphanius* makes mention here of several of *Theodorus's* Works which we have not, yet we cannot say, that he forgot none. *Nicetorus* attributes to him a Sermon upon the Virgin and *S. Simon*. Some think, That it is the 4th. Sermon among *Amphilochius's*, which bears his Name in a MS. in Cardinal *Mazarini's* Library. *F. Combefis* who published *Theodorus's* Exposition upon the *Nicene Creed*, assures us, That he had 4 Sermons more of this Author, and, among others, that upon the Purification of the Virgin *Mary* cited by *Epiphanius*.

The Style of this Author is short and concise, full of subtle Interrogations and cogent Arguments. He speaks like a Logician or Controvertist, rather than like an Orator or Preacher. There is nothing very remarkable in his Writings, but we may observe in them a great deal of Artifice and Subtlety.

The

The Orthodox Bishops of S. Cyril's Party.

These Bishops of *S. Cyril's* Party have written in the defence of the Church.

Acacius Bishop of *Melitene* made a Sermon in the Council of *Ephesus*, which is in the *Orthodox Acts of the Council*, *Tom. 3. of the Council*, p. 839. and wrote a Letter to *S. Cyril*, which is in *F. Lupus's Collection*.

Memnon Bishop of *Ephesus* hath written a Letter to the Council of *Constantinople*, which is in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 762.

Rheginus Bishop of *Constantia* in *Cyprus* made a Discourse in the Council upon the deposition of *Nestorius*, ibid. p. 577.

Maximian chosen in his place, wrote a Letter to *S. Cyril*, which is also in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 1061.

Lastly, To these Bishops may be joyned two Priests, the one called *Alipius* a Priest of *Constantinople*, who wrote a Letter to *S. Cyril*, which is recited in the Acts of the Council, p. 785; and *Cheerius* a Priest of the Church of *Philadelphia*, who presented a Petition to the Council of *Ephesus*, with a Form of Faith recited in the Acts of the Council, p. 673.

S. SIXTUS III.

SIXTUS, a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, was a long time one of the greatest Ornaments of the *Roman Clergy*. We understand by the two Letters which *S. Austin* wrote to him in 418. that he was a Protector of *Pelagius* and his Adherents, who therefore had given out a Report, That he was of their Opinion; but when they were condemned by *Zosimus*, he was one of the first that pronounced an Anathema against them: That he wrote a short Letter to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, in which he assures him, That he was not of *Pelagius's* Sentiments; and that he afterward made a larger Book; in which he explained his Opinions more amply, which were consonant to those of the Bishops of *Africa*, and contrary to the Errors of the *Pelagians*. We have neither this Letter nor this Writing, but this Story, and the manner in which *S. Austin* writes to *Sixtus*, shew us sufficiently how he was already looked upon in the Church of *Rome*. So that it is no wonder, that after the Death of *S. Celestine*, which happened in 432. he succeeded him in the See of *Rome*. The Eastern Churches were then divided about the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. *S. Cyril* and the *Egyptian* Bishops maintained what was done against him. *John* Bishop of *Antioch* and the other Oriental Bishops would not receive him, they excommunicated and condemned one another, and the Church was in danger of falling into a lamentable Schism, if the Prudence of *S. Sixtus* had not contributed to the Peace, which was concluded in the time of his Popedom. *S. Cyril* sent two Bishops to *Rome* in the Name of the Council, to encline the Pope to approve what he had done, and to declare himself openly against the Orientals. These two Bishops, called *Hermogenes* and *Lampadius*, at their arrival found *S. Celestine* dead, and *Sixtus* in his place. This Pope graciously received these Messengers, approved what was laid in the Council of *Antioch* concerning the Faith, and the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. But as to *John* Bishop of *Antioch* and the Orientals, he ordered; That if they would acknowledge and approve the Faith of the Council, they ought to be received: This he wrote to *S. Cyril* and the other Bishops in two Letters, which *M. Corneilius* hath published in *Greek* and *Latin*, in his 1st. Tome of the Monuments of the *Greek Church*, p. 42. and 44. And *Mr. Baluzius* hath put them in his new Collection of the Councils, p. 658.

These Letters had very good success, and prepared their Minds for Peace. As soon as it was concluded, *S. Cyril* sent *S. Sixtus* the News of it, who shewed a great deal of Joy at it, and immediately wrote to *S. Cyril* and *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, to assure them, That he did join with them in their Reunion. We have these two Letters at the end of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, p. 1175. and 1178. He wrote to *S. Cyril*, that at that time when he was much troubled for the condition of the Eastern Churches, he was greatly pleased to hear by his Letters, That all the Members of the Church were again united in one Body, excepting him only who was the Cause of all the Mischief; That he had imparted this good News to the Bishops of his Synod which was assembled upon his Birth-day. He adds, That *John* Bishop of *Antioch* had never followed the Errors and Blasphemies of *Nestorius*; That he had only suspended his Judgment, and that he ought to rejoice that he had at last declared himself for the right side; That it was an excellent Work to bring over so great Bishops, and that he thought it well done by himself, that he had not acted rashly in that Affair, but had waited till the

the Vine of Jesus Christ brought forth useful and pleasant Fruit: That S. Cyril ought entirely to forget the Injuries which the Oriental Bishops had done him in pronouncing the Sentence of Condemnation against him; That he had suffered undervaluedly to render the Truth victorious. Lastly, he tells him, That he expected that the Clergy of John Bishop of Antioch's Party should write to him.

He shews the same Joy to John Bishop of Antioch, and discovers the same displeasure against *Sisinnius*. He praises him, That he made an elegant Profession of the Faith of the Church, and rejected Novelty to apply himself to the ancient Doctrine.

Also these two Letters are both dated the same day, which is Sept. 15. 433. yet the Letter to John ought to bear date some days after the Letter of S. Cyril.

The 3d. Letter to the Oriental Bishops ascribed to S. Sixtus is an evident Forgery made up of Passages taken out of the 8th. Council of Toledo, S. Gregory the Greek, Felice III. Adrian, the Theodosian and Justinian Codes; and 'tis in great part in the 3d. Epistle attributed to *Eulogius*, which is the Work of *Isidorus Mercator*, as well as this. This Letter is written about an Accusation, which it pretends was brought against S. Sixtus by *Bassus*, who had been Consul, from which he was cleared in a Synod, and *Bassus* was condemned. This Story is related in the Pontifical, and we have the pretended Acts of that Council; but the very reading of them will fully satisfy us of their Falseness. They have the same date with the Letter, that is to say, they are dated in the year 440, some days after S. Sixtus's Death. Although the Author of the Pontifical places this Accusation in the 11th. year of S. Sixtus's Popedom, the Name of one of the Consuls is changed. The Acts themselves are nothing but a heap of Impertinencies and Fables. The Acts of the Condemnation of one *Polychronius* pretended to be Bishop of Jerusalem, given at Rome, is of the same stamp: There was no Bishop of that Name at that time. The date of these Acts agrees with the Pontificate of *Leo*, and yet they say he was condemned under *Sixtus*. They speak also of a Siege of Jerusalem, which is imaginary. But if all these things did not, the reading of these Acts would discover the Forgery.

We must not then give any Credit to the Acts of the Condemnation of *Bassus*. We are not sure that ever he accused S. Sixtus III: this Fact not being related by any credible Author; so that it is probable, that the whole Story is fabulous. *Sixtus III* died in the Month of March, in the year 440.

PROCLUS.

PROCLUS was yet very young when he was made a Reader of the Church of Constantinople. The Ecclesiastical Offices did not hinder him from following his Studies, and especially applying himself to Rhetoric. He was afterward Secretary to *Atticus* Bishop of Constantinople, by whom he was ordained both Deacon and Priest. After whose Death some pitched upon him to succeed him, but the Votes of the People were for *Sisinnius*, who ordained *Proclus* Bishop of Cyzicum. The Inhabitants of that City not being willing to accept of him, because they would not so apparently acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople, he was forced to continue at Constantinople, where he got a great reputation by his Preaching. After the death of *Sisinnius*, he had again many Votes for him. But to appease the Heats which were among the Clergy of Constantinople, it was resolved to choose *Nestorius* a Priest of Antioch. After his Deposition, *Proclus* was propounded a third time to be Bishop of Constantinople, and he had been elected, if some Persons of great credit had not represented it as contrary to the Canons, which forbid the Translations of Bishops. Wherefore he was rejected that time also, and *Maximian* was chosen; but at last he arrived at that Dignity, to which he had been designed so many times, and was ordained Bishop of Constantinople after the death of *Maximian*, Anno 434. in the Month of April. He enjoyed that See peaceably to his death, which happened in 446.

The Sermons of this Author have been published at Rome, by *Vincent Riccard* in Greek and Latin, in 1630. and were inserted by F. *Combes* in the first Tome of his *Auctarium* to the *Biblioth. Patrum*, [at Paris in 1648.]

There are 20 of them, The 1st, 5th, 6th. are upon the Virgin Mary. In it he extolls almost only her Title of the Mother of God. The 2d. and 3d. are upon the Incarnation. The 4th. is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ: This is near akin to the 2d. Sermon of *Theodorus* Bishop of Ancyra. The 7th. is upon the Theophany, or the Baptism of Jesus Christ, which is in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus. The 8th. upon the Transfiguration of our Saviour. The 9th. upon the Feast of Tabernacles. The 10th. upon Holy Thursday, and against Covetousness. The 11th. upon the Passion. The 12th. upon the Resurrection. The 13th.

13th. 14th, and 15th. upon the Passover. The 16th. upon Pentecost. The 17th. upon S. Steven the Protomartyr. The 18th. is a Panegyric upon S. Paul. The 19th. is on S. Andrew. The last, is a Latin Fragment of a Sermon in the Praise of S. Chrysostom.

These Sermons are written in a concise and sententious Style, full of Antitheses, Interrogations, Exclamations and Points. The Notions are studied and subtle, but are of little Use and Instruction. He speaks the same thing an hundred several ways, and gives it abundance of different turns. This sort of composition requires a great deal of Labour and Application, and manifests the Wit and Liveliness of the Speaker. But it is of little use to the Auditors; it diverts them, and sometimes delights them, so long as they hear this studied Discourse, but ordinarily they go away from it, neither more knowing nor better affected; and they are scarce gone, but they forget all that has been said to them; for these pleasant ways of speaking, which delight us only for the Curiousness and Delicacy, make not any impression upon the Mind nor Heart, and leave nothing behind them but a general Reminiscence, that they were much pleased with what they heard, but know not why. This is a true Character of *Proclus*'s Sermons, who was mighty successful in this kind. By this he shews what he could have done, if he had made choice of a better Style, or had had the good luck to have lived in a time when Men had better Judgments.

CAPREOLUS.

CAPREOLUS Successor of *Aurelius* in the See of Carthage, sent in 431, his Deputies to the Council of Ephesus with a Letter, which is set down in the Acts of that Council. We have also a little Treatise which he wrote in answer of *Vitalis* and *Constantius*, Christians of Spain, who had consulted him, whether it might be said, That God is born of a Virgin. In it he proves this Truth, by shewing, That there is but one Person in Jesus Christ, and confuting those that are of a contrary Judgment. He speaks in this Treatise of the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, and of his Heresie in the Council of Ephesus; to which he says, That he sent his Deputies. It is very remarkable, That the 2 *Spaniards* apply themselves to *Capreolus*, to desire of him, what they ought to believe in so important a Point as this is, and that they do it in the most submissive Terms. What would not the Divines of the Court of Rome say, if this consultation had been addressed to the Bishop of Rome? What Consequences would they not draw from such a Consultation in favour of the Pretensions of the Court of Rome? This Treatise was published by F. *Sirmondus*, and printed by *Cramoisy* among *Opera Julia Veterum* at Paris in 1630, [Octavo]. [It is also in *Bibl. Patr.* Tom 7.]

ANTONIUS HONORATUS Bishop of Constantiniana in Africa.

WE have a Letter of this Bishop directed to one named *Arcadius*, who was banished for the Faith by *Genfericus* King of the Vandals. He exhorts him to suffer patiently for Jesus Christ, and propounds to him several Examples of Holy Scripture to encourage him to persevere in his Sufferings with Constancy, that he may obtain the Crown of Martyrdom, which he gives him an assurance of, if he continues firm in the Faith. This Letter is short, and full of lively and cogent Notions and Expressions. In the end he brings some comparisons to explain the Mystery of the Trinity. It is found in the *Biblioth. Patrum* [Tom. 8.] [and in *Baronius*'s Annals in the year 437.] It was written about the year 435.

VICTOR of Antioch.

Victor of
Antioch.

* And ac-
cordingly
Dr. Cress
places him
in A.C. 401.

THIS VICTOR, a Priest of *Antioch*, hath made a Commentary upon the Gospel of *S. Mark*, which hath been translated into *Latin*, and published by *Pelham*. It is thought this Author lived in the beginning of the Fifth Age*, or towards the End of the Fourth, for he says, upon the Thirteenth Chapter of *S. Mark*, That in his Time some Remains of the Temple of *Jerusalem* were to be seen. He says also in the same Place, That there were yet some Christians, who put off Baptism to the End of their Life. In the next Chapter he speaks of the Heresy of the *Novatians*, as of a Sect then in being.

He observes in his Preface, That several Authors had written upon the Gospels of *S. Matthew* and *S. John*; That very few had bestowed their Labours upon *S. Luke*, but he could never meet with any that had written upon *S. Mark*, although he had exactly run over the Catalogues of the Works of the Ancients. He adds, That for this Reason he took up the Resolution to collect what the Doctors of the Church had observed upon divers Places of this Gospel, and compose a short Explication upon it. He says afterward, That *S. Mark* was also called *John*, and that his Mother was that *Mary*, with whom the Disciples abode at *Jerusalem*, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*. That it was he who accompanied *S. Barnabas*, and afterward joyned himself with *S. Peter*: That he wrote his Gospel at *Rome*, at the Desire of the Faithful of that City. *S. Matthew* had written his Gospel some time before.

This is what this Author says of *S. Mark* in the Preface of his Commentary. In his Commentary he applies himself to the Explication of the Letter and History, which he clears by very solid and judicious Notes and Observations. This Commentary was printed with that of *Titus Boetius* upon *S. Luke*, at *Ingolstadt* in 1580. and put into the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 4.]

VICTOR of Marseille.

Victor of
Marseille.

* It also is
printed by
it in *fat Pa-*
ris in 1560.
in Octavo.

CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTOR, or *Victorinus*, a Rhetorician at *Marseille*, hath made a Commentary upon *Genesis*, beginning at the Creation, and ending at the Death of *Abraham*. It was divided into Three Books, dedicated to his Son *Etherius*. It is evident that it was composed by a Christian, and an Orthodox Person: But since prophane Learning was the principal Employment of this Author, and he was not instructed by any able Teacher in the Knowledge of Holy Scripture, this Work was very weak. He died under the Empire of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. This is taken out of *Gennadius*, Chap. 60. The Work of this Author, which is extant* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 8.] is a Poem in *Latin* Heroicks, and contains a Narration of the History of *Genesis* to the Death of *Abraham*. The Style of it is harsh, and the Verses are rough, but the Sense is Noble, and the History very well explained. There are at the end of it some Verses of the same Author, against the Corruption of the Manners of his Time.

SEDULIUS.

Sedulius.

* By Nation
a Scotchman

† Consul in
494.

COELIUS SEDULIUS*, a Christian Poet, composed, under the Empire of *Theodosius II.* and *Valentinian III.* about the Year 430. an Heroick Poem, of the Life of *Jesus Christ*: It is entitled, *Opus Paschale*, A Paschal Work, because that *Jesus Christ* is our Passover. It is divided into Five Books: The First begins at the Creation of the World, and runs through the most remarkable Histories of the Old Testament. The Three others contain the Life of *Jesus Christ*. This Work is dedicated to an Abbot called *Macedonius*. It hath been reviewed and published by † *Turcius Asterius*, *Arator*, *Cassiodorus*, *Fortunatus* and *Gregorius Turonensis*, mention it as an excellent Poem. He put it himself afterward into Prose, [and adding it to the former Four in Verse, made the Work to contain Five Books;] we have them both, with an Acrostick Hymn, which contains the Life of *Jesus*

Jesus Christ in short. This Author had a Genius, the Style of his Poem is Noble and Great, his Notions are Poetical, and his Verses very passable. It is not necessary to advertise [the *Sedulius*, Reader,] that this *Sedulius* is different from him who made the Commentary upon all *S. Paul's* Epistles, which is nothing properly but an Extract of the Commentaries of others. Since he quotes Authors much later than the Poet *Sedulius*, and among others, *S. Gregory the Pope*, and Venerable *Bede*. It is evident that he lived a long Time after. This is he who was an *Anglican* and Co-temporary with *Bede*.

The Poem of *Sedulius* hath been printed by *Aldus Manutius* in 1502. at *Rust*. [in 1528, 1534, and with the Notes of *Antonius Nebrissenus*] in 1541. and hath been pur into the *Bibliotheca Patrum* [Tom. 6.]

PHILIPPUS SIDETA.

THIS is the Relation which *Socrates* gives us of this Author, and the Judgment he passes on him: *PHILIP* of *Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*, boasted That he was the Father of *Troilus* the Sophist, a Native of the same City. Being but a *Deacon*, he converted much with *S. Chrysostom*, and was afterwards ordained Priest. He was very laborious and diligent in the Studies of good Learning, and had made a great Collection of Books of all sorts. He composed several Works in an *Ashick* Style, for he composed the Books of *Julian*, and composed the History of Christianity, divided into Thirty Books: Each Book was parted into divers Sections, inasmuch that there were in all near a Thousand. The Argument of every Section is as large as the Section it self. He gave this Book the Name of a Christian History, and not of an Ecclesiastical History, and collected in this Work many Curious and Learned Observations that he might seem a great Philosopher. He speaks often of Theorems of Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetick and Music: He spends much Time and Pains in describing Islands, Mountains, Trees and several other things of little Importance. By these Means he hath made his Book very great, and, in my Judgment, useless, both to the Ignorant and Learned; for the Ignorant take no notice of the Ornaments of this Discourse, and the Learned condemn the vain Repetitions: Nevertheless, let every one give what Judgment he pleases of this Work. All that I shall say of it is this, That he inverts the Order of Time; for after he has related what passed in the Time of *Theodosius*, he ascends to the Time of *Alexander*, and there often changes the natural Order of things.

Because he hoped to have been ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Attilius*, he takes the Liberty, in his History, to rail against the Ordination of *Sisinnius*, who was preferred before him, and reports very scandalous things of those who chose, and Ordained him.

Photius, who had read some part of this Work of *Philip* of *Side*, says much the same Things of it, and passes the same Judgment upon it, in *Code* 35. of his *Bibliotheca*. "I have read, saith he, the Work of *Philip* of *Side*, entitled, The Christian History, which begins at the Creation of the World, and goes on as far as the Story of *Moses*. Sometimes he treats of Things very short, and sometimes more copiously; The First Book contains Twenty four Sections, and the Twenty three others a like Number. There are all we can see. He is full of Words, but they are neither pleasant nor elegant; but on the contrary are flat, and soon tire the Reader. We find in it a greater Shew of Learning than Prose. He puts in many things into his History, which are impertinent: Inasmuch that he that sees this Work, would never call it an History, but a Miscellaneous Treatise. He makes so many needless Digressions. He was Con-temporary with *Sisinnius* and *Priscus* Bishops of *Constantinople*: He often speaks against the former, in his History, being displeased, because being in the same Dignity, and in the same Church, *Sisinnius* was preferred to the Patriarchate before him, although he thought himself more Eloquent than he. The Judgment which these Authors give of this Work, may make us not to be troubled much at the loss of it. [*Nicoph. Callistus* quotes a Fragment of it.]

PROFESSOR GIULIO

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SOCRATES was born at Constantinople in the beginning of the Empire of Theodosius. He studied Grammar under the two famous Grammarians *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, who had withdrawn themselves from Alexandria to Constantinople. After he had finished his Studies, and for some time had professed the Law, he undertook to write the Ecclesiastical History, from the Year 325, where *Eusebius* ends, and continues it to the year 440. He there relates in 7 Books, the great Events which happened in the Church, from the Conversion of Constantinople. This History is written, as Mr. *Valesius* observes, with a great deal of Judgment and Exactness. His Exactness appears, in his being industrious to consult the Original Records, the Bishops Letters, the Writings of the Authors of his own time, of which he often gives us an Extract in his History. He is also careful to set down exactly the Succession of Bishops, and the years in which every thing was transacted, and he describes them by the Consuls and Olympiads. His Judgment appears in the Reflections and Observations, which he makes now and then, which are very judicious and impartial. We may see in the 22d. Chap. of the 5th. Book an Example of the diligent Inquiry he had made about the Discipline of the Church. He there treats of the Dispute on what day the Feast of Easter should be celebrated, and remarks very judiciously, That there was no just reason to dispute a thing of so little Consequence with so much heat; That it was not necessary to follow the custom of the Jews; That the Apostles had no general Rule for the keeping of Festivals, but they were brought into the Church by use only. That they had left no Law concerning the time when Easter should be celebrated, and that it was only for the sake of the History, that it is related, that Jesus Christ was crucified in the Feast of Unleavened Bread; That the Apostles did not trouble themselves to make any Orders about Holy-days, but their only design was to teach Faith and Virtue. That the Apostles having decreed nothing concerning the celebration of Easter, it is no wonder if the Churches did not unanimously agree about it. After he hath brought down the Quarrel from *Viterbo* to the Council of Nice, he adds some Heads about the different Ceremonies of the Church. He finds great Differences about the Lent-Fast. The Romans, saith he, content themselves to Fast 3 Weeks, Saturday and Sunday excepted. The Christians of Syria and Achaia, as also those of Egypt, fast 7 Weeks before Easter, and have given the Name of Lent to all that space of time. 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It is said, That *Heliodorus* Bishop of Trier, who when he was young made some Amorous Books, was the Author of this Custom, which hath obtained not only in Thessaly, but also in Macedonia and Achaia. In Thessaly they baptize upon Easter-day only. At Antioch the Site of the Church is contrary to others, the Altar not being turned toward the East, but toward the West. In Thessaly and in Cappadocia, and in the Isle of Cyprus, the Bishops and Priests at the same time interpret Holy Scriptures. Lastly, it is hard to find any two Churches exactly agreeing in their Ceremonies. The Priests do not preach at Alexandria. This Custom began in the time of Arius, who troubled the Church by his Sermons. They Fast every Saturday at Rome. The cause of these differences, and many others proceeds from the Customs established at several times by the Bishops, which being received and authorized by their Successors, have obtained the force of a Law.

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Socrates

It may be that *Socrates* is mistaken in some of these Articles, and that he hath taken the Error of some particular for the practice of the Universal Church; but this is a sign that he was curious, and that he had made very exact Observations and Disquisitions touching the Discipline of the Church. He had a great compendium of the two first Books of his History upon the Credit of *Requius*, but afterwards having discovered by reading the Works of *S. Athanasius*, that that Historian had omitted the principal Circumstances of the Persecution, which that valiant Defender of Christ's Divinity had suffered, he amended the two first Books. As for the rest, he completed them as well upon the Credit of *Requius* and some other Authors, as from the Records of the Church, and the relation of those that had been Witnesses of the things, or from what he had seen himself. But all this hath not secured him from falling sometimes into very considerable Faults, as when he confounds *Maximian* with *Maximianus*, which he mixes in, that there were *Maximians* consecrated in the Council of Nice for having refused to approve the Council of *Arles*, who is asserted by a Letter of the Council clearly that there were but two, *Valens* and *Severus*; when he attributes the three Councils of *Arles* to the same Council, who they were made by three several Councils; and he hath committed some other Faults of less Consequence.

It cannot be denied that he speaks very well of the *Novatians*, and that he had a great kindness for that Sect. He is curious in making a Catalogue of their Bishops; he commends them, relates what they have said and done, and owns that he hath a particular esteem for them. In his Opinion, *Novatian* is a Martyr, and the *Novatians* are a very Religious People, who have not altered the Faith, their Practices and Customs are not to be blighted, and the greater part of Men reject them for no other reason, but because they are lovers of a loose Church Discipline. This is all that persuades the World that *Socrates* was a *Novatian*. Notwithstanding this he always gives us the Name of the Church and the Orthodox; he reckons the *Novatians* among the *Schismatics*, 1. 6. c. 28. and 23, which makes it apparent, that he was not a thorough *Novatian*, although he had a good Opinion of them. He did believe perhaps that they might be saved, being persuaded, as he was, that they had preserved the ancient Discipline, and that the difference which was between them and the Orthodox, was not in Matters of Faith.

The Style of *Socrates* is plain and easy. He hath nothing of an Orator, and keeps himself within the bounds of a single Narration, which is not adorned with the Elegancies usual among Historians, but which had nothing in it obscure or intricate. He produces long Citations to prove the Matters of Fact, which he relates. The same Authors who translated the History of *Eusebius*, have also translated *Socrates* and *Sozomen's*, for which reason it is no purpose to repeat their Versions and Editions in this place.

SOZOMEN.

Sozomen

Sozomen was born at the same time with *Socrates*, was of the same Profession, and understood the Work of the same Nature. He was of a good Family, a Native of a City in *Palatiana*, called *Hadria* near *Crete*. His Grandfather having been converted by a Miracle of *Christ*, applied himself to the study of Holy Scripture, and converted very much with the Monks of his own Country. *Sozomen* was brought up among them, and had imbibed a very great esteem for that Order. Thus he plainly discovers in his History, where he gives us his commendation of a Monastick Life, and enlarges himself very much upon the Actions and Manner of living used among those Religious. This is almost all that is considerable, which he addeth to the History of *Socrates*, for he begins and ends at the same time. I say, that that's all he hath added, because I am persuaded that he wrote after *Socrates*. For besides that he was then a Lawyer, when he composed his History, and by consequence was younger than *Socrates*, who had left off that Profession, it is visible enough that he follows the Relation of *Socrates*, to which he adds or changes some things now and then; also he is ordinarily put after *Socrates*. These Additions have made his History larger, and obliged him to divide it into 9 Books.

His Style is more plain and elegant than *Socrates's*, but he is not so judicious an Author. He hath inserted some things into his History, which are not agreeable to it. He is guilty of all the same Faults that *Socrates* is, and is himself fallen into more gross ones. As when he says, That Pope *Julius* not being able to go to the Council of Nice by reason of his great Age, he sent *Vital* and *Vincencius*; although 'tis certain that that Council was held under Pope *Sixtus*. He confounds the Ordination of *Gregory* by the Church of *Alexandria*, with the Intercession of *George*. He hath been very negligent in setting down the Catalogues of the Bishops of the great Sees. He hath placed *Romanus* in the number of the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, although he was no more than a Deacon. He makes the Popedom of *Julius* to last 25 years,

whereas

whereas it continued but Fifteen Years, and puts his Death after *Gallus's*, although it happen'd Two Years before. I omit to speak of many more Faults in this Author. His History is dedicated to *Theodosius* the Younger.

Sozomen

THEODORITUS.

T H E O D O R I T U S was born at *Antioch*, in the Year 386. His Birth was accompanied with Miracles before and after, which he himself relates in his Religious History: For, if we may believe him, his Mother was cured of an incurable Disease, which he had in her Eye, by a Monk called *Peter*. It was by the Prayers of another Religious Man, called *Macedonius*, that God granted her to conceive a Son, and bring him into the World: And it was by the Prayers of the First of these Two Holy Monks that she was preserved from Death, after her Delivery. Her Husband and Son felt also the Effects of the Demers of this Holy Man, being often healed of their Distempers by the touching of his Girdle.

After so great Favours, which God had shewn to this Infant, who can in the least doubt but that his Parents ought to devote him to God, who had given him to them (a)? His Mother had engaged her self to it, when the Holy Anchorite promised her a Son; which she performed by putting him into the Monastery of *S. Euprepius*, when he was but Seven Years old; where he learned the Sciences, Religion and Piety. He had for his Master *Theodorus* of *Moslueta*, and *S. John Chrysostom*, and for his Fellow-Scholars *John*, afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Nestorius*, who was not long after preferred to the See of *Constantinople*. The Bishops of *Antioch* having knowledge of his Learning and Verne, admitted him into Holy Orders; yet did he not, upon that account, change either his Habitation or manner of Life, but found out a way to reconcile the Exercises of a Religious Life with the Function of a Clergyman. After the Death of his Father and Mother, he distributed his whole Inheritance to the Poor, reserving nothing at all of it to himself.

The Bishoprick of *Cyrrus* being become vacant, about the Year of Christ 420 (b). The Bishop of *Antioch* ordained *Theodoret* against his Will, and sent him to govern that Church. *Cyrrus* is a City of *Syria*, in the Province of *Euphratesia*, which was a Country unpleasant and barren, but very populous: There were eight hundred Villages which were subject to that Bishoprick. The Inhabitants commonly spake the *Syriack* Tongue, few of them understood Greek, they were almost all poor, rude and barbarous; many of them were engaged in prophane Superstitions, or in such gross Errors, as rendered them more like Heathens than Christians. The Learning and Worth of *Theodoret* seemed to qualify him for a greater See; yet he remained in this, and discharged all the Offices of a good Bishop. He cleared his Dioceses from Barbarism and from Errors, which were predominant among them. He converted Eight Villages, infected with the Heresy of the *Marcionites*, and planted the true Faith in two other Towns, where there was none but *Arians* and *Eunomians*. In a word, he utterly extirpated Heresy out of his Dioceses, yet not without much Labor, and running the Hazard of his Life, for it cost him sometimes some of his Blood, being often pursued with Showers of Stones, and almost killed by the Infidels; so that in him we have the Picture of a good Shepherd, who layeth down his Life for the Sheep. But the goodness of *Theodoret* extended it self much further. He prevented the Churches of *Phoenicia* from falling into Error; and being called to *Antioch* by the Patriarch of that great See, he preached there with Applause and Benefit. Let no Man think that he courted this Employment, or sought an Opportunity to leave his Dioceses, to reside in a more civilized City. He went not to *Antioch* but with regret, in obedience to the Commands of his Patriarchs, and the Laws of the Church; which condemn a Bishop who comes not to the Synod of his Patriarch, when he is cited thither: Yea, he was so exact in that Point, that he assures us, That he had the good Luck, not to leave his Dioceses to go to *Antioch*, above Five or Six

Theodoret
Ephraim
Res. 1. 1. 4. 0.
Philistinus.

(a) Devote him to God, &c.] Hence he was called *Theodoret*, either because he was given by God, or devoted to God. *Eusebius* and *Suidas* observe, That we ought to read and pronounce his Name *Θεοδότης*, *Theodotus*, and not *Θεοδότης*, *Theodoret*. The Ancients call him *Θεοδοτήτης*, and the Manuscripts write him so; notwithstanding Usage hath corrupted the Latin Name, and made him called *Theodoret*. The more Learned indeed call him always *Theodotus*, but if we should call him *Theodotus* in the French, it would not be known what we mean. The Greeks do not give him the Name of Saint, because he hath written against

S. Cyril, and the Fifth Council hath imprinted a Mark of Disgrace upon his Memory.
(b) About the Year 420.] In his Letter 81. to *Nomus* the Consul, he says, He had then been Bishop, Twenty five Years. He sets down the same Time in his Eightieth Letter to *Eusebius*. *Nomus* was Consul in 445. Out of which, if we take 25 Years, the remainder will be 420. But in the 113th Letter, written to *S. Leo*, after the Convention of *Ephesus*, in 449. he says, There were 26 Years since he was Bishop. This will prove but only, that he was so in 423. The Difference is of small consequence.

times

times under Three Patriarchs, viz. under *Theodosius*, *John* and *Domnus*, and that by their express Order only. He governed his People with so much gentleness that he gained the Love of all the World. All the Time that he was Bishop he never had any Suit at Law with any Person: No Man brought an Action against him, nor did he like against any Man. He was so very careless of his own Gain, that he kept nothing for himself but some plain Garments, with which he was clothed. Neither he himself nor his Domesticks would receive any thing of any Man: Neither himself nor his Clergy did ever appear at the Judgment Seats. He employed but a very small part of the Church-Revenues to maintain himself very frugally, and gave the rest to the Poor, or employed it for the erecting some publick Buildings, necessary for the City of *Cyrrus*. He let up Cloysters, raised Two Bridges, repaired the Baths, and conveyed Water, by a Conduit, into the City. He requested of the Emperess *Pulcheria*, That she would release the Inhabitants of the County of *Cyrrus* from a Tribute, which was very grievous to them. He provided a Physician for the City. In fine, he laid out all he had for the common Good. He was not only a Benefactor to his own People, but his Charity extended it self to Strangers: A Lady of *Carthage*, named *Mary*, who had been taken and sold by the *Vandals*, being brought to *Cyrrus*, testified the Effects of his Kindness, for he fed her at the Expence of the Church, and having purchased her Liberty, sent her home to her Father. He relieved also another Woman, who had been forced to make her escape out of *Africa*, and leave all her Estate there, and recommended her to other Bishops his Neighbours: As he had been brought up among the Monks, so he had a very particular Love for the Solitaries; he went often to visit them, recommended himself to their Prayers, and shewed that he had a very great Regard and Respect for them. He celebrated the Holy Mysteries by the Hands of his Deacon, in favor of *Mari* the Monk, who had been Twenty seven Years in Solitude, without being present at the Celebration of the Sacrifice; but this was a particular Act of *Theodore*. Nevertheless, we must consider the manner how he managed himself in the Affairs of the Church and Religion, in which he had a greater Share than any other Bishop of his Time.

Although *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* appeared at the Head of the Eastern Bishops, yet it may be said, That the whole Party were principally swayed by the Councils of *Theodore*, who was, as it were, the Soul and Spirit of it. It was by his Council that *John* wrote at first to *Nestorius*, to receive the Term of *The Mother of God*. It was he that undertook to confute the *Anathematisms* of *S. Cyril*, and accused them of Heresy. In the Council of *Ephesus* he was one of the most earnest Defenders of the Party of the *Orientalis*, and he held a considerable Place among the Deputies, which they sent to the Court, where he maintained their Cause with Courage. Being returned from *Antioch*, he exasperated things more, by causing them to confirm what they had done against *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*, and by composing Five Books against *S. Cyril*. When a Pacification was propounded, he acknowledged indeed, That the Letter, which *S. Cyril* had written, contained Orthodox Doctrine, but he would have them condemn his *Anathematisms*, and not be obliged by any means to subscribe the Condemnation of *Nestorius*.

When a Peace was concluded between *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *S. Cyril*, he was displeased that *Nestorius* was forsaken. He opposed the Peace for some Time, but at last entered into it, and wrote a very obliging Letter to *S. Cyril*, wherein he praised his Treatise, *De Capro Emisario*, Of the *Scale*, *Goat*: He received Thanks from that Bishop, and ever after they had a Correspondence by Letters, and after his Death he quotes him, with much Honour, among the Fathers of the Church. I am very sensible, that some Men, moved by the Testimony of *Liberatus*, pretend, that *Theodore* made a Third Party different from both the *Orientalis* and *S. Cyril*, which he calls by the Name of *Acephali*, but it is a false Assertion, which confutes it self, since there never were any other *Acephali* known but those who were in the Error of *Eutyches*. Besides, It appears, by the very Confession of *Theodore*, writing to *Diocorus*, and by the Course of his History, that he was joyned in Communion not only with the *Eastern*, but also the *Western* and *Aegyptian* Bishops. Nevertheless, there was always a certain Antipathy between the *Eastern* and the *Aegyptian* Bishops, and principally between *Theodore* and *S. Cyril*. They had some Difference upon the account of the Remembrance of *Theodosius* of *Mopuestia*, and they always continued in a kind of Defiance one of another. The Death of *S. Cyril* did not put an end to the Quarrel, for *Diocorus*, his Successor, declared himself openly against *Theodore*, and caused him to be excommunicated in his Church, through the Accusation of certain Monks come from the East: But *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch* stood up in his Defence: *Flavian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, acknowledged him to be an Orthodox Bishop: But *Diocorus* having the Authority to call a General Assembly at *Ephesus*, in which he did what he pleased; he therein deposed *Theodore*, in his Absence, and without Hearing, after he had been forbidden by the Emperor to go to the Synod. *Theodore* seeing no Body that could defend him in the East, *Domnus* having subscribed his Condemnation, and *Flavian* being dead, after he had been unjustly deposed by the Synod of *Diocorus*: He seeing, I say, himself unlikely to find any Support strong enough in the *Eastern* Church, had recourse to Pope *Leo*, besought his Help, and consulted him, Whether he thought him obliged to yield to the Sentence, that had been pronounced against him, and desired him at the same Time to demand a new Synod, and he wrote himself to *Patrius Anatolius* to endeavour to obtain

of the Fifth Century of Christianity. *John* it of the Emperor. *S. Leo* having no regard to the Judgment of *Diocorus*, received his Deputies favorably, and continued Communion with him. He demanded, That all things should remain in the same state that they were before the Judgment of *Diocorus*; and that he would hold a General Council to re-examine the Case of *Flavianus* and *Eutyches*. He could not obtain this of *Theodosius*, but *Marcellian*, his Successor, had regard to their Remonstrances, and assembled a General Council at *Chalcedon*, where *Theodore* was present. In the First Session the Imperial Commissioners said, That *Theodore* might enter; the Bishops of *Aegyptus*, *Thyria* and *Palestine* were against it; the *Eastern* Bishops on the contrary, and those that were subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, maintained, That he ought to be received; and cried out, That the *Aegyptians* ought to be turned out. After great Clamors on both Sides, it was allowed that *Theodore* should take his Seat in the Synod, in consideration that *S. Leo* had admitted him into his Communion, and judged him worthy of his Bishoprick. This was ordained only for the present, and without Prejudice to either Party, and with an entire Reservation of their Actions, upon the Heads of Accusation, which they had propounded one against the other. This Business was brought to a Determination in the Eighth Session of the Council, in which a Definitive Sentence was passed in favour of *Theodore*. Here is a particular account how the whole Business was transacted. Some Bishops (it is probable they were the *Aegyptian* Bishops, who were the Accusers of *Theodore*) required that he should pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*. *Theodore* answered, That he had presented Petitions to the Emperor and *S. Leo*. The Bishops replied, That there was no need to read any thing more, let him but pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*. *Theodore* returned Answer, That (praised be God) he had always been notified, and brought up in the true Faith by very Orthodox Persons; That he had always taught the Orthodox Faith; That he did condemn *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and all other Persons, who held any Opinions that were not found. Those Bishops, that were not his Friends, would not be satisfied with this Declaration, but still required, That he should pronounce distinctly *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, against his Doctrine and Followers. *Theodore* answered, That above all things he desired, that they would be persuaded that he had no Design of staying in a great City, that he was not ambitious of Honours, and that he was not come thither for that End; That he was come merely to clear himself from that Calumny, which they had nourished of him, and to justify himself to be Orthodox; That he did pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and all other Persons, who believed that there were Two Sons of God. The Bishops here interrupted him, and pressed him to say *Anathema* to *Nestorius*, and to those of his Judgment. *Theodore*, who was afraid that by condemning *Nestorius* clearly and absolutely, he should seem to disapprove the Opinions of the *Aegyptians*, whom he thought *Eutychians*, answered, That he would not say *Anathema* to *Nestorius* till he had made a profession of what he believed. As he began to say, *I believe then*, he was interrupted by his Adversaries, who cried out tumultuously, *He is a Heretic*, *He is a Nestorian*, *away with this Heretic*. *Theodore* seeing himself born down by tumultuous Cries, was obliged to pronounce *Anathema* against *Nestorius*, and all those who did not confess that the Virgin *Mary* is the Mother of God, or who divided the only Son of God into two. He adds, That he did subscribe the Form of Faith, and *S. Leo's* Letter, and that he was of the same Judgment. Then the Imperial Commissioners, accepting his Speech, declared that there remained nothing more of Difficulty, in reference to the Person of *Theodore*, since he had pronounced *Anathema* to *Nestorius*, had been received by *S. Leo*, and that the Council had no more to do but to confirm Pope *Leo's* Act by their Judgment. After this Declaration all the Bishops cried out, *Theodore* is worthy to hold his See: And after many other Acclamations of that nature, the chief of them gave their Voices separately, and all the others followed their Judgments, inasmuch that the Commissioners pronounced, That, according to the Judgment of the Holy Council, *Theodore* should remain in the possession of the Church of *Cyrrus*. He returned thither soon after the Council, and passed the rest of his Life in quiet, composing his Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures. He died in peace, in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor *Leo*, in 457, or 458. In the Seventieth or Eightieth Year of his Age. But his Enemies, after his Death, revived the Accusations, That they had formed against him in his Life-time, and contrary to the Judgment of the Council of *Chalcedon*, used all their Endeavours to obscure his Memory. The Ring-leaders of this Faction designed it against the Council it self, and did not attack the Memory of *Theodore* with any other Design, but that they might give a Blow to the Council it self. But they had infensibly drawn over many Orthodox persons to their Opinion; and being upheld by the Authority of *Justinian* the Emperor, they brought about their Undertaking, by causing his Writings to be condemned in the Council, which they account the Fifth General Council. But notwithstanding the Judgment of this Council, many of the Orthodox have always defended, and do still defend his Person and Writings. But this is not a convenient Place to treat of this Matter, of which I shall speak afterwards. This sufficeth to have advertised you, That *Theodore* met with as bad Usage, almost, after his Death, as he had while he lived.

Of all the Fathers, who have composed Works of different kinds, *Theodore* is one of those who hath been very lucky in every one of them. There are some who have been excellent Writers in Matters of Controversie, but bad Interpreters. Others have been good Historians, but naughty Divines. Some have good success in Morality, who have no skill in Doctrinal Points. Those, who have applied themselves to confute the Pagan Religion by their own Principles, and Authors, have ordinarily little knowledge in the Mysteries of our Religion. Lastly, it is very rare for those, who have addicted themselves to Works of Piety, to be good Critics. *Theodore* had all these Qualities, and it may be said, that he hath equally deserved the Name of a good Interpreter, Divine, Historian, Writer of Controversies, Apologist for Religion, and Author of Works of Piety. But he hath principally excelled in his Compositions upon the Holy Scripture. He hath out-done almost all other Commentators in that kind according to the Judgment of the learned *Phoriv*. "His Language, *sic* the same Author, is very proper for a Commentary; for he explains in proper and significant Terms what is obscure and difficult in the Text, and renders the Mind more fit to read and understand it, by the pleasantness and elegance of his Discourse. He doth not weary his Reader by long Digressions, but on the contrary he labours to instruct him ingeniously, clearly and methodically in every thing that seems hard. He never departs from the Purity and Elegancy of the Attick Tongue, if there be nothing that obliges him to speak of obscure Matters, to which the Ears are not accustomed. For it is certain, that he passes over nothing that needs Explication, and it is almost impossible to find any Interpreter who unfolds all manner of Difficulties better, and leaves fewer things obscure. We may find many others who speak elegantly, and explain clearly, but we shall scarcely find any who have written well, and who have forgotten nothing which hath need of Illustration, without our being too diffuse, nor without running out into Digressions, at least, such as are not absolutely necessary for clearing the Matter in Hand. Nevertheless this is what *Theodore* has observed in all his Commentaries upon Holy Scripture, in which he hath wonderfully well opened the Text by his Labour and diligent Search.

There are two sorts of Works of *Theodore* upon Holy Scripture. The one is by way of Question and Answer, the other is a Commentary, wherein he followeth the words of the Text. The eight first Books of the Bible, that is to say, the Pentateuch of *Moses*, the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*; the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* are explained after the first manner, the other are expounded by Commentaries.

The first of these Works is intitl'd, *Εἰς τὰ ἀποκάλυπτα καὶ σκοτεινὰ ἐκλογὰς*, which is translated thus; *Of some select doubtful Questions of Holy Scripture*; but may be better translated, *Select Questions upon the difficult places of Holy Scripture*. It is written by way of Questions and Answers. The Question propounds the difficulty, and the Answer resolves it. This is the last of the Works of *Theodore*. He composed it at the desire of *Hypatius*, as he tells him in the Preface, where he observes, That there were two sorts of Persons who raise difficulties out of the Holy Scriptures; the one do it with a wicked intent, to find in the Holy Scriptures Falsities or Contradictions; but others do it with a design to inform themselves, and learn that which they demand. *Theodore* undertakes to stop the Mouth of the former, by making it appear, That there is neither Falshood nor Contradiction in Holy Scripture, and to content the latter by satisfying all their Doubts, so that the intent of this Work is not so much to explain the Literal Sense of Holy Scripture, as to answer the Scruples that might rise in the Mind by reading the Text.

There are some of the Questions which are very useless, and which do not naturally come into the Mind. As for Example, he demands in the first Question, Why the Author of the Pentateuch did not make a Discourse upon the Being and Nature of God, before he spake of the Creation? Few Men would make that Doubt. *Theodore* says, That he condescended to the Weakness of those he had to instruct, in speaking first of the Creatures which they knew, that he might make known the Creator to them, for he hath sufficiently discovered the Eternity, Wisdom and Bounty of that Being, in composing a History of the Creation; and lastly, because he spake to Persons who had already some Idea of him, since *Moses* had spoken already in Egypt in his Name, and had taught them that he is what he is, a Name that signifies his Eternity. The following Questions are concerning the Angels. He pretends, That *Moses* hath not spoken of their Creation for fear they should be taken for Gods. He reaches, That they are created and finite Beings; That they keep their place in the Universe; That they are appointed to defend the People and Nations; and likewise, That every Person hath his Guardian Angel; That they were created at the same time with the World, tho' it may be said, That their Creation was before that of Heaven and Earth. After these Preliminary Questions, which serve only for the explication of the Text, he resolves others that serve to clear the Text. One of the Principal is upon these words. The Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters, "Some, *sic* he, believe, That it is the Holy Spirit who animated the Waters, and made them fruitful; but I am of Opinion, That it is the Air, which is called in this place the Spirit of God. For having said, That God created the Heaven and Earth, and made mention also of the Waters under the Name of the Abyss, he ought necessarily to speak of the Air, which is extended upon the Surface of the Waters even to the Heaven. And it is for that reason that he makes use of the Term, *is moved*, which shews the Nature

part of the Air. *Theodore* propounds also a multitude of other Questions that are curious, such as these that follow. Whether there be one only Heaven, or many? He seems to admit of no more than two. He is not contented to give Solutions of his own, but sometimes he resolves other Mens, as upon that famous Text of *Genesis*, where it is said, That Man was made in the Image and Likeness of God. He cites some Passages out of *Diadorus*, *Theodorus* of *Mytilene*, and *Origen*, to prove that it ought to be understood of the Soul of Man, and he quotes them also, tho' but seldom, upon some other Questions, if yet these Citations have not been added to the Text of *Theodore*, which is so much the more probable, because they are not to be found in the Manuscript of the King's Library. That he may give the true sense of Scripture, he hath recourse often to the Versions of the ancient Greek Translators, and likewise to the Hebrew Text, which he read in the Hexapla of *Origen*, and in the Interpretation of Hebrew words by that Father. He doth not at all search into the Allegories, but applies himself to the explication of the Letter and the History, and ordinarily he pitches upon the most plain and natural sense. As for Example, when he explains what is meant by the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, he thinks it enough to say that these Names were given them upon the account of the Effects which they produced. That the one preserved Life, and the other made Man to know what Sin was. To make it evident why our first Parents were not ashamed of their Nakedness, he saith, That they were like Infants being not yet defiled with Sin. In sum, That Custom did rake away or diminish Shame, as we see in Seamen, who being accustomed to be Naked, are not in the least ashamed when they strip themselves; and as it is the fashion in Baths, without which it would make some Impression. He believes not, That Man was created Immortal; but he says, That God did not pass the Sentence of Death upon him till after he had sinned, That he might beget in him a greater hatred of Sin. He saith, That *Adam* being driven out of Paradise, was sent into a place not much distant from it, that the sight of the place might put him in mind of his Sin. He quotes *Theodorus*, who thought, that by the Cherubims which were placed at the Gate of Paradise, they ought not to understand Angels, nor any Spiritual Beings, but Apparitions and Phantoms, which had the shape of Chastity Creatures. He doubts not, but that *Enoch* was translated alive into some place to preach the Resurrection, but that no Man ought to trouble himself to know where it is. The Sons of God of whom it is said, That they had familiarity with the Daughters of Men, are not, according to the Judgment of *Theodore*, Angels, but the Posterity of *Seth*, who married themselves to the Daughters of the Generation of *Cain*, of whom were born those great Men to whom they gave the Names of Giants. The reason why the first Patriarchs lived so long a time, was, That Mankind might be multiplied, and for that reason it was, That they married so many Women. In the Questions upon *Exodus*, he maintains, That it was God and not an Angel which appeared to *Moses* in the Flaming Bush. He enlarges himself much upon these words, *The Lord hardened the Heart of Pharaoh*, that he might prove, that it was *Pharaoh* himself that hardened his own Heart, against all the Admonitions and Chastisements of God, who treated him with Goodness and Mercy in sparing him. And in explaining in what sense God may be said to harden his Heart, he brings this familiar Example; The Sun is said to melt Wax and harden Clay, altho' there is but one Vertue only in it, which is to make hot; by the same Goodness and Patience of God, two contrary Effects are wrought, the one is profitable to some, and the other renders others guilty; which is as much as to say, That it converts some and hardens others. As Jesus Christ hath declared in his Gospel, when he says that he came, *That those that see not, might see; and that they which see, might be made blind*. The design of Jesus Christ was not to make those blind, who could see, for he wills, That all Men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth, but he notes by this what happened. For Man being a free Agent, they who have believed secure their Salvation; but on the contrary, they who believe not, are themselves the Authors of their own Damnation. It is in this sense that *Judas*, who could see as he was an Apostle, became blind; 'tis in this sense also that *S. Paul*, who was blind, received his sight; 'tis in this sense likewise, that the Jews are blinded and the Gentiles see; yet the World may not be deprived of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, because some Men make an ill use of it. Altho' *Theodore* seldom expounds any Allegories, he cannot avoid doing it sometimes. In speaking of the Jewish Passover, he there discovers the Relation it has to the new Law, which he unfolds in a very natural way. The Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the old Law afford him Subjects of Allegory in his Questions upon *Leviticus*. He also refers many to Morality, and draws Instructions for Mens manners out of the greatest part of the Ordinances of *Leviticus* and the Book of *Numbers*. He hath made many such like Reflections in his Questions upon *Deuteronomy*. He confines himself more to the Historical and Literal sense in his Questions upon *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*, which make up the Octateuch, and in those which he hath composed upon the 4 Books of *Kings* and 2 Books of *Chronicles*. These last are a second part of his Work, and have a special Preface, in which he observes after what manner the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were composed. These are his own Words. "There were, *sic* he, many Prophets who have left us no Books, and whose Names we learn out of the History of the *Chronicles*. Every one of these Prophets wrote ordinarily what happened in their time. For this reason it is, that the first Book of the *Kings* is called by the Hebrews and Syrians, The Prophecy of *Samuel*. We need only

had it, and we shall be convinced of the Truth of this. They, then, that composed the Books of Kings, wrote them a long time after from their ancient Memoirs. For how could they that lived in the time of Saul or David, write that which happened afterwards under Hezekiah and Josiah? How could they relate the War of Nebuchadnezzar, the Siege of Jerusalem, the Captivity of the People and the Death of Nebuchadnezzar? It is their visible. That every Prophet wrote what passed in his time; and that others making a Collection of their Memoirs have composed the Books of Kings? And after this, came other Historiographers, who made a Collection of what the first had forgotten, or which they composed the two Books of Chronicles. This is the manner in which Theodoret thinks, That the Books of Kings and Chronicles were composed. We will not say longer to speak in particular of those Questions which may be easily run over. The Translation of the Questions upon the Obedience was made by Voluarius Pictus, President of the Inquests of the Parliament of Paris, who first published them in 1558, at Paris. T. Gualteri Harvet Canon of Reims, translated the Questions upon the Chronicles and Kings.

The Commentary of Theodoret upon all the Psalms is an excellent Work. He saith in the Preface, That he had always a design to bestow his Labour upon the Book of Psalms, it being a Book which of all the Books of the Bible is most in use among the most pious Persons, and principally among the Religious. That the Psalms, being continually in the Mouths of the Faithful that sing them, it would be a thing of great advantage to make them easy to be understood, that they might receive a double Benefit by their Prayers. That this reason had caused him to take up a Resolution to begin his Commentaries upon Holy Scripture with that Book; but his Friends having demanded of him some Commentaries upon other Books of Holy Scripture, he was obliged to forsake them, before he composed this Commentary. In this, That it ought not to be imagined that his Labour would be unprofitable, because others had written before him upon the same Subject, that having read many Commentaries, he did find some of them full of tedious Allegories; and others did so much apply the Prophecies to the Histories of their own time, that they seemed rather to be made for Jews than Christians. That he had endeavoured to avoid the two opposite Extremes by referring to the ancient Histories, what at present agreed to them, and not applying to other Persons (as the Jews do) to cover their own Incredulity the Prophecies that are to be understood of Jesus Christ and what is spoken in the Psalms concerning the Church and the Preaching of the Gospel. That he had avoided the prolixity of others, and had gathered into a few words what was profitable. That he first gave the subject of every Psalm, and then proceeded to the Interpretation of the Text. That he ought to know above all things, that a Prophecy is not designed only to foretell what shall happen, but also to be an History of what is present and past, since Moses hath written an History of the Creation nor from the Records of Men, but by the Inspiration of the Spirit, that he therein declares the Things that happened in his time, as the Plagues of Pharaoh, and the Manna: And, lastly, That he hath foretold things to come, as the coming of Jesus Christ, the dispersion of the Jews, and salvation of the Gentiles: That David also, who is the first that wrote after Moses, speaks of the Benefits that God had bestowed upon Men a long time before, and foretels what should come to pass in after Ages. That his Psalms do not only contain Predictions, but Instructions and Precepts: That he sometimes lays down Morals and sometimes Doctrine. That he sometimes bewails the calamities of the Jews, and in other places promises Salvation to the Gentiles. But that he foretels the Sufferings and Resurrection of Jesus Christ in so many places and so many ways, that whoever reads them with attention will find them easy. That some did believe, That David was not the Author of all the Psalms; but there were some that belonged to other Persons: And in this sense they explained the Inscriptions, and attributed some to Jeduthun, others to Ethan, and others to the Sons of Levi and Children of Asaph, whom the History of the Chronicles tells us, were Prophets. As for me, saith he, I will affirm nothing concerning it. For what is it to me, whether all, or only some part of them be David's, since it is evident, that they were all written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost? We know that David was a Prophet, and that the History of the Chronicles gives the Name of Prophets to the other. Now the Office of a Prophet is to speak as the Spirit gives him utterance; as it is written in the Psalms, My Tongue is as the Pen of a ready Writer. Nevertheless he thinks it safest to follow the Judgment of the greatest number, who attribute them to David. He speaks then of the Inscriptions of the Psalms, and says, It is great rashness either to reject them wholly or to change them; since they have been received in the time of Ptolemy, translated by the LXX, together with the Holy Text which had been received and confirmed by Ezra. He undertakes afterwards to give the meaning of them. The word *Diapsalma* according to some, notes an Intermission of the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit; according to others, a change of the Prophecy; and in others Judgment, a different Psalm. *Aquila* hath translated the Hebrew word *Ever*, a Particle, which in that place

(d) Others had written before him, &c.] Those, whom he hints by the by without naming them, are *Apolinarius*, whose Commentaries were full of Allegories; *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, who was too much pleased with the Explications of the Jews; and *S. Chrysostom*, whose Commentaries are too large.

contains a collection of that which follows with what went before. But Theodoret, after he had related the different Opinions of others, will not recede from the Translation of the LXX, and will have it that the word *Diapsalma* denotes the change of the Song, altho' he will not have this Explication received as absolutely certain, confessing, That none can know the true sense of that Term, but he who composed the Psalms, and he to whom it shall please God to deliver it. He in the last place observes, That the Psalms are not ranked according to the order of time in which they were made, since there are some of the latter Psalms, which relate to the Histories, which went before those of which he speaks in the former. As for that Division, but theirs, who have divided the Psalms into the form they now are.

St. Gervase hath published in his Supplement, which he made to the Works of Theodoret, another Preface upon the Psalms attributed to Theodoret, but it is evident that 'tis none of his, since the Author therein promotes things which do not agree with what Theodoret says in his last. There are likewise some Fragments of his Commentary upon the Psalms, recited by him in it, which belong to some more Modern Author, who quotes the words of Theodoret's Commentary, and adds to it other Authors, or his own proper Opinions.

Theodoret follows in his Commentary the Method which he hath prescribed in his Preface. He expounds, in few words, the sense of every Verse of the Psalms. After he hath shewn the differences of the Versions of Theodotion, Symmachus and *Aquila*, and sometimes also of the Hebrew Text; he explains the sense of the words, and applies them to the History or Prophecy to which they relate. This Commentary hath been translated by *Antonius Carassa*, and dedicated to the Cardinal of the same Name.

The Explication of the Song of Songs is the last Book of the first Tome of Theodoret's Works. It is certain that he had written upon this Book of Holy Scripture, since he says expressly so in his Preface upon the Psalms; by which it appears, That the Commentary upon the Canticles was his first Work upon the Bible. But there is some reason to doubt whether it deserves to be proved, that it is not his. The Author of the Commentary saith in the Preface, That he had an abundance of Business in the City, in the Field, in the Army; and that he had the charge of both Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs. This doth not in the least agree to Theodoret, who had passed all his Life in a Monastery, and who never concerned himself in any Affairs of War. 2. He speaks of *S. Chrysostom* as a Person then alive. *John*, saith he, who hath in this present time enlightened all the World by the torrent of his Eloquence. He confutes very strenuously the Opinion of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, for whom Theodoret always had much respect. It may also be objected, That these Commentaries are longer than Theodoret's; That this Commentary is not cited in the *Catenas*, as the other Comments of Theodoret are; That the only Passage which is cited, as being a Commentary of Theodoret in one of his Works, is not found in this Commentary; and that Theodoret doth not quote this Book to justify the Purity of his Faith, altho' it was extremely suitable to prove it. On the other side there are some Reasons, which seem to prove it evidently enough, That this Work is Theodoret's. 1. It bears the Name of Theodoret in two MSS: which *Zinus* and *F. Sirmondus* used. 2. *Pelagius II.* or rather *S. Gregory*, in his Letter to the Bishops of *Ilyria*, saith, That Book of Canticles, by concealing his Name, which is all that the Author of the Preface to this Commentary hath done. But there is still something more: *Pelagius II.* cites the words of this Pope, this very Commentary was looked upon to be certainly Theodoret's. 3. The Author of this Commentary in his Preface explains a Text of *Ezekiel*, where *Jerusalem* is compared to a Lewd Woman, after the same manner that Theodoret expounds it in his Commentary upon that Prophet. 4. This Commentary is very like the other Commentaries of Theodoret; it is the same way of Exposition, and the same Style. Lastly, the Conjectures which are brought to prove, That this Commentary is not his, do not appear very convincing. The first, which seems to be the strongest, is of little Consequence. For Theodoret having composed this Work, when he was first made a Bishop, he was then busied in many Affairs both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and it may be Military, because the Disorders which his Diocese was in, forced him to implore the help of the Magistrates and Governors to protect him from the Assaults of the Rabble, which he underwent several times, as the History of his Life informs us. It may also be understood of the Wars, which his Country was then threatened with. The second Objection would be unanswerable, if it were certain, That the Author spake of *S. Chrysostom* as a Person then living, and of the Sermons which he preached *viva voce*. But what he says, may very well be understood of the Writings of that Father. It is of his written Sermons, and not of his Preachings *viva voce*, that it may be said that they enlightened the whole Earth. For his Writings had been dispersed through all the World, his Preachings had gone no further than those, who were there where he preached. As to Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the Author of that Commentary shews, That he had a respect for him in not mentioning his Name. It is true, That he smartly reproves his Opinion about the signification of the Song of Songs. But why should not Theodoret do so, not being of his Judgment, since he could not follow him without abandoning all the other Fathers, and rendering his Commentary which

it was about to compile wholly useless? He doth not spare him more in his Preface upon the *Epistola*. For this he which bestows without naming him, when he says, That some Commentaries hath explained the *Bible* after a Judicial manner. The other Commentaries are of no service at all. *Theodore* is a little more large in this Commentary than in some others, but not more than in that which he made upon the Prophet *Daniel*; and these two Works being the first Fruits of his Labour, his no wonder, if they are not so compact. In him, his character and manner of expounding Holy Scriptures are very discernable in it. The Authority of the *Catenæ* is of no great weight, for we know that the Names of the Fathers are sometimes confounded in them, and often the best sort of Expositions are omitted. It is false to put the name of *Theodore* for *Theodoret*. In fine, *Theodoret* hath not alleged all the places, which might be brought to justify him, but only the principal. So that there is nothing to prove, that this Commentary upon the *Canticles* is not his, and the proofs which are produced to confirm it, are much stronger than those which are made use of to overthrow it. The Preface is *Theodore*'s Style, and like his other Prefaces. After he hath spoken of his various Businesses, and implored the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, he speaks in general of the Subject of this Book. He confutes those who understand it of the Love of *Solomon* with *Pharaoh*'s Daughters, or the *Shunamite*, and opposes to the Persons of this Opinion, not only the Authority of Holy Fathers who have ranked this Book among the divinely inspired Writings, and have judged it worthy to be received in the Church as such; but also the Testimony of the Holy Spirit itself, which inspired *Ezra* to revive the Books of the Holy Scripture which had been burnt in *Manasse*'s time, and entirely lost in the Captivity. Now the Song of Songs is one of those Books, which *Ezra* hath written without the help of any Copy by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost only. And how could he do this, if it contain'd nothing in it but a description of the passionate Love of a Creature? It is not then without reason, faith he, that the Holy Fathers have reckoned it among the Sacred Volumes, and many of them have explained it in their Commentaries, or cited it with great Praise in their Writings. For not only *Eusebius* of *Palestina*, *Origen* of *Alexandria*, the glorious Martyr *S. Cyprian*, and some other Fathers besides, who were more ancient and nearer to the Apostles; but also those who have since gain'd credit to the Church, have acknowledged this Book for a Divine Work. *S. Basil*, explaining the beginning of the *Proverbs*, both the *S. Gregorius*, one of whom was the Brother, the other the Friend of *S. Basil*; *Dionysius*, that excellent Defender of the true Religion; *Isidore*, whole Discourses do instruct the whole World at this present, and all that have followed them are of this Judgment. Is it lawful to condemn these great Men to follow private Opinions? Is it reasonable to forsake the Testimony of the Holy Spirit to hearken to the Summings of Men? But least it should be thought, adds *Theodoret*, that we are not solicitous to undeceive our Adversaries, being contented, that we are our selves, persuaded of the Truth. Let us see what it is that might cause them to fall into the Error, and endeavour to cure it by Remedies taken out of Holy Scripture. In reading of this Book, and finding therein these words, Perfumes, Lilies, Fruits, Kisses, Letices, Eyes, Thighs, and many other Expressions of that Nature, they have stopped at the Letter, without diving into the hidden and spiritual Sense. But they ought to consider, that in the Old Testament there are many figurative Expressions, which have a clear different sense from that which the Terms do properly and naturally signify. As for Example, in *Ezekiel* c. 17. 3. the King of *Babylon* is described by an Eagle, his Power by the Wings of that Bird, and his Armies by the Talons. *Jerusalem* is there called *Lebanon*, the Cedars are the Inhabitants. Nor do the Christians only thus expound this Text; but the Jews themselves. In the Prophet *Zachariah*, c. 11. 1. *Jerusalem* is also understood under the name of *Lebanon*, the King of *Babylon* under that of Fire, the Cedars are the Nobles and great Men, the Pines are those of a middle condition; there are an infinite number of such like Expressions. But to use an Example which hath a nearer resemblance to the subject we are upon; God addressing himself to the Nation of the Jews, speaks to it, as to a Woman, and uses the same Terms that *Solomon* doth. Read but *Ezekiel* 16. and you'll find there Breasts, Thighs, Hands, Nostrils, Ears. He speaks also there of Beauty, Love, Embraces, which things nevertheless ought not to be understood according to the Letter. There are like places in *Jeremiah*, *Isaiah*, and in all the other Prophets. We do nothing extraordinary then when we understand the Song of Songs spiritually; and so much the rather, because the Apostles have expounded who is the Bridegroom and the Spouse spoken of in this Book. Jesus Christ himself is called the Bridegroom, the Spouse of his Church, her Companions are the Souls which are not yet perfect enough to be Spouses of Jesus Christ; they that converse with the Bridegroom are either the Prophets or Apostles, or rather the Angels. Lastly, *Theodoret* observes, That the 3 Books of *Solomon* are as so many Degrees of ascent to Perfection; That the *Proverbs* teach Morality, *Ecclesiastes* the vanity of worldly Things, and the *Canticles* the Mystical Union of Christ and his Church, and that's the reason that this Book is put in the last place. He believes, That *Solomon* hath learned a part of what he says from the Books of his Father, who hath given an Idea of it in *Psalms* 44. He will not that this Book be put into the hands of young and weak People; and he says, That none ought to be allowed to read it, but such as have a good Wit, and can comprehend the spiritual and hidden sense. Lastly, he admonishes us, That he hath taken many things out of the Works of the Fathers, which have written before him, yet does not account him-

himself a Thief, for that because it is a Privilege allowed to those that succeed them, to make use of what they have said. He tells us, That he added many things; That he abridged what was too long, and enlarged what seem'd too short in others. He makes a Conclusion with a Petition to those who enjoy his Labors without any Toy, that they would pray for him in recompence; and if they did not his Commentary very exact, he requests them to accept, at least, his Labour in good part, and amend what they find wanting in it. This Preface alone gives sufficient Evidence that this Work is *Theodore*'s. It is divided into Four Books. He explains the Text with respect to the Sense, as he had observed in the Preface.

Theodoret hath also made Commentaries upon all the Prophets, as he declares it in his 82. Letter to *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Antioch*. We want none of them but that upon *Isaiah*, of which we have some Fragments taken out of the *Catenæ*, collected by *F. Sirmundus*. But although much Credit is not to be given to Writings of that Sort, I see no cause to fear but what he hath taken from them is *Theodore*'s. As to the Commentaries upon *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, they are all entire in Greek and Latin, in the second Volume of *Theodore*'s Works. The Commentary upon *Daniel* was composed first in 426. The Comment on *Ezekiel* was next. The Explication of the Twelve Minor Prophets followed this. This was no sooner ended but he undertook to explain *Isaiah*: And after he had finished that, he wrote upon *Jeremiah*, and concluded all his Works upon the Prophets, with the Explication of the Lamentations, as he himself tells us at the End of his Commentary upon that Holy Book. In this Commentary he keeps to his ordinary Method, explaining in a few Words, very clearly and intelligibly, the Literal and Historical Sense of the Holy Text, without departing from it through Allegories or Moral Digressions. The Translation of the Comment upon *Jeremiah*, was made by *Picus*, President of the Inquests: Upon *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, by *Gabius*: And upon the Twelve Minor Prophets, by one named *Egidius* of *Albige*, [or *Albigensis*.]

The Commentary upon all the Epistles of *S. Paul*, excels all the Commentaries of *Theodoret* for their Solidity and Elegancy: He therein explains the Text of that Apostle in a very plain and natural way: He composed it after the Council of *Ephesus*. *Theodoret* of *Mopistene* and *S. Z. Chrysostom* having already made excellent Commentaries upon those Epistles, it might seem inconveniently done to undertake to make a new one: This *Theodoret* himself excuses in his Preface; and after he hath, according to his usual Custom, invoked the Assistance of God's Holy Spirit, he owns, That he hath done nothing, almost, but abridged the Commentaries of others. He next observes the Order, in which, he believes, that the Epistles of *S. Paul* were composed; for he doth not think that they are ranked according to the Order they were written. This Commentary is literal. He follows exactly the Explications of *S. Chrysostom*, which he does no more, often, than abridge, by cutting off the Moral Observations. This Commentary is the First Work of the Third Tome. It hath been translated by *Gentianus Harvet*.

The Ecclesiastical History of *Theodoret*, which is divided into Five Books, is a kind of Supplement to *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as being written after theirs (a), about the Year 450 (b). He hath not brought it down to that Time. It begins where *Eusebius* ends, i. e. at the Rise of the *Arian* Heresy, in 322 or 323, and ends in 428 (c), before the beginning of the Heresy of

(a) After theirs. *Cassiodorus*, *Theodorus Laër* and *Photius*, name *Theodoret* last of these Three Ecclesiastical Authors. *Theodoret* corrects some of their Errors; he clears the History of *S. Athanasius*, and relates a great many things which concern the *Eastern Church*; which the other Two Authors had neglected; particularly what concerns *Meletius*, *Eusebius*, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and other Oriental Bishops. This seems to be the meaning of that which he hath written in the beginning, That his Design is to write the *ecclesiastical historia* *et cetera*, the remaining part of Ecclesiastical History, although it may be understood of the Continuation of *Eusebius*.

(b) About the Year 450. *Theodoret*, in his 82. Letter to *Eusebius*, written in the Year 445, making a Catalogue of his Works, doth not mention his History. It is manifest that he wrote it after the Council of *Ephesus*, since he speaks, l. 5. c. 36. of the Translation of the Reliques of *S. Chrysostom*, made in 438. He speaks of the Contents which were raised in the Church about the Incarnation, and seems to take notice of the Doctrines of *Eutyches*, l. 5. c. 3. He wrote it before the Death of *Theodosius*, which happen'd on July 29. 450. because he speaks of that Emperor, as then reigning, l. 5. c. 36. In the same Book, c. 35. he counts Thirty Years from the Martyrdom of *Abbas*, which is put in 420.

(c) Ends in 428. *Gennadius* faith, that he continued it to the Time of the Emperor *Leo*, and that he had done it in Ten Books: This would make us believe that we have lost the Five last; but there is no likelihood that he hath composed more than Five. He declares in the End of his Fifth Book, That he hath ended his History there. *Eusebius* faith, in the beginning of his, That the History of *Theodoret* ends at the Empire of *Theodosius* the Younger, at the Time of the Death of *Theodorus*, and just when *Silvius* was made Bishop. *Photius* lays the same thing. Lastly, No Man ever saw these five last Books. It is true, that *Theodoret*, in his *Collations*, l. 2. cites *Theodorus* in the Business of *Pellus Magnus* and *Calcedon*. *S. John Damascene*, in his Third Book of Images, cites some Places of the History of *Theodoret* which are not to be found there; but they are mistaken, for by their account *Theodorus* must have lived till he was an hundred Years old. Their Words have given occasion to some to conjecture, That there was another *Theodoret*, the Author of an History, younger; and *F. Garner* pretends that it was a Bishop of *Alinda* in *Caria*, who assisted at the Council of *Constantinople* under *Menas*: But this seems to me very doubtful; we had better say, that these two Authors, who in other Matters are not exact, are mistaken in this.

Neslorius.

Theodore. *Nestorius* thinks the Style of *Theodore's* History much more agreeable to his Matter than *Soyomen* and *Socrates*: For it is, *faith*, clear and sublime; and hath nothing Superfluous? But he useth too bold Metaphors, which are sometimes altogether extravagant. He hath had no great Care to observe the Years in which those Things happened which he relates; but he hath taken pains to collect and copy out, in his History, Original Pieces, as the Letters of the Synods, Emperors and Bishops, and hath made mention of some remarkable Circumstances which *Socrates* and *Soyomen* have not spoken of. He gives us a more exact History of the *Arian* than they do. He describes many Particulars, which those two Historians have taken no notice of, and he discovers many things concerning the Churches and Bishops of *Antioch* which had remained in Oblivion, if he had not preserved the Memory of them. He hath committed some Faults (*d*); but *Baronius* being prejudic'd against him, reproves some Places of *Theodore's* History, where that Father hath not at all departed from the Truth (*e*). Yet this is much more tolerable than to accuse him, as a Modern Author does, That he hath compos'd his History for no other end but to abuse the Orthodox, and to make a Comparison between *Nestorius* and *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Chrysostom*, and between *S. Cyril*, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and *Theophilus*. There appears no such thing in *Theodore's* History, but, on the contrary, he shews a great Aversion to all Heresies, a great Zeal for Religion, a great Love for the Church, and a great Respect for all the Holy Bishops, who have defended the Faith, and a great Esteem for all Men who lived well. This History hath been printed in *Greek* at *Basil*, 1536 *. Eight Years after *Rob. Stevens* printed it at *Paris* [with the other Ecclesiastical Historians, in *Greek*]. *F. Sirmondus* hath put it in the Second Volume of his Edition of *Theodore's* Works. And lastly, *M. Valesius* caused it to be printed, after he had corrected and compared it with the Manuscripts, according to his usual Exactness. There are Five different Translations into *Latin*. 1. By *Epiphanius Sebasteus*, which *Cassiodorus* makes use of in his Tripartite History. 2. By *Camararius*, printed in 1537. 3. By *Christophorus*. 4. By *F. Sirmondus*. The Last by *M. Valesius*, which is the best and most exact. M. President *Cassius* hath turned the History of *Theodore* out of the *Greek* into *French*, setting a learned Preface before it; in which he defends his Memory against those that have attacked it. This Moderation is much more commendable than the Passion of another Author, who seems to have diligently read *Theodore* only to disparage him, to represent his most innocent Actions ill, and to interpret what he hath spoken orthodoxly in a bad Sense.

[* 1536.
Dr. Cave.]

[* Historia
Religiosa
Dr. Cave.]

The History, entituled *Philobebus*, or * the Monastic Life, contains the Life and Praises of Thirty famous Eastern Monks, whom *Theodore* had seen, or whose Actions and Vertue he had learned of those that had seen them. He compos'd it about the Year 440. The famous *James of Nisibis* is the first, who lived a great part of his Life in the Mountains, having no Retreat in the Winter but Caves and Dens, nor any other Shelter in Summer, but the Woods. He fed upon nothing but Herbs, or the Fruits of wild Trees, nor had other Cloathing than the Skins of Beasts. After he had pass'd some Years in that Solitude, he was obliged to leave it, against his Will, to take care of the Church of *Nisibis*, of which he had been chosen Bishop; but this Change made no alteration in his Way of Living, nor caus'd him to lay aside his Austerities. He did a great number of Miracles, but that which is remarkable in them, that *Theodore* relates, is this; That they have all a good End, either to punish Sin, or to convince of the Truth. He punished the Impudence of certain Virgins, who discovered themselves before him, in making the Fountain dry where they washed their Linen; and by making their Hair white. He made the Injustice of a Judge's Sentence manifest, and caus'd him to revoke it. Certain Beggars bringing one of their Companions, who pretended himself dead, that they might gain some Alms upon the account of Burying him, and addressing themselves to *S. James of Nisibis*, he bestow'd an Alms on them, and betook himself to his Prayers for that pretended dead Man. But God so permitted it, that he died indeed, inasmuch that after this Holy Man was gone from them his Companions were astonish'd to see that he answer'd them no more: Immediately they returned to him again, by whose Prayers their Cheat had been

(d) Some Faults.] Here are some Examples of them: He places the Death of *Arian* among the Circumstances of the Council of *Nice*, l. 1. c. 14. He makes *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* successor to *Alexander* in the See of *Antioch*, *ibid*. c. 16. He relates the Election of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, to fill the See of *Antioch*, after the Death of *Eulalius*, c. 21. He makes *S. Athanasius*'s Exile to continue Five Months longer than it did, l. 2. c. 1. He fixes the Ordination of *S. Ambrose* in the beginning of *Valentinian*, altho' it did not happen till 370. l. 4. c. 5. He commits a like Fault almost in relating the Sedition of *Antioch*, after the Murder of *Theodotus*. He mistakes in the Number of the Bishops of the Council of *Sardis*. He counts 250. l. 2. c. 7. when they were no more than 170. He confounds the Siege, which the Per-

sians laid before *Nisibis* in 350, with that which they laid there in 350, l. 5. c. 3. He says, That *Paulinus* refused the Agreement which *Melchius* offer'd him, as it appears by the Letters of the Bishops of *Italy*, l. 4. c. 30. He is also mistaken ch. 8. *ibid*. where he hath written, That *Maximus* was Ordain'd Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Timotheus*, whereas it was his Successor *Peter* that ordain'd him. (e) *Baronius* being prejudic'd, &c.] *Theodore* puts the Deposition of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch* in 330. *Baronius* reproves him, but he is mistaken, for *Eusebius* confirm'd the Opinion of *Theodore*. *Baronius* accuses him farther, for being too Favourable to *Melchius* and *Flavian*, but 'tis rather the Cardinal, who was too much incens'd against them.

to severely punish'd, and confessed their Fault to him. He pardon'd them, and restored the Dead Man to Life by his Prayers. *Theodore* also attributes the sudden Death of *Arian* to the Heretic to his Prayers. But he is mistaken in speaking that of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which agreed only to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*. The last Miracle which *Theodore* relates is of the wonderful Preservation of the City *Nisibis*, which was near being taken by *Sapor* King of *Persia*.

The Second Monk, of which he speaks in that History, is *Julianus Sabas*, a Monk of *Offrene*, who lived a long Time in a Den, eating nothing but a little coarse Bread, made of Millet, and that but once a Week. All his Delight was to sing Psalms. Many Persons resorted to him in the Desert, and submitt'd themselves to his Discipline; inasmuch that in a little Time he had a great many Religious Persons under his Conduct; who all remain'd in that Cave, and had no other Room but a little Pantry to keep the Herbs in, which they eat. He sent them every Morn'g Two by Two into the Desert, and commanded them to rehearse by Turns fifteen Psalms of *David*. He that rehearsed them stood up, the other heard them upon his Knees. In the Evening they all returned again to the Cave; and after they had rell'd themselves a little, they again sang Psalms to God. *Theodore* relates many Miracles of *Julianus*, and insinuates particularly upon the Voyage he made to *Antioch*, under the Emperor *Valens*, at the request of *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea*, to confirm the Orthodox of *Antioch* against the *Arians*.

Marcian descended of a Noble Family of the City of *Cyrus*, retired into the Desert. He did eat every Day, about Evening, a quarter of a Pound of Bread, accounting it more convenient to eat every Day, without ever fully satisfying his Hunger, than to fast many Days, and afterward eat his Fill. He had for his Scholars *Eusebius* and *Agaperus*. The first had the Government of many Religious Persons, who withdrew themselves into the same Solitude, where he was. The latter went to *Apamea*, and there made also many Monks. It appears by the Histories which *Theodore* relates of *Marcian*, That he had an holy Mind. He did what he could to conceal the Miracles he wrought, and did less than he could have done. When these Five Bishops, viz. *Flavian* of *Antioch*, *Acacius* of *Berea*, *Eusebius* of *Chalcis*, *Isidorus* of *Cyrus*, and *Theodorus* of *Hierapolis* came to visit him, he remain'd a long time silent, and when they were urgent with him to talk with them, he said, God himself speaks to us every Day, both by his Creatures and by the Holy Scriptures; he admonishes us what we ought to do, he threatens and exhorts us, but we do not profit thereby; how then can the Discourses of *Marcian* be of any Advantage? He would not ever endure that these Bishops should ordain him. Another Monk, named *Avitus*, being come to see him, after he had entertained him a long Time, he caus'd Supper to be got ready, after the * Ninth Hour, and invited the Solitary to eat with him. This Hermit told him, that it was his Custom not to eat till the Sun was down; and that he sometime staid Two or Three Days without eating. *Marcian* desired him for once, to waive that Custom, for his sake, because being of a weak Body, he was not able to stay till the Sun was down. This Request prevailing nothing with *Avitus*, he sat him down to Supper, saying, That he was very sorry that *Avitus* had taken so much Pains to visit a Person so intemperate. *Avitus* having answer'd him, That he would rather eat of his Meat than suffer him to speak in that manner. He says unto him, We have no Custom more than you to eat before the Sun is down, but we are sensible that Charity ought to be preferred before Fasting, for that is commanded, but Fasting is left to our own Liberty. Now we ought to prefer the Law of God before any private Institutions. He engag'd another Monk called *Abraham*, to follow the Discipline decreed by the Council of *Nice*, concerning the Celebration of *Easter*. He hated all Hereticks, but most of all the *Apollinarians*, *Sabellians* and *Euchaites*. Having understood that many Persons had built Oratories to intert their Bodies therein, after their Death, he engag'd his Scholar *Eusebius*, by an Oath, to bury him in a Place, where no Body knew for a long Time where he was. *Eusebius* executed his Order faithfully, and no Body knew where the Body of this Holy Monk was, till after all the other Oratories were consecrated by the Relicks of the Martyrs.

[* 3 a Clock
in the Af-
ternoon.]

In the Fourth Chapter *Theodore* describes the Vertues of *Eusebius*, and his Colleague *Marcian*, and of their Scholars, who had dwelt near *Antioch*.

In the Fifth he describes the Life of *Publius*, a Native of the City *Zengma*, the Head of many Monks, which he caus'd to take up their Abode in the same Monastery. As his Society was made up of *Greeks* and *Syrians*, he made the Divine Service to be sung in *Greek* and *Syriack*. *Theodore* also speaks in this Chapter of *Theotimus* and *Aphthonius*, the Successors of *Publius*.

The History of Old *Simeon* is full of extraordinary Events. He conducted the Jews by the Lyons; he put out a Fire sent from Heaven, which had taken a Village. He undertook a Voyage from Mount *Sinai*; by the way he found a Man in a Cave, who had dwelt there a long Time, and was fed by a Lyon, which brought him Dates: *Simeon* continued a whole Week in Prayer upon Mount *Sinai*, without taking any Food, after which he heard a Voice which bad him eat, and he found Three Apples, which he did eat. Being returned he built Monasteries. *Palladius*, the Friend of *Simeon*, made a dead Man tell him who slew him.

Apollonius, the Persian, professed a Monastick Life, but spent great part of his Life at *Antioch*, in opposing the *Arians*. It seems very strange that he performed a Miracle, to cure the Emperor's Horse, by giving him Water to drink, on which he had made the Sign of the Cross, and rubbing his Belly with consecrated Oyl.

Perrus, a Native of *Gabaria*, lived Fortyfour and nineteen Years, and passed Ninety two of them in the Exercises of a Monastick Life: His first Years he spent in his own Country, and came into *Palastine* to worship Jesus Christ, in the very Place where he died for us. From thence he went to *Antioch*, where he shut himself up in a Tomb, drinking nothing but Water, and eating Bread only, and that but once in Two Days. He freed many that were possessed with Devils, and healed many diseased; among others, the Mother of *Theodore*, who was troubled with a Dissemper in her Eyes, after he had advised her no more to adorn or paint her self. He cured her also of a dangerous Sickness, which she had after Child Bearing.

Theodosius, a Monk of *Cilicia*, was forced, by the Excursions of the Barbarians, to retreat to *Antioch*. The most remarkable Things in his Life are his continual Labors and Mortifications. He was inter'd in the Tomb of *Apollonius*, and had for his Disciple *Helladius*, who after he had passed Sixty Years in the Exercises of a Monastick Life, was Ordained Bishop of *Tarsus*.

Romanus imitated the Life of *Theodosius*. He abode near *Antioch*, lived upon nothing but Bread and Water, loaded himself with Chains, lying on the bare Ground. He was a very pious Man, and did many Miracles.

Zeno, an Officer of the Emperor *Valens*, forsook the Court, to pass his Life in a Tomb near *Antioch*, without Fire, without a Bed, without Household Goods. He came on Festivals and Sundays to the Church, and there heard the Instructions of the Bishops, and approached the Holy Table. He disposed one part of his Estate to the Poor, while he was alive, and left the rest to *Alexander* his Bishop, to be distributed as he pleased.

Macedonius the Monk lived Forty Years in Solitude, near *Antioch*, eating nothing but Barly-bread. Towards the end of his Life he began to eat ordinary Bread, fearing to render an account to God concerning his Death, if he did not do whatsoever was necessary for the Preservation of Life. *Flavian* having caused him to come to *Antioch*, upon pretence of an Accusation, ordained him Priest without his Knowledge. When the Mass was over, some Body telling him of it, he was very angry with all that assisted, but chiefly with *Flavian*, so that they had much to do to pacify him: And, on the next Lord's Day, when they invited him to come to the Feast, he replied to those that came to inreat him, Would you make me a Priest the second Time? They had a great deal of Trouble to persuade him that it could not be done again, and it was a long Time before he would come to *Antioch*. For all this Simplicity he was not wanting, in his Endeavours, to prevent the Execution of those Orders, which the Emperor had given against the People of *Antioch*, being provoked that they had beaten down his Statue. That which he says thereupon to the Captain, who was to execute the Orders, is very Divine. We can easily enough, said he, raise those brazen Statues again which we have beaten down, but 'tis not in the Emperor's Power to raise the Dead: Can it then be reasonable for him to destroy the Images of the Living God for Statues of Brass and Copper? *Theodore* afterwards relates many Miracles of this Monk.

Theodore passes over in silence a great number of other Monks at *Antioch*, that he may speak of those of his own Country, *Cyru*. The first is *Misyrmas*, whom he makes Governor of a small Borough. He never changed his Habit, contenting himself to stitch the Pieces on to it again, as it was torn. It is said, That he had Two Vessels, one of Corn, the other of Oyl, which were never empty, although he was always giving out of them to the Poor.

Acipmas was an Hermite of the same Province, who passed Sixty Years in one Cell, without seeing or speaking to any Man. They carried him Lentils and Water, which he took through a Hole, made sloping that no Man might see him. He used sometimes in the Night to go out to seek Water; one Day he was met by a Shepherd, who believing him to be a Wolf, stung Stones at him, but his Hand and the Boughs kept them off from him. Another Time a certain Person had the Curiosity to get upon a Tree, that he might see what this Hermite did in his Cell, but he became suddenly lame in half his Body, and could not be recovered till the Tree was cut down by his means. *Acipmas* having foreseen his own Death, opened his Cell Fifty Days before his Death, and suffered himself to be seen of all that would visit him. His Bishop being come to him, ordained him Priest, by imposing his Hands upon him in his Cell. He suffered him, because he had but a few Days to live. There was also in the same Country an Hermite, eminent for Virtue, called *Mara*, who did a great many Miracles, and was the Author of the Monastick Life, in the Country of *Cyru*. But he was not more admirable than Holy *Abraham*, who converted a Village, and was afterwards ordain'd Bishop of *Carra*, without lessening at all the Austerities or Practices of the Monastick Life. His Reputation for Holiness was so great, that the Emperor sent for him to *Constantinople*. He propounds also Examples of singular Virtue, in Three Hermites of the same Region, *Eusebius*, *Salamanus* and *Maris*. This last having been a long Time absent from the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries, desired *Theodore* to celebrate them; he did so, and

and causing the Holy Vessels to be brought, he offered the Holy Sacrifice by the Hands of the Deacons, who ministered to him at the Altar.

All those whom *Theodore* hath spoken of in his Hero, were dead, when he wrote: Those Ten which follow were yet alive. He enlarges upon the Life of a certain Monk called *James*, who was one of his Friends: He recounts many Apparitions, which the Devil made use of to trouble him: There is in that Place a very remarkable thing concerning Relicks: *Theodore* had received, with a great deal of respect, some Relicks, which were said to be S. John Baptist's, the Apostles, and Prophets: This Hermite doubting whether those which were offered to be S. John Baptist's, were not some Martyrs of that Name, would not receive them with the other: He was thereupon reproved, in a Vision, and saw S. John Baptist, who assured him, that they were his; and he desired *Theodore* to bring them to him.

He passes over some other Monks, of whom *Theodore* speaks in the following Chapters, to come to the famous S. *Simon Stylites*, whose Life *Theodore* hath written with a great deal of exactness. He was of *Cilicia*, and had kept Sheep in his Youth: but being at Church one Day, and there having heard the Gospel, where it is said, Blessed are they that mourn, he withdrew himself into the Monastery of *Eusebius*, *Armenians*, but because he used such wonderful Austerity, which the other Religious Men could not undergo, they expelled him. He retired into a Cellum, from whence they fetched him, repenting that they had driven him out: but he did not continue with them long, but he went to a Village called *Telmessus*, where he shut himself up in a little House. He was desirous to pass the Lent without Eating or Drinking, and having proposed it to *Assus*, who was preferred to the Office of visiting many other Churches, he gave him Advice not to undertake a thing which might be the Cause of his Death. Notwithstanding, he shut himself up, with Ten Loaves and a Pitcher of Water, and passed Forty Days, without touching them: and when *Assus* being returned at the End of the Time, came to him, he found all the Loaves whole and the Pitcher full, and *Simon* lying on the Ground, senseless: After he had moistened and washed his Mouth with a Spunge, he gave him the Sacrament, by which being strengthened, he raised himself up, and came to raise again by little and little, yet from that Time he passed all other Lent without eating. He remained three Years in his Cell, and then removed from thence to the Top of a Mountain, where he tied himself with a Chain of Thirty Cubits long: But *Melchior*, or rather some other Bishop of *Antioch*, (for *Theodore* must needs be mistaken, *Melchior* being dead a long Time before) telling him, that he need not so cumber himself with the Chain, he broke it, yet did not go from the Place to which he had confined himself. His Fame having drawn an infinite number of People of all Nations to come to see him, and to be very earnestly desirous to touch him, he thought upon this Device, that he might avoid the Multitude, to get up upon a Pillar: instantly he was upon one of Ten Cubits, afterwards he raised it to Twelve, then to Twenty two, and presently after, says *Theodore*, he is on a Pillar of Thirty six Cubits high: *Theodore* approves of such a Life, which appeared extraordinary, and which some disallowed, although an infinite Number of Men highly revered him, and came in Multitudes to receive his Blessing. He gave them Instructions, compiled the Differences that were among them, foretold what should befall them, and often wrought Miracles. He ordinarily continued his Prayers till the Ninth Hour, and did not admit any to Audience who came to see him, till after that Hour. Lastly, he took care of the Affairs of the Church, applied the Jews and Hereticks, wrote to Emperors, Governors and Bishops, to admonish them of their Duty.

If this manner of Living, by remaining in the Posture of standing upon a Mountain for so many Years, seem incredible, that of Two other Hermites, who shut themselves up in Places, where they were forced to continue always stooping, and bowed down, is not less admirable. This Posture, in my Judgment, is more inconvenient than that of *Stylites*. The Two Monks which used this Posture were *Baradatus* and *Thalaleu*. *Theodore* writes their Lives in the Twenty seventh and Twenty eighth Chapters. He makes an end with propounding the Examples of certain Women, who had embraced a Monastick Life. *Mariana* and *Cyru* dwell in a Cell near *Berea*, if we may call that Place a Cell, which was inclosed with Four Walls, without any Covering, where they passed their Life in the Injury of the Weather. They wore long Garments, which covered all their Bodies, and were loaded with Chains. *Dominica* made her a little House in a Garden; she was covered with Hair-cloth, went every Day to Church, and eat nothing but Lentils. *Theodore* saith, That in his Time there were a great number of Virgins consecrated to God, not only in the East but in *Egypt*, *Palastine*, *Afia*, *Penrus* and *Europe*, who either lived in common or by themselves, practising the Exercises of a Monastick Life. That in *Egypt* there were Monasteries, which had Five thousand Monks in them. He concludes his Book with a Request to those, whose Lives he hath written, not to condemn him, though he comes short of their Virtue, that he might have also a share in their Glory. A Modern Author accuses this Opinion of Rashness, Impatience and Arrogance, but I do not believe that he can find many Persons that have so little Equity, as he hath shewed himself to have, in judging after this manner.

the

course of his life, he had been a great enemy to the Divinity and Humanity of the only begotten Son of God, who was sent into the World to save sinners. He had been a great enemy to the Church, and to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Doctrine of the Apostles. He had been a great enemy to the Faith, and to the Salvation of the Soul. He had been a great enemy to the Church, and to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Doctrine of the Apostles. He had been a great enemy to the Faith, and to the Salvation of the Soul.

Secondly, the Author of this Chapter seems to be a Heretic, not only touching the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, but also about the Circumstances of his Life. The Author of this Fragment says, That he knows not what was the Education of *Nestorius*. *Theodoret* knew well that he had been the Scholar of *Theodorus*. He says further, That *Nestorius* had changed his Abode before he came to *Antioch*. *Theodoret* knew that he had lived in the Monastery of *S. Euprepius*, and likewise, That he had been baptized by *Theodorus*. He adds, That *Nestorius* had shown in the beginning of his Episcopacy, that what manner he ought to manage himself, and speaks of him as a contemptible Man. *Theodoret*, on the other side, speaks of him always as a very Learned and Holy Personage.

Thirdly, *Theodoret* having promised, That all the Heretics of which he hath spoken in the former Books, should be confuted by him in this Chapter, both not count the *Nestorians* among those Heretics, who were in an Error concerning the Incarnation.

Fourthly, the Chapter seems not to be *Theodoret's* Style. It is swelling, figurative, full of aggravations. The beginning seems to be nothing to the purpose, and disagreeable to the following part of the History.

Fifthly, this Chapter is taken out of the Letter of *Sporasius*, which contains, besides this History, a long refutation of the Doctrines of *Nestorius*. Now this Letter is an evident piece of Forgery, for, 1. 'Tis a Writing which had no form of a Letter, as being without beginning or end. 2. Why should *Theodoret* write a Letter to *Sporasius* at that time, when he dedicated a Book of Heresies to him? 3. The Author of this piece directs his Speech to *Nestorius*, but uses the Phrases of *S. Gregory Nazianzen*. 'Tis not *Theodoret's* Style. 5. 'Tis quoted by no ancient Author. 'Tis then a forged piece, from whence in all probability the whole History of *Nestorius* is taken, and put into the Book of Heretical Fables, where *Theodoret* has not spoken of that Heretic. Some Person seeing that he ended his Work with the Heretic of *Eutyches*, and that he had said nothing of *Nestorius*, thought he might take that place, which bore the Name of the same Author, to make a kind of Supplement to the Books of Heretical Fables.

Lastly, if this Fragment and the Letter to *Sporasius* were Genuine, how comes it to pass, that it was not alleged by those that defended his Memory at the time of the 5th Council? Why did not *Pachomius* and *Libertius* cite it? How is it, That *S. Gregory* being desirous to prove, in his Letter, that he wrote in the name of *Pelagius* II. to the Bishops of *Isfria*, That *Theodoret* had been Orthodox in his Opinions ever since the Council of *Chalcedon*, hath brought no Arguments so Authentick as this would have been? These are the Conjectures which seem to be very strong; notwithstanding 'tis very hard to believe, That this Chapter should be added to the Text of *Theodoret*, and so much the rather, because *Leontius*, *Petrus*, and the Abbot *Theodorus* acknowledged it to be Genuine, and these two last have produced it likewise to justify him. The Conjectures which are alleged against the truth of this Passage, are not sufficient wholly to determine it. The first were of some consequence, if that Work had been written before the Council of *Chalcedon*, but since it is certain, that it was written after *Theodoret* had solemnly cursed *Nestorius*, it might be well enough that he changed his disposition in relation to him. 'Tis certain, That as favourable as he had been to him, he disliked him, because he never would acknowledge the name of the Mother of God, which the Ancients had given the Virgin. Since he hath cited *S. Cyril* as one of the Fathers of the Church, altho' he had at other times condemned him, why might he not also blame *Nestorius* after he had heretofore commended him? The different disposition that he was in, made him speak differently. It was the Interest of *Theodoret*, after he had anathematized *Nestorius*, to describe him in that sort as he doth in his Treatise of Heresies, as it was before for his honour to excuse him as well as he could. As to the difference of Circumstances which is observed between that which is said of the Life of *Nestorius* in that place, and what *Theodoret* says, 'tis a thing that deserves no stay upon it, 'tis so easily solved. When he says here that he knows not what was his first Education, he speaks not of the time when he was under the Instruction of *Theodorus*, but of his first Instructions that he received from his Parents. And altho' he knew, That he had abode in the Monastery of *S. Euprepius*, he could not know the Journeys he had made before he came thither to retire. As to that which he says of his Temper and Government, he never speaks elsewhere to the contrary. He hath spoken some things more honourably of him, in other places he excuses him; here he blames him and speaks of him as others, either because he had changed his Opinion in reference to him, or because he thought himself obliged to speak so that he might free himself from the suspicion, that some had against him, or to make it appear, that he did sincerely anathematize him.

The third Conjecture is weaker than all the rest. *Theodoret* in his last Book doth not name all the Heresies, of which he had spoken in the former. He contents himself to lay down the Principles which are contrary to their Errors. Among those Principles, there are things as well against the Heresie of *Nestorius* as against the Errors of other Hereticks. He speaks not against the Heresie of *Eutyches* in this last Book, altho' he hath ranked it among the Heresies in the first Book. The Style of this place is not so different from *Theodoret's*, as he imagines, but on the contrary it may be said, That it hath a great similitude and likeness to the other Chapters of that Work. The 5th Objection shews us well enough, That it is incongruous to make a Letter to *Sporasius* into a Chapter of *Theodoret's* Treatise of Heresies, which was dedicated to *Sporasius*. But this doth not prove, That this Chapter is supposititious, nor that it hath been taken out of that forged Letter. But on the other side, 'tis probable, That 'tis through Mistake, that the name of a Letter is given to an Extract taken out of a Treatise of *Theodoret* to *Sporasius*, to which a Discourse taken out of some other Work of *Theodoret's* was joined. So that it may be said, That this Chapter of the Book of Heresies is genuine, and that it was this which gave an occasion to forge the Letter of *Theodoret* to *Sporasius*. A Conclusion drawn from a negative Argument is not very convincing. The Defenders of *Theodoret* have not cited all the places which might be alleged in his Justification, and we have not all that was then said for him. *S. Gregory* did not know all his Works. It is sufficient that we see, that at length this place has been cited by Authors worthy of Credit, as an undoubted Work of this Father.

I will not undertake to relate in this place what *Theodoret* hath spoken in particular of every Heresie; for then I must transcribe all his Treatise. He hath related the Errors of the Hereticks in a very short, clear and easie. He hath gathered what he says touching the Ancient Hereticks out of *S. Justin*, *S. Irenaeus*, *S. Clemens of Alex.* *Origen*, *Eusebius of Palestine* and *Phenicia*, *Adamantius*, *Rhodon*, *Titus*, *Diodorus* and *Georgius*. These are the Authors which he cites in his Preface. He speaks nothing of *Epiphanius*, nor of the Latin Authors which have written an History of Heresies. He is more exact and judicious than they, yet he is not without some Faults. He hath not put the *Pelagians* nor *Origenis* in his List of Hereticks. He observes at the end of his 3d. Book, that the greatest part of the ancient Heresies were of short continuance, that they had but few Followers, that they spread themselves but into few Provinces, and that there was scarce any Man that made Profession of them; whereas, all the World was full of Christians, who made Profession of the Orthodox Faith according to the Promise, which God had made to his Church.

The last Book contains an Explication of the Faith of the Church opposite to the Errors of the Hereticks, of which this is the sum. There is but one first cause of all things, viz. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. This God is eternal, simple and incorporeal, infinitely good and just, omniscient and almighty. The Son is begotten of the Father before all Worlds. He is not created, but equal to his Father and of the same Substance, eternal and almighty as well as he. The Holy Spirit received his Existence from the Father. He is neither created nor begotten, but he is God, and of the same nature with the Father and the Son. These three Persons are no more than one and the same God, who hath created Heaven and Earth, Matter it self, and all the Beings which are in the World. The Angels also are Creatures. But we must not think that they are of a carnal Nature like ours, nor subject to the same Passions. They are Immortal and Spiritual. God hath created Millions of them. Their Business is to sing the Praises of God; yet he believes that there are some who are charged with the care of Nations and particular Men. The Devils are not Sinners by Nature. God created them in a state wherein they might do good or evil. They fell voluntarily into Sin, through Pride, and God punished them for their Sin by casting them from their first Estate. Man is also the Work of God, who hath formed him by his Almighty Hand; he is made up of a Body, and a Spiritual and Reasonable Soul, which is Immortal; God created it when the Body was formed. All things are governed by Divine Providence; we are not ruled by Destiny. There are three sorts of things in the World, which are worthy of Consideration; real good things, which consist in Vertue, real Evils which consist in Vices, and things indifferent, which may be good or evil according as we make use of them, as Riches and Poverty, Prosperity and Adversity, Health and Sickness. If we may believe *Theodoret*, the Goods and Evils of the first sort are in our Power; he holds, That it is in our Power to be Vertuous or Sinners; but as to all other things, God disposeth of them as he pleaseth, for Reasons to us unknown. The Word of God, his only Son, was made Man to restore our decayed Nature, and as the whole Man had sinned, he assumed our Nature entire. He did not take a Body to cover his Divinity, but a Soul and Body like to ours, nor did he put off that Nature at his Resurrection. He came to teach Men a more perfect Law than that of *Moses*, but yet not contrary to it in the least. Baptism came in place of the Jewish Washings. This Ordinance, which is of marvellous Virtue, was not established for the remission of Sins past only, but also to make us hope for the good things promised, by making us Partakers of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and rendering us the Children of God, Heirs of his Kingdom, and coheirs with Jesus Christ: For Baptism is not only a Ransom (as I may say) to our off Sinners, but: For if that were so, why should we baptize Children in their Infancy, says *Theodoret* here, who have nothing of Sin? (This is *Pelagianism*, if he doth not understand it of actual

Theodore. **Actual Sin.** This Sacrament of Baptism gives us the hopes of the Resurrection, which we expect. The Soul is not raised, that shall only be reunited to its Body, which shall be formed anew. The Unbelievers shall be raised from the Dead, as well as Believers; the Sinner as well as the Just. All Men shall receive at the day of Judgment, either a Reward of their Virtues, or a Punishment for their Sins. The Reward of the Saints shall have nothing temporal or earthly in it. It consists in the enjoyment of Eternal Goods. Christ's millenary Reign is a Fable. This Eternal Life is free from Temptation and Sin, and full of ineffable Joy. Before all this, shall the coming of Jesus Christ in Glory be, which shall follow the coming of Antichrist.

Theodore after he hath spoken of that which concerns the Faith of the Creed, passeth to the Articles which relate to Mens manners. The first is of *Virginity*. God hath not commanded it, but yet he gives it such Commendation as it deserves, that he may encourage Men to embrace it. Marriage is not forbidden, but the end of it ought to be for the Procreation of Children. Second Marriages are not prohibited neither, but Fornication and all other Uncleanliness are condemned by the Evangelical Law.

Theodore goes on next to Repentance, and after he hath observed, That the Scripture doth not only forbid Sin, but also affords a Remedy for the Cure of those, who have committed it, by exhorting to Repentance; he saith, That there is also a Medicine for Sins committed after Baptism, but that they cannot be cured as before, by Faith alone, we must make use of Tears, Weeping, Groans, Fasting, Prayers, and a Satisfaction proportionable to the greatness of the Sin, that we have committed. And as to those, who are not so disposed, the Church doth not despair of them, but admits them to Communion. These, saith he, are the *Laws of the Church about Repentance*. Lastly, as concerning Abstinence, the Church doth not forbid the use of Wine and Flesh as some Hereticks do, but leaves us at Liberty, that they that will may Abstain. She obliges no Man to embrace a Monastick Life, but that is entirely free. These are the Articles of Doctrine of the Church, which *Theodore* opposes to the Errors of the Hereticks, and which he proves by express Testimonies of Holy Scripture excellently well chosen.

In speaking of Providence, he refers us to what he hath said in the ten Books which he hath written upon that Subject. He cites them also in his Commentary upon the *67th Psalm*, and speaks of them in his 133d. and 182d. Letters. This makes it evident, That also the Discourses of Providence are put after the Treatise of Heretical Fables, yet they were composed a long time before about the year 433. These are the Discourses or Sermons which he recited probably at *Antioch*. In the five first he proves a Providence by the admirable Position of the Heavenly Bodies, by the wonderful Order of the Elements, by the Contexture of the Parts of Man's Body, by the invention of Arts, and by the dominion of Man over the Beasts. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th, he answers some Objections which may be made against Providence, by shewing, That Poverty, Bondage and other Misfortunes, to which Men and even the Just, are subject, have Profit in them. In the 9th, he shews, That the practice of Virtue is not unprofitable, altho' very often it is not recompensed in this World, because it shall be rewarded in another Life. In the last, after he hath observed, That God hath always loved, and taken care of all Men; he shews, That this Love appears plainly in the Incarnation of the Son of God, and all that Jesus Christ hath done for them. These Discourses are written with a great deal of Generosity and Eloquence. They have been published by *M. Joranius* [at Rome] in 1545, and translated by *Gualter* [at Tigur.] in 1546. [Afterward at Paris, 1630, in Octavo, Dr. Cave.]

[* De curandis offensionibus Græcorum, Dr. Cave.] There is not less Eloquence and much more Learning in the 12 Discourses concerning the Cure of the false Opinions of the Heathens, where he proves the truth of our Religion, and vines the Heathens of Falshood, by comparing them together. *Theodore* undertook this Work to satisfy some Objections which had been made to him. He speaks of it in his Letter to *Renatus*, and in that which he wrote to *S. Leo*, and he puts them among those Books, which he had composed before the year 438. He therein speaks of the Law of the Emperor, in which he had commanded that the Temples should be demolished, pursuant to a Law of *Theodosius* promulgated in 426. So that this Work was framed in some of the following years. It is divided into 12 Discourses, of which *Theodore* himself hath made an Abridgment. The first is of the Credulity of the Christians and Ignorance of the Apostles. *Theodore* proves both of them are unjustly imputed to the Christians, as a proof of the Falshood of their Religion; That the wisest Persons have not always been those who have had most Eloquence and Learning; That the Greeks have been taught that Wisdom by the *Barbarians*; That *Plato* had acknowledged, That the greatest Philosophers were not always those, who were most skillful in Arts and Sciences; That it was not true, that the Christians believed rashly and without proof; That the Heathen Philosophers required Faith, and that they themselves had yielded Faith to the Poets; That they had acknowledged, that Faith was necessary in order to Knowledge; yea, that there was no part of Knowledge but required some sort of Faith in order to it.

In the second, after he hath examined the Opinions of the Heathen Philosophers concerning the beginning of the World, he makes it appear, that what *Moses* hath said of it, is much more rational than all that the Philosophers have imagined; and that *Plato* had taken all that he hath spoken so well upon that subject, out of the Books of *Moses*.

In

In the Third he compares that which the Greeks have written concerning their Petty Gods, with what the Christians have said of Spiritual Creatures, Angels and Demons; and makes it *Theodore* clear, by that Comparison, that the Doctrine of Christians is as wise and rational as the Heathens is impious and ridiculous.

In the Fourth he shews, That what the Christians believe of the Creation of the World, is far more reasonable than what *Plato* and the other Philosophers have taught of it.

In the Fifth he speaks of the Nature of Man; and after he hath laid down what the Christians and Greeks think of it, he shews the Difference between Light and Darkness, Ignorance and Error.

In the Sixth he discourses of Providence; "for, saith he, it was just, after I had spoken of God and the Creatures, to say something of Providence, in Refutation of the Impiety of *Diogenes*, the Blasphemous of *Epicurus*, and the Fabulous Sentiments of *Aristotle*, by confirming the Doctrine of *Plato* and *Plinius* upon that Subject, and by proving, from Reasons, drawn from Nature and the Frame of the World, that the Providence of God is manifested in all Creatures.

In the Seventh Discourse he condemns the Sacrifices of the Heathen, and makes use of the Testimonies of the Prophets, to prove that the Ceremonies of the old Law were intended for Persons imperfect only.

In the Eighth he undertakes to defend the Honour which the Christians give the Martyrs, shewing, by the Testimonies of the Philosophers, Poets and Historians, that the Greeks have honoured the Memory of Eminent Men, by offering Sacrifices to them after their Death, and by bestowing on them the Qualities of Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes, although the greatest part of them had been Infamous and Criminals: And this he does to give a clearer Demonstration that the Christians did honour their Martyrs far more deservedly. He makes a Comparison between the Heathen Law-givers and the Apostles, which is the Subject of the Ninth Discourse.

In the Tenth he compares the Predictions of the Greeks with the Prophecies of the Jews, and by that Comparison demonstrates, that the one promoted Falshood and Absurdities, whereas the other had foretold nothing but what is true and reasonable.

In the Eleventh he relates what both Heathens and Christians have said concerning the End of the World, and the Last Judgment.

Lastly, in the Twelfth Discourse he shews, That the Life of the Apostles, and of those who have imitated them, is far above the Life of other Men.

In these Discourses there is a great deal of Learning; *Theodore* quotes above an hundred Heathen Authors in them: They are written with a great deal of Art and Eloquence, and may not give Place in any thing to all the Works of Antiquity, composed for the Defence of Religion. They are translated by *Acciaolus*, who printed his Version at Paris in 1519, *Silvius Jurgius* hath published them since in Greek [and Latin, at Heidelberg 1592, in Folio, with his own Notes, full of most useful and excellent Learning, &c.]

The Addition, which is at the End of this Fourth Tome of the Works of *Theodore*, doth not contain forged Pieces, but certain Treatises that have not yet been put in order. The First is a Discourse of Charity, which is a kind of a Conclusion of his History of Religion; in which he extols the Charity and Love that the Martyrs of the Old and New Testament had shewn in their Sufferings.

The Discourse which carries the Name of a Letter to *Sporatius*, is not a Letter, but a Fragment of the Treatise of Heretics, to which is joyned an Explication of the Mystery of the Incarnation. We will put the Letter to *John* bishop of *Germanicia* to the other Letters of *Theodore*, and will elsewhere speak of the Confutation of *S. Cyril's Anathematism*, as also of the Discourse that he made at *Chalcedon* against *S. Cyril*, when he was Deputy for the Oriental Bishops, after the Council of *Ephesus*. We have one of these Discourses entire, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and some Fragments of Three others, in the Acts of the Fifth Council.

Theodore being returned to *Antioch*, after the Council of *Ephesus*, composed five other Books against *S. Cyril*. *M. Mercator* hath given us some Extracts of them in Latin, and *F. Garner* hath published some Fragments of them in Greek. *Phorius*, in the Forty sixth Book of his *Bibliotheca*, makes mention of Twenty seven Books of *Theodore* against several Propositions. The Twenty last are *Euthymius's* of *Yana*, as we have learned of *M. Mercator*. *F. Garner* believes, That the Seven first Books are the Work against *S. Cyril*, but, for my part, I rather believe them another Treatise of the Incarnation, which he often speaks of. For, 1. The Work of *S. Cyril* was divided into Five Books, this into seven. 2. *Phorius*, without doubt, would have observed, That these Discourses were against *S. Cyril*. 3. The subject of these Discourses does not agree, in the least, with the Treatise against *S. Cyril*. "The First, saith *Phorius*, is against those, that say, That the Word and Humanity make up but one Nature, and who attribute the Sufferings to the Divinity. The Second sets upon the same Errors very strongly, by Testimonies of Scripture. The Third is about the same Subject. The Fourth contains the Opinions of the Holy Fathers about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ our Saviour. The Fifth gathers together the Opinions of the Hereticks, and shews that they are near-a-kin to their Error, who will not acknowledge Two Natures in Jesus Christ.

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ones ad
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which he had composed against the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Marcionites*, but these Works are in the hands of the *Antiochians*, who have his *Book of Mysteries*, to which he refers his Readers, which he is speaking of Basilus, in his last Book of Heretical Fables, and of which he makes mention in the Places where he gives a Catalogue of his Works, nor the Book of Theology. It seems likewise, that all these Works were not known to those who have spoken of Theodoret, for neither *Phorin*, nor *Gennadius*, nor *Nestorius*, nor *Hebedeus*, who have made Catalogues of Theodoret's Works, have made mention of them. He had also made an Apology for *Didorus* of Tarsus, and *Theodorus* of Mopsuestia, which the Author last named calls the Apology of the Fathers. Theodoret gives an hint of them in one of his Letters, and some Fragments are to be found in the Fifth Council. *Phorin* hath preferred large Extracts of the Five Discourses, compiled in the Commendation of *S. Chrysostom*. He observes that he had made a greater Number, but he had never seen any but these Five: That the one Part of the First Discourse seems to respect another Subject; but in the latter Part, he tells us, How *S. Chrysostom* was made Bishop, the Design he had to restore the Priesthood to its Ancient Splendor, the Discourse he made against the *Catharists*, his Sermons, which he preached for the good of the State, the Envy that they had against him, the manner how he was driven out, and sent into Exile, and other Circumstances of the Life of this great Saint. He faith, That the Second Sermon being but short, contained very little of his Praise, but the Third, which was much superior to the others, in the choiceness of Words and Notions, surpassed the Bounds of a Panegyric. The Fifth and Sixth finish the Description of his Virtues.

Phorin relates these long Extracts, but they are in a Style wholly different from Theodoret's. They are nothing but *Antistheses*, Jingles of Words, abrupt Phrases, childish Notions, and nothing like Theodoret's Style, which is grave, masculine and serious. 'Tis not the same with the Sermon upon the Nativity of *S. John Baptist*, published by *F. Garner*, which is like enough to Theodoret's Style. *Hebedeus* attributes to Theodoret a Book against *Origen*, but he hath not spoken of it in any other Place, and 'tis very unlikely that he hath written any thing against that Author. There is a Manuscript, where a Book of *Aesthetic*, printed, under the Name of *Maximus*, carries Theodoret's Name, but it is rather the former's.

We have deferred to speak of the Letters of Theodoret till this Place, because they are very proper to represent the History of his Life, and give us a true Idea of his Conduct, so as we ordinarily conclude with a Description of the Authors. We have judged that we cannot do this better of Theodoret than by drawing it from his Letters, where he ingeniously discovers his Opinions and Notions. There we may see the Obligations he had, the Motives by which he acted, the Disposition he was of, the Virtues and Failings which he had.

These Letters are of Two Sorts: The One concern the Disputes which he had, through his whole Life, with the Bishops of *Antioch*. Others are Familiar Letters, written about private Affairs. The First of these may be referred to Three Classes; the First is made up of those which were written before and in the Time of the *Ephesine* Council; the Second of such as were written during the Time that the Peace between the *Oriental* Bishops and the *Agyptians* was in making, till it was agreed on: And the Third contains those which were written from the Time he began to be troubled afresh, until his Absolution pronounced in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Since we shall be obliged to speak of these Letters in particular, when we shall lay down the History of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, we shall content our selves to observe only their Number in this Place, and what may be deduced from thence, to make known the Disposition of Theodoret.

The First Class contains but a very small Number of Letters, especially if we do not attribute to Theodoret all the Letters which were written from *Ephesus* in the Name of the *Eastern* Bishops. The First is the Letter which he wrote to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, when he sent him the Confutation of *S. Cyril's* Twelve Chapters, in the Year 431. This we have in *Greek* and *Latin*, but of all the others only the *Latin* Version. *M. Mercator* hath preferred a Fragment of a Letter, which Theodoret wrote from *Ephesus* to *Andrew* Bishop of *Samosata*. There is also a Letter in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, written from *Chalcedon* to *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and Four or Five others in the Collection of *Lupus*, written before the Affair of the Peace began to be spoken of. It is evident by these Letters that Theodoret was extremely incensed against the Twelve Chapters, because he thinks them Heretical, defends *Nestorius*, accounts him Orthodox and unjustly condemned, and was persuaded that *S. Cyril* and *Memnon* had been justly condemned. In a Word, he maintains all

(A) Irreconcilably [off.] *F. Garner* pretends, That we have already said in the Notes, upon these the are the Dialogues in *S. Athanasius*, but [off.] Works of *S. Athanasius*, Vol. 2. more probable that they are *Maximus*'s. See what [off.]

that was done by the Oriental Bishops, and disapproves whatsoever *S. Cyril* and the Council had done.

The Second Class contains no other Letters, almost, but those which have been lately published by *F. Lupus*, out of a Manuscript of the Library of *Monte Cassino*, which comprehends a great Number of Letters of the Oriental Bishops, but all in *Latin*. These are all taken out of a Collection, which had been formerly made by Count *Ireneus*, who assisted at the Council of *Ephesus* in the room of the Emperor, and was after a Bishop in *Phoenicia*. As he was one of the most zealous Favourers of *Nestorius*, he had gathered all the Letters together, which might concernance him; and drew Consequences from them to maintain his Party. This Book was entituled *A Tragedy*, because he pretends to shew, That the Condemnation of *Nestorius* was but a bloody Scene exhibited to the World. We have already seen that *Isidore* of *Damiata*, and *Euthemius* of *Tyana* had given that Name to what was done in the Council of *Ephesus*. The Ancient Author, who hath taken out of him these Letters, which he hath inserted in his Collection, hath set down in some Places the Reflections of *Ireneus*. The Design of this Author hath been to justify Theodoret, and to shew, That since all the Letters are certainly his, he cannot be accused of Heresy, because it appears, That he always acknowledged the Letter which *S. Cyril* wrote to procure Unity, to be Catholic Doctrine, and that he never defended *Nestorius* but in Matter of Fact, believing him of the same Judgment.

Although we have these Letters only upon the Faith of this Author, and in one Manuscript, which the *Romanists* likewise are careful to conceal, ever since *F. Lupus* made use of it, it may be, because it contains some Pieces, which are not favourable to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*; yet it is not to be doubted but that they are Ancient: For, 1. We find in this Collection those which are in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and of the First Council, and of which *M. Mercator* recites some Fragments. 2. They contain such particular Facts, and accompanied with such Circumstances, and which have such a natural Relation to the rest of the History of the Council of *Ephesus*, that it is impossible that they should be devised by an Impostor. 3. The principal Matters, which they discover, are confirmed by other undoubted Records, although they are not sufficiently explain'd and cleared but by these Letters. Lastly, It cannot be doubted but they are taken out of the Collection of *Ireneus*. The Terms, which are cited, make it evident, that this Work is not forged. Now *Ireneus* lived in the very Time of the Controversy, and was a Witness of all that had passed, so that these Letters are very Ancient. It may be objected, That *Ireneus*, being of the *Novatian* Party, might forge those Letters of Theodoret in their Favour: But what likelihood is there that he should have the Boldness to do it, in a Time, in which it was so easy a Matter to convince him of the Imposture. There are more than Thirty Letters in this Collection, which bear the Name of Theodoret. I will not here speak of every one in particular, because I will not repeat the same thing over twice, I will content my self to relate the Consequences which may be drawn from them.

First of all, They shew that Theodoret, did always approve the Doctrine contain'd in *S. Cyril's* Letter, written about the Reconciliation: He looked upon it to speak the Truth, as a kind of Recantation of the Doctrine contain'd in the Twelve Chapters, but he thought it Orthodox, although *Nestorius*, *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and some others, found Fault with it.

II. At first he shewed a great deal of Averseness to receive *S. Cyril* into his Communion, for though he believed that he professed Orthodox Doctrine, and revoked his pretended Errors, yet he could not bring himself to a Reconciliation, with a Person, whom he thought to be the Author of all his Troubles: Nevertheless, he passed it over at length, and offered to Communicate with him, provided that he should not be obliged to pronounce *Nestorius* accused, and that all the Bishops of the *Eastern* Party might be restored.

III. Having heard that the Peace was concluded, without mention of their Restauration, That *Nestorius* was forsaken, and that *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa* had cursed him, he joyed himself with *Alexander* of *Hierapolis*, and many other Bishops, who would have nothing to do with that Agreement, and who separated themselves from *John* of *Antioch*, because he had made it.

IV. Being Solicited by *John* Bishop of *Antioch* to yield himself, and pressed to it by his Monks, who were afraid that he would be driven out of his Bishoprick, he entred a Conference about it with *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and consented to receive *S. Cyril* into his Communion, nevertheless, without curing *Nestorius*, and exhorted the other Bishops to do the same soon after. He wrote Letters to *S. Cyril*, and received Letters from him, but he did not entirely put off the good Opinion he had of *Nestorius* and his most zealous Adherents; and although he dare not stand up in their Defence ever after, yet he seems always to have some Compassion for them, and also a secret Grudge against *S. Cyril*, and the Bishops of *Agypt*, who envied him, both in his Life-time and after his Decease. *S. Cyril* himself complains of his Behaviour, if the Letter which is found in the *Vatican* Manuscript, and which *F. Garner* has printed, be really his. And Theodoret, for his part, bespatters the Memory of *S. Cyril*, in as bloody a Letter as can be written: If it be of him that he speaks, in that which is recited in the Fifth Council, and if that Letter be not forged; but this we shall examine elsewhere: Yet we

must observe, That P. Gerson hath published a Letter of Theodoret's, to John of Antioch, in Greek and Latin, which had been printed by Leo Allatius and Cotelierius; in which he approves the Form of Agreement to be very Orthodox.

The Third Class of Theodoret's Letters, which are Historical, is contained in the Greek and Latin Collection of his Letters, which F. Sirmondus hath published at the End of the Third Tome of his Works.

The Sixtieth Letter may be reckon'd the Fifth, according to the Order of Time, which was written to Dioscorus, newly prefer'd to the See of Alexandria, after the Death of S. Cyril, which happen'd in 444. This Letter is a proof, that the Reconciliation of Theodoret with the Egyptians was sincere, and that he did not intend to trouble the Peace of the Church. Nevertheless he was Accused to the Emperor, the next Year, by those that favoured the Error of Eutyches, of troubling the Peace of the Church, by holding frequent Assemblies at Antioch, instead of residing in his own Diocese. Under this pretence they obtain'd an Order from the Emperor, in which he strictly enjoined Theodoret to remain in his own City Cyrus, and not stir from thence. This Order was shew'd him by Count Rufus, and he immediately Obedied it. Yet he wrote in his own defence to Patriarch Anastolus, to the Præfect Eutychius, and to the Consul Nontius. These Letters are the Seventy Ninth, Eighty, and Eighty One. He therein shews, That it was very unjust to give Credit to the Accusations of his Enemies without hearing him; That he has always lived a blameless Life; That no Man complained of him in his own Country; That he was not troubled that he was confined to the City Cyrus, but on the contrary, there was no place of Dwelling more pleasing to him; and this grieved him, That he was constrain'd to it by the Order of the Emperor, because it would give an occasion to the People of his Dioceses to slight his Instructions; That he was wrongfully Accused of having held frequent Assemblies at Antioch, since he never came thither but when he was Summoned by his Patriarch; That he had done nothing but what was according to the Canons and Discipline of the Church; That he had lived and discharged all the parts of his Ministry without fault; That all his Crime was, that he Lamented the Miseries of the Phœnician Churches; That he was ready to be Judged by a Council of Bishops, and that in the presence of the most Illustrious Magistrates.

The Enemies of Theodoret were not satisfied to have accused his Behaviour, but they would render his Faith suspected, and to this end published in Alexandria, that he taught, that there were Two Sons of God. This obliged him to write his Eighty Second Letter to Eusebius Bishop of Ancyra, wherein he declares, that he was so far from that Error, that when he discovered some of the Fathers of the Nicene Council to incline to a Division of the Two Natures, he was much troubled, because he knew, that the excessive use, they made of it, had given occasion to that Error. "And for fear, addeth he, that it should be thought, that it is fear, which makes me now speak in this manner, let those who would inform themselves fully of my Opinion, read the Works which I have compos'd, either before the Council of Ephesus, or within these Twelve Years last past, which if they examine, and judge of my Opinions by them, they will find, that I have no other.

The Accusation, which Theodoret endeavours to clear himself of in this Letter, was greedily received by Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, who besides the old Controversie of the Egyptians, had another private Quarrel with Theodoret about the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Alexandria. He wrote to Domnus, who had succeeded John in the See of Antioch, that it was told him, that Theodoret Preaching publicly at Antioch, had divided the Person of Jesus Christ into Two. Theodoret having seen this Letter, which was given to him in the Seventh Year of the Pontificate of Domnus, in 447, he wrote the Eighty Third Letter to Dioscorus, wherein he complains, that Dioscorus had given Credit to the Testimony of a few Persons too easily. He opposes to their Testimony the infinite number of those who had heard the Sermons which he Preached at Antioch in Twenty Six Years time under Three Arch-bishops, without incurring blame from any person for that matter. He professes to follow the judgment of the Fathers, to defend the Doctrine of the Nicene Council, and to acknowledge but One Jesus Christ the Son of God, as he did confess but One Father, and One Holy Ghost. He proves this Truth likewise, and shews, That tho' there are Two Natures in Jesus Christ, there is nevertheless but One Jesus Christ, to whom the Proprieties of the Two Natures agree. He adds, That he hath taken this Doctrine out of the Writings of S. Alexander, S. Athanasius, and S. Basil, and that his Writings make it appear, that he made use of the Books of Theophilus, and S. Cyril, to confute the Errors of those, that say, That One of the Two Natures hath been changed into the other; That he hath written to S. Cyril, and that that Saint received his Letters; That he hath read and admired his Books against Julian; That he wrote to him upon that Subject, and that he yet hath the Answer which he made S. Cyril. He then desires Dioscorus not toarken to his Calumniators, nor to reject him from his Communion; and after he hath Cited his Books as Authentick Witnesses of the Purity of his Faith, he concludes with this Protestation, If any one refuses to confess, that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God, or says, that Jesus Christ our Lord is but a mere Man, or divides him into Two, he, who is the only Son of God, and the first Born of every Creature, let him lose all the hope which he hath in God. Altho' Theodoret seemed to have fully justified himself by this Letter, nevertheless Dioscorus gave not over his Enterprize, and instead of rejecting the Calumnies which were fo

grounded, he called together his Accusers, caus'd them publicly to pronounce him Accused, and did the same himself. When Theodoret heard it, he implored the help of other Bishops, but particularly Flavian Bishop of Constantinople. The Letter which he wrote to him is the Eighty Sixth. After he hath related the Attempt of Dioscorus, he says, that he heard, that that Bishop of Alexandria had sent some of his Bishops to Constantinople, hoping to raise great Commotions against him, but he put his Confidence chiefly in God, since he is Assaulted upon the account of the true Faith, and next in the protection of Flavian, whom he prays to maintain the Orthodox Faith, and vindicate the Canons, which were slighted. "For, faith he, the Fathers of the Council held at Constantinople, following the determination of the Nicene Council, have distinguished the bounds of Dioceses, expressly forbidding the Bishops of one Diocese to encroach upon the Rights of another. They ordered the Bishop of Alexandria not to concern himself but in Egypt only, and have left to others the Government of their own Dioceses. But Dioscorus concerning these Laws, boasts that his See is S. Mark's, that he may assume the Rights that do not belong to him. We might oppose to him, that the Church of Antioch was the See of S. Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles. But we do not regard the Dignity of the See, we know and keep within the bounds of Humility which the Apostles have taught us. Theodoret says further to engage Flavian on his side, that Dioscorus had hated him ever since he consented to the Rules made in the time of Prelate, in favour of the See of Constantinople. He wrote also Letters to Domnus Bishop of Antioch, to the Bishops of Cilicia, and to many Officers of the Emperor's Court, whom he fills with Complaints. We may see upon this Subject the Eighty Third Letter, and the following to the One Hundred and Tenth.

But all his endeavours were to no purpose; he became every Day more and more odious to the Emperor, and the main thing that was sought, was an occasion to ruin him. This was thought a very fit One, to Depose Irenæus, whom he had Ordain'd Bishop of Phœnicia. Two Faults were found with that Ordination. The first was, That Irenæus was a Nestorian, and did not believe that the Virgin ought to be called the Mother of God. The other was, That he had been Twice Married. The Emperor wrote to Domnus to Depose him. Theodoret tells him in his Hundred and Tenth Letter, that he could not do it without an Offence against God, because he had Ordained him pursuant to the Declaration of the Bishops of Phœnicia, who had judg'd him worthy to be a Bishop for his rare Vertues; and as to that charge, That he had been Twice Married, he had pass'd by the ordinary Rules according to the Example of Alexander Bishop of Antioch, who with Acacius Bishop of Beroa had Ordain'd Dioscorus, a Man Twice Married, and of Praxius Bishop of Jerusalem, who also had Ordain'd Domnus Bishop of Caesarea, altho' he was Twice Married. That, in fine, Proclus had approved the Ordination of Irenæus, and the Bishops of Pontus, Palestine, and Cappadocia, had acknowledged him, and that no Man had ever call'd in Question the Validity of it; That it was unjust after this to condemn him; That Domnus ought to represent these things to the Emperor; That he could nevertheless Answer otherwise, if he judg'd it fit; That as to himself, he expected to suffer the utmost; That he believed in the last place, that the best Expedient were to wait the Answer of the Bishops of Palestine, to write unanimously to Constantinople. He wrote at the same time the Third Letter to Irenæus, wherein he signifies to him obscurely, that he ought not to withdraw himself, if he were not forced to it.

But another Business was brought upon the Stage against Theodoret; he was accused, that he had evil-intreated and unjustly condemned the Accusers of Ibas. He defends himself against that Accusation in the Hundred and Eleventh Letter to Anastolus, by telling him, that he was none of the Judges, being detain'd at Cyrus by the Emperor's Order; That he had no part in that Judgment, but that Domnus had done his Duty in reviewing their Affair, not only as to the Judgment of Ibas, but also of Simen Bishop of Amida, to the end that their Cause might be judg'd by Two different Metropolitans. He complains, that in all other Countries the Bishops were at ease, and that no regard was had to any but the Eastern Bishops; That whatsoever their Malicious Adversaries could invent against them, was harkened to. That as to himself, there was less reason to Accuse him than any other, since he had kept himself quietly in his own Dioceses according to the Emperor's Order, and that he had not assist'd at Two Ordinations made in his Province. He adds, That if he were not detain'd by the Emperor's Order, he would retire altogether for the remaining part of his Life.

The Calling of a Council at Ephesus under Dioscorus afflicted Theodoret. He foresaw easily enough, that he could hope for nothing from a Synod, where Dioscorus his Adversary presided, and ruled all. Also when Domnus sent him the Letter of the Convocation, which was directed to him, he signifies to him by his Hundred and Twelfth Letter, that this Synod would have but a very bad issue, if God did not disappoint the designs of Men, for tho' the Council of Nice had condemn'd Arius, and the Bishops of his Party had consented to his Condemnation, yet they had continued in their Impiety, and troubled the Church for many Years; That he feared yet worse of this present Synod, because the other Dioceses did not discover the Poison of the Twelve Chapters, and that only considering the Reputation of him that compos'd them, this was the Cause, that they suspected no ill in them; That he did not doubt but that his Successor would do what in him lay to have them confirmed in a Second Council: "For having already pronounced, faith he, Anathema against

those who would not approve them, what will he not do at the head of a Council? But *Theodore*, further to *Dionysius*, he is well known to you, that none of those Bishops who have approved the Heretic that is clothed in those propositions, will ever give their Approbation of them, who the number of them that would obtain it be as great again. We have already renounced them, altho' many Bishops had approved them at *Ephefus*, nor did we communicate with the Author of them; all he had declared his consent plainly to that Explanation of the Faith, which we had presented to him without mentioning the Twelve Chapters. He proves afterwards by Authentick Records, that the Bishops of the East had always condemned them, and exhorted *Dionysius* not to forsake the Faith of his Ancestors, and not to receive a strange Doctrine. 'Tis plain, that this Letter was written a little before the Council in 449.

The Council of *Ephefus* did worse than *Theodore* had foretold: for it approved the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, rejected the Faith of the Church, condemned *Flavian*, and pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against *Theodore* without hearing him, or citing him. But he in many Letters made it appear immediately, that he was unjustly Condemned by them.

The largest and most considerable is, that which he wrote to *S. Leo*, to whom he made his Appeal in this Urgent Necessity. 'Tis the Hundred and Thirtieth Letter. After he hath Complimented him about his Primacy, the Greatness and Prerogatives of his Church, and the Purity of his Doctrine, explain'd in his excellent Letter to *Flavian*. He describes the Injustice that *Discorus* had committed, not only as to *Flavian*, but also as to himself, in Deposing him so irregularly; that is to say, in his absence, without having cited him Judicially, without questioning him, without having ordered his Process, and after he had caused him to make Excuses of coming to the Council. He next proves his own Innocence chiefly, by the unblameable manner in which he had managed the Government of his Diocess. Lastly, He implores the help and protection of *S. Leo*, and prays him to send for him to *Rome*, that he may justify by his Writings, that his Doctrine is thoroughly conformable to that of the *Roman Church*. But above all things, he beseeches him to let him know, whether he ought to yield to that unjust Sentence, that he would wait his Advice thereupon, and if he thought it best for him to abide there, he will do it freely; that he will be troublesome to no Man, any more, but wait patiently the full Judgment of God, that as for himself, he valued his own Reputation but little, but that he was afraid of giving scandal, and being an occasion of falling to the Weak, who believing his Doctrine Heretical might fall into Error.

He wrote at the same time to *Renarus*, a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, to desire him to put forward his proposition, with his Bishop, of Assembling a Council in his Church, promising to submit himself to his Judgment, be what it will. He also quotes his own Writings as an Authentick Proof of the Truth of his Faith. This is the Hundred and Sixteenth Letter.

The Hundred and Seventeenth Letter is directed to the Bishop of *Florence*, if we follow the Title, but the Body of the Letter makes it appear, that it was written to many Bishops, or to the whole Clergy. He represents to them the Injustice that was done him, and implores their Assistance. He makes the like Complaints to the Arch-Deacon of *Rome*, by the Hundred and Eighteenth Letter, and to *Anatolius Patriarch* by the Hundred and Nineteenth, and Hundred Twenty First Letters, to *Urbanus* Bishop of *Emesa* in the Hundred Twenty Third, and Hundred Twenty Fourth Letters, to Bishop *Timothy* by the Hundred and Thirtieth Letter, to *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* by the Hundred Thirty Second Letter, to *John* Bishop of *Germania* by the Hundred Thirty Third, and Hundred Forty Seventh Letters, and many others. All these Letters were written towards the end of the Year 449, or at the beginning of the Year 450, from the Monastery whither he had retired. The Hundred Twenty Fifth, Hundred Forty Fourth, Hundred Forty Fifth, and Hundred Forty Sixth, are Explications of the Faith written at the same time, and from the same place; as also the Hundred Twenty Sixth Letter to *Sabinian* Bishop of the *Parent*, who having been deposed in the Council of *Ephefus*, was retreated. *Theodore* commends him for his Valour.

At the end of this Year the Face of things was changed by the Death of *Theodosius*. *Marcian* who Succeeded him, made the Judgment of the Council of *Ephefus*, held under *Discorus*, to be void, and restored *Theodore* who had been driven out of *Cyprus*. He then wrote many Letters to his Friends, either to complain of them who had forsaken him, as he doth in the Hundred Thirty Fourth, and Hundred Thirty Fifth; or to return them thanks who had assisted him, and opposed his Enemies, as he doth in the Hundred Thirty Seventh, Hundred and Forty, Hundred and Forty One, Hundred Forty Two, and Hundred Forty Three, or to make them some part of a means, and pray them to obtain it of the Emperor, that a new Council might be called to settle the Peace of the Church, and uphold the Orthodox Faith. This is what he desires of *Anatolius* in the Hundred Thirty Eighth Letter, and *Asparus* the Consul, in the Hundred Thirty Ninth Letter.

These are the principal Letters of *Theodore*, the other, which contain nothing Historical, are either Letters of Rejoicing upon some Festival, or Letters of Consolation, Thanks, Recommendation, and Congratulation to his Friends. The Twenty Ninth, and the following Letters, recommend the Orthodox Banished from *Carthage* in 442. The Forty Second, and Four following, are written to obtain the discharge of a Sum which was demanded of his Country,

the payment of which was solicited by a Wicked Excommunicated Bishop. The Seventy Seventh, and Seventy Eighth, shew to the Bishops of *Armenia*, near adjoining to *Perfia*, what they ought to do in time of Persecution. *Theodore* in all his Letters discovers a great deal of Piety, Charity, and Humility; these have all the Qualifications which render Letters valuable for they are Short, Plain, Near, Elegant, Civil, Pleasant, full of Matter, Wit, and Holiness.

There is no necessity of making a further Description of *Theodore*; what we have related of his Life, the Judgment which we have pass'd upon all his Works in particular, and what we have spoken of his Letters, are sufficient to give a full Idea of his Conversation, Learning, and Eloquence.

As to his Doctrine, we shall have frequent occasion to speak of it. Notwithstanding we see by his Conduct hitherto, that tho' he defended the Person of *Nestorius*, he never maintain'd his Errors; he always profess'd his belief of One Jesus Christ, God and Man in One Person, never divided, but only distinguished the Two Natures; he never disputed the Term of the Mother of God, and gave advice to *Nestorius* and *Irenaeus* to use it. This is true, that he never would approve the Chapters of *S. Cyril*, but it was, because he thought they contain'd in them that Error which was after maintain'd by *Eutyches*. In fine, he explains in many places of his Works, the Doctrine of the Incarnation in to Orthodox and Exact Terms, that he cannot be accused of Error in that point without a great deal of Injustice. *S. Cyril* hath accus'd him of being in that Error, but he also accuses all the Oriental Bishops of the same, which after he acknowledged to be Orthodox, after they had signed the Confession of Faith, which was made in order to the Peace, which because *Theodore* approved, he ought to be accounted Orthodox. The Eastern Bishops were not oblig'd to approve of the 12 Chapters of *S. Cyril* to be accounted Orthodox; why then should *Theodore* be oblig'd to do it? *M. Mercator* rails on *Theodore*, and finds Errors in his Books against *S. Cyril*. But the very places, which he cites, justify him, and 'tis only by Consequences, which *Theodore* draws, and which do not follow from his Principles, that *M. Mercator* extracts his Errors. As to the Authors which lived in the time of the 5th Council, or since that time, they ought not to be alledged, because we know, That they were Parties in this Cause, or followed the Judgment of the 5th Council, of which we shall speak hereafter. If we desire to know the Defenders of *Theodore*, we shall find Men worthy of Credit, *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, all the Bishops of the East, all his Hearers at *Antioch*, are so many Witnesses of the Purity of his Faith. *S. Leo* was an Apologist for him, and the Emperor *Marcian* declared him Innocent. The Council of *Chalcedon* own'd him for a Bishop, and did not oblige him to any retractation, but only to say *Anathema* to *Nestorius*. Many other Authors might be produced, which defended him against Calumny. But his best Defence are his Writings themselves, his Protections, Declarations, Explications of Faith, which cannot be accus'd of Heretic without condemning also the Letter of *S. Leo* to *Flavian*, the Writings of the most Orthodox Fathers, and the Forms of Doctrine which the Church of God hath always us'd.

I will not stay any longer to speak of the particular Opinions which are attributed to *Theodore*. Every one knows, That he was of the Judgment of the *Greeks* touching the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The Controversie upon the Passages of the Eucharist are too famous, and too common to be unknown. It would be to no purpose to repeat in this place what hath been so often insisted upon. He is accus'd of Being a *Pelagian*, and that he knew nothing of Original Sin. But this is certain, That he was not of *Pelagian* Principles, since he owns, That Death, our propensity to evil, Concupiscence, are the effects of the Sin of the first Man. He also often acknowledgeth the necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and begs his Assistance. But he is not of the Principles of *S. Austin* concerning the nature of Original Sin and Efficacy of Grace. He follows those of *S. Cyprian*, as to whose Opinion he joins himself.

We have spoken of the principal Editions of the Works of *Theodore* in particular. The first Collection which was made of them, was made up of Versions only. It was printed at *Paris* in 1573, and at *Paris* 1608, [also at *Colen* 1567, 1647.] *F. Sirmondus* hath printed these Collections in Greek with the Latin by the side. This Edition is dispos'd into 4 Vols. in Folio, printed at *Paris* in 1642. *F. Garner* a little while since hath added a 5th Vol. printed in 1684. This last contains, besides the pieces of *Theodore* which we have spoken of, 4 Differences of *F. Garner*, upon the Life, Works and Doctrine of *Theodore*, whom he inveighs much against. The Dialogues of *Maximus*, upon the Trinity, which he attributes to *Theodore*, a Dissertation upon the 5th Council, the Collection of Pieces which *F. Lupus* had printed in 1682. A Treatise of *Eutharius* of *Tyana*, which was among the Works of *S. Ananiasus*, and the different Readings of the Treatise of *Theodore* against the *Gentiles*, collected by *Ursinus*.

S. LEO.

Andrew of Samofata.

Virulentus diocesan Libella. Dr. Cave.]

ANDREW Bishop of Samofata was an intimate friend of Theodoret, and observed almost the same way of Disputation. He was chosen by John Bishop of Antioch to compose S. Cyril's Anathematism, which he did with a great deal of moderation. We have yet that Work with S. Cyril's Answers. Andrew of Samofata, having seen them, he confuted them by a most smart Writing. *Augustine* *Shigitis* makes mention of this last, and recites a Fragment of it in his Book, intitled, *Opus. de Scilicet*, Chap. 22. There are 19 Letters of his in the Collection of S. Leo, by which it appears, That he condemned *Robulus*, who had the boldness to pronounce Theodoret accused. That he disallowed at first S. Cyril's Letter for the Union and Peace which was made with him, but that afterwards he yielded, following the Example of Theodoret, and compelled Alexander (Patriarch of Antioch) to do the same. He was continued in the same Council of Ephesus, if we may believe Theopanes. He was dead before the Council of Chalcedon, where his Successor, called *Rufinus*, was present.

HELLADIUS Bishop of Tarsus, MAXIMINUS Bishop of Anazarbuhum, and IRENÆUS Bishop of Phoenicia.

Helladius Bishop of Tarsus, &c. [S. Dr. Cave.]

HELLADIUS Bishop of Tarsus, the Metropolis of the upper Cilicia, was deposed in the first Council of Ephesus. S. Cyril would not suffer him to be included in the Peace, and he himself was as averse to it. He resisted a long time, but at last he yielded. We have 9 Letters in Leo's Collection.

MAXIMINUS Bishop of Anazarbuhum, Metropolis of the lower Cilicia, he stood out longer than Helladius, but at last being himself molested with the Emperor's Orders, he followed his Example, he, and all the Bishops of his Province. We have the Synodal Letters which he wrote pro and con, with three or four other Letters upon the same Subject in Leo's Collection.

COENON Bishop, who was present at the Council of Ephesus in the place of the Emperor's Legation, was afterwards chosen Bishop of Phoenicia by the Bishops of that Province, and ordained by Theodosius in 444. He did not enjoy that Bishoprick long, being deposed in 448, by the Emperor's Command. We have made an Extract of Theodoret's Letter, where he speaks of the defects of his Ordination, and of another Letter, wherein that Father exhorts him to own, That the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God, but all in vain. He was too close linked to the Doctrine of Nestorius in change. This firm adherence appears by the Work which he intitled, *De Trinitate*, in which he hath written strongly in his own Defence, and condemned not only S. Cyril and the Egyptians, but also John Bishop of Antioch, and all the Bishops of the East, who had joined in the Peace, commending none but those, who through unbelief of Obedience, remained in a separation from the Church. We have already observed, That S. Leo's hath published a Collection of that ancient Author, who hath translated and copied a part of the Letters, which he had gathered in that Work, and some Latin Bishops in the same manner.

S. LEO.

S. Leo (a), after he had gotten himself Repute among the Clergy of Rome (b), under the Pontificate of S. Calixtus and S. Sixtus, in quality of an Arch-deacon, was chosen Bishop of Rome after the death of the latter (c), which happened Apr. 1. in the year 440. He was sent into France to procure a reconciliation between *Aetius* and *Albinus* [two chief Captains of the Roman Army.]. While he was there, Deputies were sent from Rome to him, to carry him the News of his Election, and to hasten his return to Rome where he was ordain'd 40 days after the death of his Predecessor. He maintain'd his Dignity with so much Splendor, Vigilance and Authority, that he rendered himself more famous in the Church than any of the Popes which had been before him, even from S. Peter. He not only had a special care of the Church of Rome, and those Churches which were subject to his Metropolis, but he extended his Pastoral Vigilance over all the Churches of the East and West. He maintain'd the ancient Doctrine, opposed Heresies, upheld the Ecclesiastical Discipline, renewed and confirmed the ancient Canons, enlarged the Grandeur and Authority of his See, and manfully defended the Rights of it. There was no Affair almost transacted in the Church in the time of his Pontificate, in which he had not a great share. We do not mention them here, because his Letters teach us them in particular. He died in the 21st. year of his Prelacy, in the year 461. (d).

This Pope is deservedly ranked among the Fathers of the Church, because tho' we have no great Treatises under his Name, his Sermons and Letters are very useful Works. We will begin to make the Extract of his Letters, which contain a great number of very important Points of Doctrine, History, Morality and Discipline.

But before we enter upon the particular discussion of the Letters, it is convenient to examine the Conjecture of a Modern Critick, who asserts, That the Letters attributed to S. Leo are the Work of S. Prosper. This Conjecture is principally upheld by the Testimony of *Gennadius*, who speaking of S. Prosper, saith, *Epistole quosq; Pope Leonis adversus Eutychem de vera Christi Incarnatione, ad diversos data, & ab ipso diffuse dicuntur aut creduntur*. The Epistles of Pope Leo against Eutyches, written to several Persons, about the Incarnation of Christ, are said or believed to be dictated or published by him. These words are found exactly in *Martini's* Chronicon in the Consulship of *Vivian* and *Felix*; and 'tis from hence, that *Ado Vimeaniensis* hath taken that Passage, as *Honorius Augustodunensis* and *Trithemius* have taken it from *Gennadius*. But *Ado* gives S. Prosper the Title of a Secretary *Notarius* to S. Leo. 'Tis from the Testimonies of these Authors that M. *Antelmi* takes the boldness to assert this Paradox, That all the Letters of S. Leo were written by S. Prosper. For confirmation, he compares the Letter of S. Leo to *Flavian*, and that directed to the Bishop of *Aquileia*, with some places of S. Prosper's Works, and thinks that he finds an entire conformity of Style in them. He adds, That S. Jerom was Secretary to Pope Damasus, and that he made Answer to such as consulted any thing of him in the name of that Pope. And so S. Gregory, when he was a Deacon, was Secretary to *Pelagius* II. and it is credible, that all the Popes wrote nothing almost themselves, but had Secretaries to write for them. These are the Conjectures upon which M. *Antelmi* grounds himself, but they are too weak to prove what he asserts.

For first of all, the whole frame of this Argument is supported by a meer *Hear-say*, related by *Gennadius*, who was not himself really of that Opinion; for speaking before of Pope Leo, chap. 70. he attributes to him, in express Terms, the Letter to *Flavian*, and says nothing of his other Works, inso much, that he could not have put him in the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, but because he thought this Letter was of his Writing. Now when an Author speaks affirmatively in one place, and in another reports it upon *Hear-say* only, his Judgment is to be gathered from the place, where he speaks of his own Head, and not from that where in he speaks according to the common Opinion.

(a) S. Leo. It is commonly believed, That he was a *Tuscan*. *Quessel* thinks rather that he was a *Roman*, because he himself calls the City of Rome his Country, Ep. 27. S. Prosper, in his Chronicon, says the same thing. It is true, that in the ordinary Editions of the Pontifical, 'tis said, he was a *Tuscan*. But there are 2 MSS wherein 'tis said, he was a *Roman*. However that be, he was brought up and educated at Rome.

(b) Repute among the Clergy, &c.] He carried Zosimus's Letter to *Aurélius*, when he was but an *Acolyte*, as appears by the 101st. Letter of S. *Austin* to *Idem*. He was Arch-deacon under Pope *Calixtus*; and the Pooks of *Cassin*, concerning the Incarnation,

written in 420. at the desire of S. Leo, then Arch-deacon, are a plain proof of it. In 439. he got himself a great Name by appearing against the *Pelagians*, as it is noted in S. Prosper's Chronicon.

(c) Was chosen, &c.] After the same manner doth S. Prosper describe S. Leo's Election.

(d) In the year 461. according to the *Palaeus Era*. The day is not certain. An ancient *Kalendar*, which is in the 10th. Tome of M. *Leu. D' Acheri's* Spicilegium, places the death of S. Leo on *Octob. 30*. *Marianus Scapus* places it on *June 28*. His Memory is celebrated on that day in several Martyrologies and Ecclesiastical Offices. His Festival is commonly on April 11.

Secondly, 'Tis not certain that these words in chap. 84. *Epistole quoque Leonis*, &c. The Epistles likewise of S. Leo, &c. are Gennadius's: But on the contrary, 'tis probable, that they have been added. To be convinced of this, we need but cast our Eyes upon chap. 84. and we may soon see what is Gennadius's, and what is added. For after that Gennadius hath spoken of the Works of S. Prosper in such a manner as made it evident, That he did not approve what he had written about Grace, some Body hath added; *This Prosper hath been the Defender of S. Austin's Books, all against the Heresicks, who were Enemies to the Grace of Jesus Christ.* This is plainly an Addition to the Text of Gennadius. These words which are now in Question follow this Addition, and are a part of it; for, 1. If they were Gennadius's, they would be joined to his Text, and would not follow this Addition. 2. The way in which this Phrase is expressed, *Epistole quoque Leonis*, &c. shews, That it hath a relation to the preceding Addition, and that it hath nothing to do with the Text of Gennadius. It begins with these words, *Epistole quoque.* The word *quoque* refers to the preceding Addition; *Hic etiam Prosper*, and cannot be joined with the genuine Text, *Que enim vere Cassiani & Prosperi de gratia & libero arbitrio sententia fuerunt, in aliquibus contraria sibi inveniuntur.* The Opinions of Cassian and Prosper of Grace and Free-will, are contrary the one to the other in some things. Who would say after this, The Epistles of S. Leo also, &c? It is then certain, That this last Phrase hath relation to the Precedent, where he speaks with dislike of the *Semi-Pelagians*. So that it is not certainly Gennadius's; 'tis an Addition no Man can doubt. And what can we say of the paper?

But whence comes this Addition? Whence was it taken? It is no hard Matter to guess, since the same words are to be found in *Marcellinus's* Chronicon. From hence some Person took them to add them here to the Text of Gennadius, chap. 84. One of these two must be, Either that *Marcellinus* hath taken this place from *Gennadius*, or some Body hath taken this Passage out of *Marcellinus* to add it to the Text of *Gennadius*. The first is very unlikely: *Marcellinus* doth not use to copy out *Gennadius*. We must then hold the latter, and so much the rather, because there are other Conjectures to prove, That this Passage is an Addition to the Text of *Gennadius*, and there is nothing to prove, That it hath been added to *Marcellinus*.

This being so, all the proofs of M. *Anselmi* are resolved into a common Rumour which was current in the time of *Marcellinus*, who lived an Hundred Years after *Leo*. For as for *Ado*, 'tis visible enough, That he hath taken all he says from *Marcellinus*; and besides, an Author of the 9th. Age is of no great Authority. And the same I say of *Honorius of Autostadum*, and *Trithemius*, who have copied the Addition, which had been made to chap. 84. out of *Gennadius's* Book.

There is likewise very great probability, That the Title of Secretary or Notary, which *Ado* hath given to *Prosper*, is grounded upon nothing but what he had read in *Marcellinus's* Chronicon. For from whence should he know, that S. *Prosper* had the Title? But if it were certain, That he had the quality of *Notarius* in the time of S. *Leo*, it doth not follow that he made the Letters of that Pope. The *Notaries*, in the time of S. *Leo*, were not those who composed the Letters, but those who kept them, carried them, published them, and kept the Registers of the Ecclesiastical Affairs. We read, in the 25th. Epistle of S. *Leo*, That *Dulcinius* the *Notary*, was sent to the 2d. Council of *Ephesus*, to write the Acts of it. *Dionysius*, who was sent to *Constantinople* to carry the Letters of S. *Leo*, Ep. 46. is called, *Romane Ecclesie Notarius*. *Tiburtius*, Secretary of the Church of *Rome*, signed the Letter to *Flavian*, under that Title. *Tiburtius Notarius*, &c. I *Tiburtius*, the *Notary*, by the Command of my Reverend Lord the Pope have published. These were the Offices of a *Notary*. Also, altho' it were certain, That S. *Prosper* was a *Notary* of the Church of *Rome*, it would not follow, That he hath composed the Letters of S. *Leo*. And, likewise, if we follow the Correction, That M. the Abbot *Anselmi* hath made in the Chronicon of *Ado*, by 2 MSS. in M. *Colbert's* Library; this Author doth not say, That S. *Prosper*, as he was a *Notary*, hath written the Letters of S. *Leo*, but only that he set them out, a *quo edite creduntur*.

The Example of the Office of S. *Jerom* with Pope *Damasus*, doth not prove, That S. *Prosper* hath performed the same Office with S. *Leo*. There have been Popes, who have written for themselves; there are others, who have made use of the help of others, not being of sufficient Abilities to write. For Example, *Pelagius II.* had need of the assistance of S. *Gregory*; but who will say, That S. *Gregory*, being made Bishop, used another to write his Letters?

Nor is there any conformity of Style between the Letters of S. *Leo* and the Works of S. *Prosper*, as is pretended by M. Abbot *Anselmi*, but this is that in which he least of all agrees with him. The Comparisons and Parallels which he makes, shew indeed, That they agree in some Terms, which all that treat of these Matters do commonly use, and which are taken from S. *Austin* in a Thousand places. But this will never for all that persuade them, who have any Judgment, That the Style of S. *Leo's* and S. *Prosper's* Writings, are the same. And let any Man read but a little of each, and he will find a considerable difference, and be convinced, That S. *Leo* had a looserness of Expression, which S. *Prosper* was not able to attain, and a readiness in Writing and Speaking, which raised him above the help of a Secretary. Lastly, The Style of his Letters is so like that of his Sermons, that it cannot be doubted but that they are the same Authors. Now who is there, even at this day, that is so inconsiderate as to say, That S. *Leo's* Sermons are not his? It is true, That M. Abbot *Anselmi* also thinks,

That S. *Prosper* had an hand in them; but this is another Paradox more extraordinary than the former, and is not supported by the Testimony of any Authority; and which he cannot make good, as we shall shew afterwards. But let us return to S. *Leo's* Letters, and shew the Order of Time, according to which they are disposed by F. *Quefnel*.

The First is directed to the Bishops of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, which was probably written before *Genfericus*, King of the *Vandals*, had conquered that Province, which happened after the Death of *Valentinian*, who died in 455 (A). This Letter contains Directions how to reform the Disorders which were committed in Africa, in the Ordination of Bishops. Bishop *Romanus*, whom S. *Leo* had sent into Africa to get Information of it, and to let him know if it were true that the Bishops there were so ill bestowed, had given him an Account. That for the most part the Churches were governed by Persons unworthy of the Name of a Bishop; that they were raised to that Dignity either by Bribery or popular Faction. S. *Leo* immediately wrote to them, as well to tellise his own Grief, which he had for their Disorders, as to prescribe them Means to reform them. First, he shews, That 'tis prejudicial to the People's Salvation, to place over them Pastors unworthy of their Office, and that in doing it they were so far from comforting them, that they made their Cause more dangerous. He Superadds, That though he found some who were Ordained by Sedition or Bribery, worthy of their Office, yet the Example was of ill Consequence, and that it is very improbable that they should end well which had a bad Beginning.

He observes in the Second Article, That if they are obliged to take care, that they do not mistake in the Election of all, that are admitted into the Clergy, that nothing be done in the Church of God, which is not in Order, they are much more obliged to chuse Persons of Worth to rule over others. Upon this occasion he quotes a Text of S. *Paul's*, wherein he gives Timothee charge to lay Hands suddenly on no Man: *What is it, saith he, so lay hands suddenly on no Man*, but to confer Priests Orders upon Persons whose Worth we are ignorant of before they are of fit Age; before we have had Time to try them; before they have approved themselves fit by their Industry, and have given some Signs of their Knowledge and Experience?

After these general Rules he speaks particularly of the Conditions necessary for entering into Holy Orders. The First is, not to have above One Wife, and the not to be a Widow. The Second, to have passed all the inferior Orders, and so have exercised them for some Time. After he hath proved the Necessity of these two Conditions in the Third and Fourth Articles, he commands, in the Fifth, the Bishops to whom he wrote, to deprive them of their Bishoprick, who were found to have had Two Wives, or had married a Widow. But as to them whose Ordination was not Faulty, but upon this account, because they were made Bishops immediately of Laicks, he permits them to keep their Bishopricks, telling them, That he did it only by a kind of Indulgence, and without prejudicing the Holy See, the Decrees of his Predecessors, or his own, by which it is forbidden to promote any Person to the First, Second or Third Degree of the Clergy, who have not arrived at these Dignities by the ordinary Ways, declaring to them, that for the future he intended that those Rules should be strictly observed.

He comes at last to the Affairs, in which he was personally concerned: A *Novatian* Bishop, called *Donatus*, had been converted with all his People. S. *Leo* suffered him to keep his Bishoprick, but required him to send a Profession of his Faith to him; in which he condemns the Errors of the *Novatians*, and professes the Faith of the Church. He exalted the same thing of *Maximus*, who had been before a *Donatist*, and had after been made a Bishop of a Layman. As to *Aggarius* and *Tiberianus*, who had been ordained Bishops, being heretics but were Laymen, and that with a great Uproar, he enjoined the Bishops of *Africa* to inform themselves exactly of all that had passed at their Ordination, and to write to him of it. This is what respects the Ordination of Bishops.

He speaks, in the Eighth Article of the Virgins who had been deflower'd by the Barbarians, and advises them, not to compare themselves with those that had yet their Virginity, because,

(A) In 456. It is not probable that it was written in 458. as *Berolinus* and *Kandel* are of Opinion, because *Rome* was sacked by the *Vandals*. S. *Leo* had business enough to watch over his own Church, without troubling his Thoughts about the condition of others. It is very likely that *Mauritania* was still under the Dominion of the Empire, because otherwise he could not have received the News so easily, nor have written thither. He says, indeed, That that Province was at war with the *Barbarians*, but he doth not say that it was entirely subdued. F. *Quefnel* thinks, That this Letter was written in 442. One thing may make it doubtful, which is, That he speaks of the Decrees which he had made already, to hinder Laymen from being raised to the

First, Second or Third Degree of the Clergy, which is pretended to have relation to *Affric*, to *Anastasi* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, where he forbade him to prefer Laymen to the Episcopal Dignity. But, besides that he speaks not in that Place of the Second or Third Degree of the Clergy, but only of Bishops, he might make this Degree in another Letter. F. *Quefnel* grounds himself upon this, That *Potestius* might well be one of the Bishops of *Affric*, who having been exposed to the Storm of the Winds by the *Vandals*, were driven there at *Naples*; but this is not beyond Controversy, all that can be said is this, That this Letter was written before the Year 455.

the Second Article, the ordinary Edition is not purged by this Edition, because it is not to be found in the best Manuscripts, and hath no Connection with the preceding Article, inasmuch as it is a Supposition of a Canon, which is none of S. Leo's, or if it be his, it is a Fragment of some other Letter, inserted in this of it contains a Prohibition of Ordaining Bishops in the Villages, or Cities; and an Advertisment to the Virgins that had been defiled by the Barbarians. That they ought not to reckon themselves, according to the Judgment of the Author of this Fragment, neither among the Widows, nor Virgins. Lastly, He therein speaks of a Bishop of Africa, called *Epiphanius*, who had been excommunicated in Africa, notwithstanding the Appeal which he had made to Rome; and in whose Place they had ordained another Bishop, between the Pope had given Judgment. This shows, that the Bishop of Africa retained their Liberty, about Appeals for a long time; and did not recede from their Rights in the least, when this Letter was written by S. Leo. Not by some other Pope, and still supposing, upon this high point, that the same argument must be made.

In the Second Letter, written about the Year 460, to *Agrippinus* Bishop of Narbonne. This Bishop sent him *Andreas* *Hermes* to S. Leo, to propose several Questions to him touching Discipline, and communicate to him his Proceedings against two Priests, who were under his Jurisdiction, who had withdrawn themselves before their Judgment was pronounced: S. Leo leaves it to his Discretion to Confute them as he thought fit; and exhorts him only to do what he was able, to treat them as to the good way, by treating them with Gentleness. He afterwards, divorces him from his Bishopric, to leave his Bishopric; and puts the remaining part of his Life in a Retreat. At last he answers several Questions, which that Bishop had put to him. I shall in this Place relate the Answers of this Pope, who is not much known.

In the First Place he declares, That any who have not been either chosen by the Clergy, or desired by the People, is not ordained by the Bishops of the Province, with the Consent of the Metropolitan, may not be accounted Bishops, and that they ought not to be allowed the Dignity, which they have not received. Nevertheless, if he finds that these false Bishops have Ordained Clergymen in the Churches by the consent of such as pretend that is to say, the Bishops of these Churches, their Ordination may be approved, upon Condition that they continue in these Churches; but ought to be looked upon as Null, if they have not been fixed in one Church, nor approved by a lawful Authority, and that such Ordinations are void.

In the second he says, That it is not allowable to put a Priest or a Deacon, to do public Penance, although he desires it, and if he find himself guilty of any Crime, he ought to retire himself, and do Penance in private. This Rule of S. Leo is contrary to the Ancient Discipline of many Churches, and to the Canons of the First Council of Orange; and the Second of Arles, among others, which is not to be denied.

In the Third, He orders, That the Ministers of the Altar, That is, the Deacons, and Subdeacons, as it appears by his Letter to *Agathinus* of *Thessalonica*, should be subject to the Law of Continence, as well as the Bishops and Priests. He adds, That being Laicks, or Readers, should maintain a fast, as the Monks, and should abstain from such things as are prohibited to the Clergy.

In the Fourth, He orders, That the Ministers of the Altar, That is, the Deacons, and Subdeacons, as it appears by his Letter to *Agathinus* of *Thessalonica*, should be subject to the Law of Continence, as well as the Bishops and Priests. He adds, That being Laicks, or Readers, should maintain a fast, as the Monks, and should abstain from such things as are prohibited to the Clergy.

In the Fifth, He orders, That the Ministers of the Altar, That is, the Deacons, and Subdeacons, as it appears by his Letter to *Agathinus* of *Thessalonica*, should be subject to the Law of Continence, as well as the Bishops and Priests. He adds, That being Laicks, or Readers, should maintain a fast, as the Monks, and should abstain from such things as are prohibited to the Clergy.

they may be married and have Children, but being arrived at the Sacred Ministry of the Altar, is not to be permitted them; That their Marriage ought to be changed from Carnal to spiritual, that so they may neither forsake their Wives, nor have any Carnal Knowledge of them. S. Leo is the first who hath extended the Law of Celibacy to Sub-Deacons. His Predecessors S. Siricius and S. Innocent, speak of none but Deacons. The Usage of the Church of France was contrary in the very Time of S. Leo; as it appears by the Canons of the First Council of Orange, the Second of Arles and Arles, where only Deacons were obliged to Continence; for the Decree of the Council of Orange was only for the future. It cost a great deal of Trouble to bring the Deacons to a Submission to that Law, seeing that their Bishops were forced to renew it often. It was afterwards enlarged to the Sub-Deacons in some Churches, as appears by the Councils of *Venice* and *Agerba*; but that Discipline was not general in all Churches of France, as we learn by the Letter of *Lupus* of *Troyes* [*Tricassinus*] and *Euphrasius* of *Aulun* [*Augustodunensis*] to *Thalafius* Bishop of *Arles*.

In the Fourth he declares, That a Clergyman, who gives his Daughter in Marriage to one that hath a Concubine, ought not to be treated as if he had given her to a Person already married, because Concubines cannot be counted lawful Wives, nor the familiar Commerce with them Marriage; at least, they are not free, endowed nor joyed together by public Marriage.

In the Fifth he saith, That the Daughters of those Parents, who have married them to Persons that have Concubines, do not sin in dwelling with those to whom they are married.

In the Sixth, That it is not the Sin of Adultery, but a virtuous Action, for a Man to cast off his Concubine, that he may live only with his Wife. The Concubines, which are spoken of in this Place, are Slaves, with whom Men live as with their Wives, without having any Commerce with others, although they were not solemnly married to them.

In the Seventh he saith, That they are much to be blamed for their Negligence, who among Dying Persons, require Repentance of them, but do not insist upon it, when they are returned to Health again. That they ought not to give over wholly their Design, but bring them by frequent Exhortations to perform that which Necessity obliged them to require; because we ought to despair of no Man so long as he is in this World, and it often happens that Men do that in their riper Age which they have deferred through Delay.

In the Eighth, That those that die after they have undergone their Penance, without being reconciled, ought to be left to the Judgment of God, and no signs of Communion be allowed them. This Practice was contrary to that of the African, French and Spanish Churches.

In the Ninth he speaks of those who having demanded Penance, when Afflictions lay upon them, would not undergo it when they were mitigated. He saith, That it may be this Discipline doth not proceed from a Contempt of Repentance, but from a fear of Sinning, and that it must not be deny'd them, if they request it a second Time.

In the Tenth he saith, That a Penitent ought not to go to Law before the secular Judges, but before the Ecclesiastical only, because he ought to abstain from such things as are permitted.

In the Eleventh he saith, That although it is nothing but the Nature of Gain that excuseth on condemn'd Trading, yet it is most convenient for a Penitent wholly to forbear it, because it is hard to avoid Sin in Commerce, either on the part of the Seller, or on the part of the Buyer.

In the Twelfth he observes, That it is contrary to the Laws of the Church, to become a Soldier after a Man hath done Penance.

In the Thirteenth he says, That he could wish that those who have done Penance, when they were Boys, would not marry; yet he excuses young Men who do it, when it is to avoid Incontinency.

In the Fourteenth he orders, That the Monks, who have married, or lifted themselves for Soldiers, should be made to do Penance, because they cannot leave that Profession without Sin, when they have once embraced it, but are obliged to perform their Vows.

In the Fifteenth he condemns the Virgins, who married after they had voluntarily put on the Habit of Virgins, and imbraced Virginity, although they were not yet consecrated. In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth he affirms, That they must be baptized anew who have not any Proof that they have been already baptized, although they remember, that they have been heretofore in the Church.

In the Eighteenth he saith, That it is sufficient to lay Hands upon, and call upon the Holy Spirit, over those that do remember that they have been baptized, but know not in what Sect.

In the Nineteenth, and Last, he saith, That those Infants, who after Baptism have Lived among the Heathen, ought to be put to publick Penance, if they have worshipped Idols, or committed Sins; but it is sufficient to purge them by Imposition of Hands, and Fasting, before

Epiphanius *gubernans* *presides*, *pendens* *regulae*, *vere* *non* *S. Leo's*, *non* *io* *much* *as* *is* *in* *his* *Time*, *S. Leo's* *hath* *not* *put* *this* *Article* *into* *his* *Collection*, *although* *he* *hath* *omitted* *nothing* *that* *might* *favor* *the* *Right* *of* *Appeals* *to* *the* *Holy* *See*. *S. Leo's* *likely* *that* *it* *hath* *been* *added* *to* *the* *ancient* *Collection* *of* *Dionysius* *Exiguus*, *for* *the* *Title* *is* *differently* *expressed* *from* *that* *of* *the* *others*; *that* *the* *title* *at* *the* *beginning* *of* *the* *Letter*, *and* *index* *are* *different*; *lastly*, *Crescensius*, *who* *follows* *the* *Code* *of* *Dionysius* *Exiguus*, *and* *hath* *inserted* *it* *in* *his* *Collection*, *hath* *put* *nothing* *of* *this* *Letter* *in* *it*. *These* *Reasons* *have* *made* *F. Quetif* *to* *conjecture*, *That* *this* *Fragment* *hath* *been* *added* *in* *the* *Code* *of* *Dionysius* *Exiguus*, *by* *the* *same* *Person* *that* *hath* *added* *the* *Letters* *of* *Pope* *Hilary* *and* *his* *Successors* *as* *far* *as* *Gregory* *II.* *The* *Question* *which* *Rufinus* *propounded* *to* *S. Leo*, *proves*, *That* *he* *wrote* *in* *a* *time* *when* *the* *Christians* *were* *much* *divided* *by* *the* *Barbarians*. *F. Simondus* *hath* *referred* *this* *to* *the* *Irruptions* *of* *the* *Huns* *into* *France*, *under* *the* *conduct* *of* *Atilius*; *F. Quetif* *to* *the* *taking* *of* *Carthage* *and* *the* *deolation* *of* *Africa* *by* *Gaiseric*, *in* *455*. *This* *Opinion* *is* *confirmed* *by* *the* *Eighteenth* *Question*, *wherein* *he* *speaks* *of* *the* *Christians* *of* *Africa* *and* *Mauritania*.

...the Sixth Letter is subscribed to a Bishop of Aquileia, his Name is not found in any MSS. nor in the more Ancient Editions. In the latter Editions the Name of Nicetas is put. Leo before it, without any other reason, but only because there is another Letter of S. Leo's that bears the Title of Nicetas Bishop of Aquileia. But since there is also one to Januarius Bishop of the same See, there is nothing that can determine to which of these Two this Letter belongs, but only the time when it was written. That which is directed to Nicetas bears Date in the Year 458, and that to Januarius in 447. This of which we are now speaking is not far from 447, for S. Leo therein speaks against the Pelagians, whom he opposed in the beginning of his Pontificate; at the same time, when he attacked the Manichees, as the Author of the Book of Predilections and Promises attributed to S. Prosper, shews in Chap. 6. Now it is certain, that it was in 444, that he set upon the Manichees. And consequently it must be to Januarius, and not Nicetas, to whom this Letter was written. In it S. Leo tells him, That he had heard, by the relation of Septimius, that some Priests, Deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, who had been engaged in the Heresie of Pelagius, or Celestius, had been admitted to the Communion of the Church in their Province, without being required to condemn their Error expressly. Inasmuch, that while the Shepherds slept, the Wolves have entered into the Fold of Jesus Christ, without laying aside their Cruel Disposition. That they had like while done a thing which the Canons and Constitutions of the Church do not allow the most Innocent, in leaving the Church, where they had been admitted Clerks, to go to other Churches. That their design was by this means to corrupt many Churches, by hiding the Heresie, with which they were infected, under the shew of Communion to which they had been received, without being obliged to any Profession of Faith. To remedy this disorder, he enjoins the Bishop to whom he wrote, To call a Synod, and to compel all his Clergy to Condemn openly the Authors of their Heresie, and to make a Confession in writing. That they do firmly hold all the Synodical Decrees made for the Exirpation of that Heresie, and confirmed by the Authority of the Apostolick See. He adds, That great care ought to be had, that they make use of no obscure, or ambiguous Terms, because he knows them to be so deceitful, that if they can avoid the Condemning any Branch of their Errors by that means, they will put themselves under any disguise. That One of their principal Artifices is, when they pretend to condemn all their Doctrines, and renounce them sincerely, to slide in this pernicious Maxim, That Grace is given according to Deserts. That that Opinion is contrary to the Apostles Doctrine, who Teaches us, That Grace, which is not given without Merit, is not Grace, and that the disposition to Good-works is also an effect of the Grace of Jesus Christ, which is the beginning of Righteousness, the Source and Original of our Merits. That when they say on the contrary, that Natural Industry must go before it, their design is to insinuate by it, that our Nature hath not been impaired by Original Sin. Then he exhorts Januarius to beware, lest his People raise new Scandals by obliging them to purge themselves from all manner of suspicion, upon pain of being driven out of the Church. He Admonishes him also about the end, That he should not suffer the Priests, Deacons, or other of the Clergy, to pass from one Church to another at their own pleasure, but force them to continue in that Church wherein they have been once ordain'd. Lastly, He discovers to him the Obligation that all Bishops are under, to see that the Canons be observed, because if they do not do it, they keep up the Disorders of their Inferiors by their Gendleness, and increase the Evil by not using the Remedies sufficient to cure them.

The following Letter to Septimius Bishop of Altinum, (now Torzello) a City of the Patriarchate of Venice, is upon the same subject with the former, and contains the same things in short. This, and the Fourteenth to Januarius, are written much about the same time, but this applies to the Pelagians in particular, what is said in the Fourteenth in general against Heretics and Schismatics, that they ought not to be received, till they have Abjured their Errors, and Condemned the Authors of them. Besides this, the Letter to Septimius doth only repeat what had been said in the First Letter to Januarius concerning those Clerks who leave their Church to go to another; whereas in the Fourteenth he speaks nothing of this Change, but he Orders, That those Clerks who are Converted, ought to look upon it as a great favour, that they are allowed to continue in the Clergy in which they are, provided, that they have not been Baptized Twice, and they may not hope to be raised to any higher Dignity. The Seventh hath no Date, the Fourteenth is Dated December the 29th, or June the 24th, Anno 447. It was Intituled to Fulien in the vulgar Editions. But Dionysius Minor, Creconius, Hincmarus, and all the MSS. carry the Name of Januarius Bishop of Aquileia. There are Three other Letters which bear the Name of S. Leo, very like for the subject. The First and Second, that is to say, the Sixth and Seventh, contain nothing but the same thing exactly, but the one is a great deal longer than the other. The Seventh and Fourteenth are not so like in the subject, but they are much more so in the terms, or rather they are the same thing, a few Lines excepted. Which made F. Norri believe, That they were really Two Copies of the same Letter sent to Two different Bishops. But that Conjecture doth not seem possible to be defended; for besides, that the sense of the last part of these Two Letters is wholly different, it cannot be of the Pelagians of whom he speaks in the latter, but in general of all Heretics and Schismatics, and particularly of the Donatists, who caused themselves to be Rebaptized. It cannot then be said, that these Two Letters are Two Copies of the same Letter, they are certainly

The Third Letter of S. Leo is directed to the Bishops of Cisalpine Italy, Hibernia, and the names, and other Provinces, in which the Church was in the Year 445. S. Leo observes in the beginning of this Letter, That as the Order of the Churches was a Joy to him, so he was troubled when anything was done contrary to the Canons and Discipline of the Church. He adds, That if the Bishops could expel from the Church, with all possible diligence, those who are a perpetual blot upon the flock of Jesus Christ, they are inexhaustible; so that the Body of the Church, which they ought to keep in Purity, should be defiled and corrupted with Blasphemies, a great fault. In answer to this Admission, these following Canons are proposed, which are not to be received into the Clergy, as are Slaves, as also Harlots, or Suspects, or any other, who depend in any manner, forced upon Masters, at least, that those upon whom they depend, do not require it. He gives Two Reasons for this Prohibition; The First, Because the Sacred Ministry is as it were made Contemptible by such sort of Persons; And the Second is, Because it doth an Injury to their Ministry. Pope Gelasius allows the contrary, in respect of the Parviers, in his Ninth Epistle.

In the Second Canon he severely reproves the Ordinations of Deacons that have been twice Married; and commands, by virtue of his Apostolical Authorities, that they be hindered from doing the Offices of their Ministry, referring to himself the Cognizance of the Cause of such as bring some Excommunication; and that no Aid might be put in Ignorance. (Although it is not allowable for a Bishop to be ignorant of what is ordered by the Canons) he tells them, He had sent this Letter by the Bishops, which may be a reason to think, that it was written in a Synod. See the following.

The Third and Fourth Canons are against Usurers. These are the first, which forbid Usury to laymen. In the last Canon he declares, That those that will not Obey these Decrees, shall be deprived of their Dignities, and they that will not Conform to the Discipline of the Church of Rome, shall have no part in her Communion. Lastly, He commands them to keep the Decrees and Ordinances of his Predecessors, but especially of Pope Innocent. That, said he, might have been promulgated against the Order of the Church, and Canonical Discipline. This is Ecclesiasticus ordinibus, & Canonum promulgata sunt disciplina. For so it ought to be read, as it is in the MSS. and not Ordina, as it is in some Editions. Hincmarus reads promulgata, and much Amplifies this passage in Opusculis, 33. Chap. 10. This Letter was sent to the Bishops of Italy subject to the Church of Rome, as their Metropolis, and therefore it is not wonder if S. Leo speaks to them with so much Authority.

The Fourth Letter to Anastasius Bishop of Thessalonica, is taken out of the Acts of the Council of Rome, under Basilides II, which is to be found in Hincmar's Collection. In this Letter S. Leo makes Anastasius his Deputy in Illyria, imitating therein the Example of Symmachus, who had first trusted that place to his Legates, and he chose him to imitate his Predecessor, and so have a Church and Churches which he committed to his charge. Above all, he recommends to him, That he cause the Canons about the Ordination of Bishops to be observed, and that he oppose the Election of Persons who have been Twice Married, especially when they have Married the first Wife before Baptism. He would not have him suffer the Metropolitans of Illyria to Ordain any Bishop without his approbation, nor themselves to be Ordained but by him. He charges the Bishops to come to the Synods which he shall call, to Judge in them, and consider the Discipline of the Church; and desires him, That if there happen any cause of great consequence which they could not determine, he would give him an account of it, that the Holy See might decide it according to the Ancient Custom, which he observes, That he exercised him with his Authority, in such manner nevertheless, as that he referred to himself those Causes which could not be ended in the Province, or in which there should be an Appeal to the Holy See. He Admonishes Anastasius to make known all the Orders to all the Bishops, that they may have no ground of Excuse, if they did not put them in practice; and that he had written to the Metropolitans, that they ought to acknowledge him his Deputy of the Holy See. In the conclusion, he reproves the fault of some Bishops, who Ordain'd Priests and Deacons upon other Days than Sundays, an Usage, which he says, was contrary to the Canons and Tradition of the Fathers. This Letter is Dated January the 11th, Anno 444.

The Fifth Letter, which is directed to the Metropolitans of Illyria, is that which he mentions in the foregoing. S. Leo Exhorts them to take care that the Canons be not broken, and tells them, That he had made Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, his Deputy, that they might Obey him in those things which concern the Discipline of the Church. He sends them at the same time some of the Rules which he wrote in the foregoing Letter, and repeats them in this.

partly: I would not think, that S. Leo intended to great a facility of Writing, should be brought to his aid; and, as to Copying his own Writings himself Word for Word, and to follow the terms of one of his Letters to Write another to a different Person upon a different subject: This is not at all Credible. 'Tis more probable, That out of these Two Letters is forged, but which of the two is disputable. F. Quæstel thinks 'tis the Seventh, and his Adversary maintains that it is the Fourteenth. Let us consider their Reasons.

F. Quæstel proves, That the 14th is Authentick, by the Testimony of *Dionysius Exiguus* and *Cresconius*, who have inserted it in their Collections of *Hincmarus* who hath cited this Letter, and by the Authority of the more Ancient MSS. On the contrary, he rejects the 7th, which is not in the Ancient Collections; but in *Isidore's* only, by these Conjectures: The most valid is taken from this Term, *Metropolitan of the Province of Venice*, which is to be found in this Letter, which is not in the 14th. We shall never find, says he, That the Metropolitan of the Province of *Venice* was ever spoken of, before the City of *Venice* was made an Episcopal See, and what Sense can that Expression have, when *Venice* was not the Metropolis of any Province, and the Province it self was not called *Venice*, but *Istria*? The Bishop of *Aquileia* was never called Metropolitan of the Province of *Venice*, but of the Province of *Istria*, and the Bishops of that Country, Bishops of *Istria*, and not of the *Venetian* Province. *Phorius*, in the 54th. Code of his *Bibliotheca*, says well, That *Septimius* had written to S. Leo against the Heresie of the *Nestorians* (he means of the *Pelagians*), for they were known in the East under the name of the *Nestorians* only who would exalt themselves; but he says not That S. Leo had sent a Letter to *Septimius*.

The Adversary of F. Quæstel doth not oppose the Proofs, by which the 14th. Letter is upheld, but he makes it his Business to relate such Conjectures as prove it Supposititious, and Answers to those which F. Quæstel hath brought against the 7th. He says then, against the 14th. 1. That the Conclusion is not answerable to the beginning; That it is an unshapen Monster; for in the beginning S. Leo commends the Zeal of the Person to whom he writes, and at the end threatens him; if he neglects to have his Decrees put in practice. 2. That this Conclusion is taken word for word out of the 6th. Letter of S. Leo to the same *Januarius*; That nevertheless it is all that is different almost in this Letter from that which is directed to *Septimius*. Now what probability is there, That S. Leo should use the same Conclusion in two distinct Letters written to the same Person. 3. It is probable, That the Terms, which are in the 14th. Letter and not in the 7th. have been added. 4. That the 6th. Letter to *Januarius* confirms the 7th. It is certain, That *Septimius* had written to S. Leo, concerning the *Pelagians*, which is also confirmed by the Testimony of *Phorius*. There is then a greater probability, That the Letter, which is written to him upon that Subject, is Genuine, than another Letter to *Januarius* concerning the *Donatists*. For when we have two Writings, one of which is certainly forged, and we find one to have relation to the Circumstances of the History of the time; and the other none at all; we ought to uphold the former rather than the latter.

These are the Arguments which M. the Abbot of *Anselmi* brings against the 14th. Letter. Next he answers to those which F. Quæstel hath offered against the 7th. Letter, since there is none but that which respects the Metropolitan of *Venice*, which appeared strong to us; we will not stay to discuss the other. M. Abbot *Anselmi* is sensible of the force of it. And, first, he endeavours to elude it, by saying, That among the Records of the Ancients, the Names of *Venice* and *Istria* are to be found. Whereupon he quotes two Inscriptions, and the 25th. Letter of S. Ambrose to the Church of *Vercella*, wherein he speaks of the Provinces of *Lygurin*, *Emilia* and *Venice*. But diffusing this first Answer, he says, That the Name of *Venice*, in this Letter, is evidently added or changed for *Istria*. And he endeavours to discover after what manner this change might be made, but he doth not prove it by the Authority of any MSS. that it hath been done; yet this is all that he hath brought to prove it. This is what he saith on both sides concerning the Authentickness of these two Letters. Altho' it doth not belong to me to judge between two Persons, so judicious as these two Critics are, nevertheless I cannot but give my Opinion concerning these Letters, yet upon this condition, That it be not reckoned of any great Worth.

The Authority of the Collections of *Dionysius Exiguus* and *Cresconius*, seem to me to prove the Authentickness of the 14th. Letter, to which 'tis hard not to yield assent. It is true, we have rejected some parts of the first Letter, altho' they are in the Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*. But 'tis because we had a lawful Reason to doubt, whether they were there heretofore, and because *Cresconius* had not put them in his Collection, and because they are not to be found in the Ancient MSS. and because they are evidently added. It is certain, That *Dionysius* hath recited that Letter, *Cresconius* hath followed him, the MSS. agree, and there is nothing that proves the Letter Supposititious, for the Conjectures of M. Abbot *Anselmi* do not seem strong enough.

The first is grounded upon this Supposition, That the last words of that Letter are directly applied to *Januarius*, but this is not altogether so, for they may as well relate to other Bishops. Furthermore, these words are not so sharp, but S. Leo might make use of them to awaken and encrease the Zeal of the Bishop to whom he wrote.

of the 2d. is not at all more conclufive. It is not very unusual for the same Man to write the different Letters in the same manner, and to repeat the same sentences in lower different places. S. Leo's Letters afford us many Examples of this. Read but the 7th. and 14th. Letters, and you will find there 6800. Chapters transcribed out of the one into the other. In this, the Conclusion of these two Letters is perhaps a token of the threatening epistolical and Popes generally used. But however, than be, it is not less allowable to S. Leo to take this Conclusion out of his 6th. Letter, than to take it out of his 14th. Letter. *Adrian IV.* took the whole of the Chapter of this Letter, and inserted it into his 7th. Letter. In the 1st. of his 14th. Letter, he says, 'The third is the very point about which all the Contest is.' Being established, that the Letter is not above the 14th. Letter, he has no Addition, but what comes naturally in with the Text; and that it is the 7th. Letter which is defective in Leo's Reading, and in the 14th. Letter, the 2d. part is quite different. The Order, which is found in the 14th. Letter, by which is forbidden to promote converted Clergymen to any higher degree, is certainly antient; it bears a mark of Veneration, and is dispensed in Terms suitable to *Antony*. This is in my Judgment, of great weight, and the more weight, as it is not in the 14th. Letter. The last Conjecture of M. Abbot *Anselmi*, altho' he thinks it able to examine the Point, yet doth not seem to me to be altogether so. The Forgers of Writings, do often take occasion to borrow Books from some circumstance of Chronology. They think not upon new Notions, nor of Affairs very lately transacted, but they ordinarily derive them from the Ancient History of the 6th. Letter, and the Terms of the 14th. than to produce one wholly from his own Fancy.

The Conjectures which F. Quæstel hath alleged against the Letter to *Septimius*, are not altogether decisive; but if we must necessarily assert, That one of the two Letters is forged, and the other genuine, I shall readily conclude in favour of the 14th. And must, without acknowledgment, That the Objection taken from these words, *Ad Metropolitanum Episcopum Venetie*, is almost unanswerable. For like Example cannot be produced. The word *Venetia*, in the singular Number, is nowhere to be found, nor *Provincia Venetia*, but *Liguria*, *Emilia Venetiarumque partes*. In fine, It was never heard, That the Bishop of *Aquileia* was called *Metropolitanum Venetie Provincie*. It is not likely, That this place hath been added or changed, since the Letter was written. The Abbot *Anselmi* supposeth, That the precedent Letter, in many MSS. was entitled, *Ad Metropolitanum Provincie Venetie*, and that that gave an occasion to the Notary, who saw that the precedent Letter was spoken of, in this, to change *Istria* into *Venetia* upon the credit of the Title only. But there are only two MSS. wherein this Letter is so superscribed. In all the other, it is only directed to the Bishop of *Aquileia*, and yet we find in the Letter to *Septimius*, *Metropolitanum Provincie Venetie*. It is then far more probable, That it was the 7th. Letter, which gave occasion to entitle the 6th. so, in some MSS. than that the meer Title of the 6th. Letter should be the cause, that the Text of the 7th. hath been corrupted. But we have stayed too long upon a Critical Point of little Importance.

The 6th. Letter of S. Leo is dated Jan. 30. 444. In many MSS. it is directed to the Bishops of several Provinces. In one, to the Bishops of *Sicily*, but commonly to the Bishops of *Italy*. S. Leo writes, in this Letter, That he had found out, and convinced many *Manichees* of their Error in the City of *Rome*; That he received such of them to Penance, as acknowledged their Sin, and the rest he had banished according to the Edicts of the Emperors. He exhorts those to whom he writes, to be Vigilant, as good Pastors, to discover those, who might lurk in their Dioceses.

The 9th. Letter to the Bishops of the Province of *Vienna* had never been published, had it not been found in a MSS. in the Library of the Abby of *Fleury*. It is a very dubious piece, as F. Quæstel shews in his Notes, for, 1. The date, by the Consuls, is apparently false. *Valentinian* had been Consul 4 times in 435, but never had *Aurélius* for his Colleague, who was not Consul till 450. S. Leo was not yet Pope, when the first was Consul, and *Hilarius* Bishop of *Aries*, to whom this Letter was written, was dead, when the latter was Consul. But the date may be amended, by putting it under the Consulship of *Valentinian*, the 6th. time, and of *Nomius*. 2. The Style of this Letter is altogether different from S. Leo's. 3. We find therein the name of Archbishop, which the *Latin* Authors did not use at that time. 4. Nor is it probable, That S. Leo did write two Letters to the same Bishops, at the same time, and upon the same subject; and the 10th. being certainly S. Leo's, this ought to be accounted a Forgery. 'Tis very short. He therein revokes the Privileges granted to the Church of *Aries*, because *Hilarius* had refused to submit to his Judgment, and restored them to the Church of *Vienna*.

The 10th. Letter to the Bishops of that Province, is about the difference between *Hilarius* Bishop of *Aries* and S. Leo. For the full understanding of which, we must observe, 1. That there had been a Contest, a long time, between the Bishops of *Vienna* and the Bishop of *Aries*, about the Rights of the Metropolis in the Province of *Vienna*. 2. That the Council of *Taurinum*, to appease this Quarrel, had ordain'd, That whosoever of the two, could prove, that his City was the Civil Metropolis, should enjoy the Right of the Ecclesiastical Metropolis of all the Province; but that, in the mean while, each should have, for Suffragans, the Bi-

which was done in the Year 445, and which was confirmed by the Council of Arles, in the Year 452. The Bishop of Arles, Hilary, was the first who was deposed by the Council of Arles, in the Year 445. He was deposed for having arrogated the Authority of the Holy See, and for having deposed Bishops unjustly. He commands: That the Sentence given against him by the Holy See, which ought to take place without the Imperial Authority, be executed; that no Man oppose it, and that there be no Disturbances in the Churches for the future. He ordains, That for ever hereafter, neither the French Bishops, nor the Bishops of other Provinces, shall undertake any thing hereafter, without the Authority of the Bishop of Rome: That all that he orders shall be acknowledged for a Law; and that the Bishops, which he shall cite, shall be compell'd by the Governour to come to Rome. This had no place here. It is dated the 6th of June, in 445.

The Eleventh Letter to Diocorus Bishop of Alexandria, was written, certainly, some Time after the Ordination of that Bishop, and consequently in 445. S. Leo having spoken of the Union and Agreement that there ought to be between the Church of Rome and Alexandria, because the First was founded by S. Peter, and the Second by S. Mark his Scholar: He exhorts Diocorus to observe that which was practised in the Church of Rome, touching the Times of Ordinations, which ought not to be conferr'd on all Days indifferently, but only on Sunday-night, just before the Lord's Day, which may be looked upon as belonging to the Lord's Day. He would have them, who celebrate Ordination, to be fasting, and that they continue the Fast of Saturday upon the Lord's Day; that is to say, That since they begin to fast all Day on Saturday, they do not eat till the Evening of the Lord's Day, after the Ordination is ended; so we ought to understand S. Leo's Words. This Explication is confirmed by Urban II. in the Council of Clermont in the Year 1095. where speaking of Ordinations, he says, *Et tunc prebatur jejunium usque ad crastinum, ut magis appareat in die dominica quod Ordines conferuntur on the Lord's Day.*

In the Second Part of this Letter he advises him to observe the Custom of the Church of Rome, which was to reiterate the Holy Communion, when so great Numbers come to the Church upon solemn Festivals, that all those that come cannot enter. It was evidently the same, who began the Sacrament again, for the Bishop ordinarily administered it, and it was not allow'd to a Priest to offer in the presence of a Bishop. He wrote this Letter to Diocorus, by Possidimus a Deacon of Alexandria, who is evidently the same that S. Cyril sent to S. Celsus; for S. Leo witnesses, That he had often been present at the Ordinations and Processions of Rome.

The Twelfth Letter is to Anastasius Bishop of Thessalonica, and although the Date of it be not well known, yet it is refer'd to this Year. S. Leo in this Letter lays some Faults to the Charge of this Bishop, and prescribes him some Rules, which he would have him observe. He tells him, That he and his Predecessors being made his Deputy, he ought to execute that Charge with Moderation, and suspend the Judgment of Matters of Consequence, and which have some Difficulty, to make Report of them to the Holy See. He tells him, That he must spend them by Kindness than Severity. He afterward objects some Faults against him, not directly laying them to his Charge. They, saith he, who seek their own Interest more than that of Jesus Christ, take no Care how they manage Affairs; they depart from the Laws of Charity; they are rather to Rule than to Advise; the Honour pleases them, when it raises them, and they abuse the Title, which hath been given them for the Preservation of Peace. He adds, That it is a Grief to him, that he is forced to use such Terms, but he thinks himself in Fault, when he knows, That he, whom he hath made his Deputy, is departed from the Laws which he hath given him. He then tells him, That the Reason of this Imputation is the Severity which he hath used towards Aricus, Metropolitan of Epirus, because he had not appeared at the Synod, so which he had been summon'd. He tells him, That although he were Blame-worthy, yet he had not Power to condemn him, without waiting for the Judgment of the Holy See; because being but Deputy, he was assumed, in partem sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. To share in his Care, not exercise the same Authority.

He appoints, in the Second Canon, that Metropolitans should preserve the Rights which are granted them by the Canons.

In the Third he says, That such Persons may not be chosen for Bishops, as are Laymen, or Novices, or twice married, or have married Widows. In the old Edition it is, *Sed nec qui viduam copularit; Neither he that marrieth a Widow: I thought to be read, Qui unam vel habuit vel habuerit, sed quam sibi viduam copularit: He that hath or shall have but only one Wife, but whom he married when she was a Widow.* F. Quefnel hath thus corrected it, following the Authority of the Collections of Councils.

In the Fourth Canon he commands the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, to live unmarried, and observes, That the Use of Marriage was not allowed to Subdeacons. Nevertheless, S. Gregory, lib. 2. Regis. Ep. 42. says, That it was too hard to refuse it to the latter.

Upon this account it was that the Pope, labouring with all his Might to have his Decrees put in execution, obtained an Edict of the Emperor Justinian, which he sent after this Letter; by which the Emperor declares, That the Primacy of the Apostolick See ought not to be

Upon this occasion, and in this juncture of Affairs did this Pope write in 445; to the Bishop of the Province of Mecklen, this Letter of which we are speaking; He begins with an Examen of the Apostolick See, and saith: That he had been confused very often by the French Bishops; and had disannulled and confirmed their Judiciary Sentences, which had been brought to him by appeal. He complains, That Hilary had disturbed the Peace and Union of the Churches; That he had endeavour'd to make the Bishops of the Seven Provinces subject to his Authority, without submitting to S. Peter's, whom he had, relisted and defend'd, being poss'd up with a Spirit of Pride: He adds, That having examined the Cause of Celsidius, he found him really innocent of what he was accus'd of, and therefore had made void the Sentence, which had been given against him, which nevertheless he would have ratified, if what was alledged had been true.

He speaks afterward of the Cause of another Bishop of the Province of Vienna, named Projectus: He complains, That Hilary would have ordained, in his Place, a Person who had been chosen neither by the People, nor Clergy, nor Nobility. He demands why S. Hilary did intermeddle with the Ordinations of another Province. He reproves his Departure from Rome, and at length declares, That he had ordained that Projectus should remain in his See.

He then commands the Bishops to ordain Canonically, in pursuance of the Election of the People or Clergy, and that every one of them keep within their own Bounds. He condemns Hilary for carrying along with him armed Men in ordaining or driving out Bishops: He forbids him the calling of Synods, and declares him deprived not only of his Right of Primacy, which he had pretended to; but also of the Right of Metropolis in the Province of Vienna, which he had usurp'd. He will not have him ordain, and declares him fallen away from the Communion of the Apostolick See. He brings here an excellent Rule about Excommunication: *We must not, saith he, easily excommunicate any, nor ought it to be inflicted upon any at the Humor of every peevish Bishop, but we ought to use that Means to punish a great Crime.* He adds, That none may be Excommunicated but the Guilty, nor they that have no Part in the Action.

He exhorts the Bishops, to whom he wrote, to put in execution what he had commanded: He makes them take notice, That he did not assume to himself the Ordinations of their Churches, but preserved them from the Encroachments of Hilary. Lastly, He forbids them calling a Synod, of more than one Province, without the Consent of Leo, an Ancient Bishop (he doth not tell us of what See, but in the Life of Honoratus, written by Hilary Bishop of Arles, there is one Larentius Bishop of Frejus: Forum Julii, a City in Provence) spoken of S. Leo, by this, gives him the Primacy for a Time, upon the account of his Age, but yet wholly by the Leave and Approbation of the Bishops of France, si vobis placet, and without diminishing the Rights of the Metropolitans.

It remains that we observe, That neither Hilary Bishop of Arles, nor the Bishops of France did give place to S. Leo; and that this Pope continued firm to his Opinion, although Hilary sent Two Deputies to him to appease him. This is evident by the Letter of Auxiliarius, Governour of Rome, recited by Honoratus; in which he tells this Saint, That he hath spoken with Pope Leo, and Adds: *In reading this you will be stirr'd, for you are always the same, and in the same Resolution. He advises him to soften his Terms, because, saith he, Roman Ears are tender.*

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be defend'd, being built upon the Merits of S. Peter, and confirm'd by the Authority of the Councils. He blames Hilary Bishop of Arles, for having arrogated the Ordinations to himself, that did not belong to him, and having deposed Bishops unjustly. He commands: That the Sentence given against him by the Holy See, which ought to take place without the Imperial Authority, be executed; that no Man oppose it, and that there be no Disturbances in the Churches for the future. He ordains, That for ever hereafter, neither the French Bishops, nor the Bishops of other Provinces, shall undertake any thing hereafter, without the Authority of the Bishop of Rome: That all that he orders shall be acknowledged for a Law; and that the Bishops, which he shall cite, shall be compell'd by the Governour to come to Rome. This had no place here. It is dated the 6th of June, in 445.

The Eleventh Letter to Diocorus Bishop of Alexandria, was written, certainly, some Time after the Ordination of that Bishop, and consequently in 445. S. Leo having spoken of the Union and Agreement that there ought to be between the Church of Rome and Alexandria, because the First was founded by S. Peter, and the Second by S. Mark his Scholar: He exhorts Diocorus to observe that which was practised in the Church of Rome, touching the Times of Ordinations, which ought not to be conferr'd on all Days indifferently, but only on Sunday-night, just before the Lord's Day, which may be looked upon as belonging to the Lord's Day. He would have them, who celebrate Ordination, to be fasting, and that they continue the Fast of Saturday upon the Lord's Day; that is to say, That since they begin to fast all Day on Saturday, they do not eat till the Evening of the Lord's Day, after the Ordination is ended; so we ought to understand S. Leo's Words. This Explication is confirmed by Urban II. in the Council of Clermont in the Year 1095. where speaking of Ordinations, he says, *Et tunc prebatur jejunium usque ad crastinum, ut magis appareat in die dominica quod Ordines conferuntur on the Lord's Day.*

In the Second Part of this Letter he advises him to observe the Custom of the Church of Rome, which was to reiterate the Holy Communion, when so great Numbers come to the Church upon solemn Festivals, that all those that come cannot enter. It was evidently the same, who began the Sacrament again, for the Bishop ordinarily administered it, and it was not allow'd to a Priest to offer in the presence of a Bishop. He wrote this Letter to Diocorus, by Possidimus a Deacon of Alexandria, who is evidently the same that S. Cyril sent to S. Celsus; for S. Leo witnesses, That he had often been present at the Ordinations and Processions of Rome.

The Twelfth Letter is to Anastasius Bishop of Thessalonica, and although the Date of it be not well known, yet it is refer'd to this Year. S. Leo in this Letter lays some Faults to the Charge of this Bishop, and prescribes him some Rules, which he would have him observe. He tells him, That he and his Predecessors being made his Deputy, he ought to execute that Charge with Moderation, and suspend the Judgment of Matters of Consequence, and which have some Difficulty, to make Report of them to the Holy See. He tells him, That he must spend them by Kindness than Severity. He afterward objects some Faults against him, not directly laying them to his Charge. They, saith he, who seek their own Interest more than that of Jesus Christ, take no Care how they manage Affairs; they depart from the Laws of Charity; they are rather to Rule than to Advise; the Honour pleases them, when it raises them, and they abuse the Title, which hath been given them for the Preservation of Peace. He adds, That it is a Grief to him, that he is forced to use such Terms, but he thinks himself in Fault, when he knows, That he, whom he hath made his Deputy, is departed from the Laws which he hath given him. He then tells him, That the Reason of this Imputation is the Severity which he hath used towards Aricus, Metropolitan of Epirus, because he had not appeared at the Synod, so which he had been summon'd. He tells him, That although he were Blame-worthy, yet he had not Power to condemn him, without waiting for the Judgment of the Holy See; because being but Deputy, he was assumed, in partem sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. To share in his Care, not exercise the same Authority.

He appoints, in the Second Canon, that Metropolitans should preserve the Rights which are granted them by the Canons.

In the Third he says, That such Persons may not be chosen for Bishops, as are Laymen, or Novices, or twice married, or have married Widows. In the old Edition it is, *Sed nec qui viduam copularit; Neither he that marrieth a Widow: I thought to be read, Qui unam vel habuit vel habuerit, sed quam sibi viduam copularit: He that hath or shall have but only one Wife, but whom he married when she was a Widow.* F. Quefnel hath thus corrected it, following the Authority of the Collections of Councils.

In the Fourth Canon he commands the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, to live unmarried, and observes, That the Use of Marriage was not allowed to Subdeacons. Nevertheless, S. Gregory, lib. 2. Regis. Ep. 42. says, That it was too hard to refuse it to the latter.



In the Fifth Canon he saith, that he ought to be made a Bishop, if he be chosen by the Clergy and People. He gives Power to the Metropolitan, in case that their Judgment be divided, to prefer him who is of greatest Worth, and that most Votes. But the pernicious Inbards him making any Person a Bishop, whom the People would not have, though it be a Bishop.

In the Sixth Canon he judgeth very fit, that the Metropolitan should write to his Vicar concerning the Election, that it may be confirmed by his Judgment, and so, after the Death of the Metropolitan, he will that the Bishops of the Province should assemble themselves and choose one of the Priests or Deacons of the Vacant Church, and that they give an Account of their Election to his Vicar, that he may confirm it: He commands him, notwithstanding, to return a speedy Answer: *Sicut enim, saith he, justa electiones nulla volumus dilationibus fastigare, sed sibi permittimus te ignorante presens: For as we will not have due Elections to be disturbed with Delays, so we do not allow that anything be presumed on without your Knowledge.*

In the Seventh Canon he appoints, according to the Nicene Council, That two Synods be held every Year in each Province. He requires that if there be any Cause among the Bishops, accused of Crimes, which cannot be determined in the Provincial Synod, it should be made known to his Vicar; and if he could not end it, he should write to the Holy See.

In the Eighth he declares, That he that would go from one Church to another, out of Contempt of his own, shall be deprived both of that he would have, and of that he hath. *De nec illis president, quos per avaritiam concupiscit, nec illis quos per superbiam sprebit. That he may not preside over those whom he through Covetousness hath desired, nor those whom through Pride he hath contemned.* S. Leo in this follows: the Canon of the Council of Sardica; but those of Nice and Chalcedon permitted them to continue in their First Church.

In the Ninth he forbids the Bishops to receive or invite the Clergy of another Church. He will to have it, That if a Clerk, being come out of his own Diocese, abide in the same Province, he should be compelled to return to his own Church by the Metropolitan; and if he be out of the Province, by the Vicar of the Holy See.

In the Tenth he enjoins him to observe a great deal of Moderation, in calling his Brethren together. He requires, That if it be necessary to convene a Synod about some weighty Affair, he would constrain no more than Two Bishops of each Province to come to it, and those such as the Metropolitan should chuse; and that he should keep them no longer than Five Days.

In the last he commands Anastasius, That if in any Thing he found his Judgment different from his Brethren's, that he should write to him, before he did any thing, that all things might be done with Unity and Concord. He observes, That although the Dignity of Bishops be common (for so it ought to be read, *Est dignitas communis, non est tamen eisdem generalis*), their Order is different; that although the Apostles were equal, yet a Primacy was always given to one only: That, according to this Platform, the Distinction of Bishops is formed; and it hath been provided, That all should not assume to themselves all sorts of Rights. For this Reason it is, that Metropolitan Bishops have greater Authority than other Bishops; that in great Cities there are those that have a greater Charge: And, lastly, the Care of the Universal Church belongs to the See of S. Peter, that all the Churches may agree with their Head: That he must not take it ill to have one above him, who is himself above others, but he ought to obey the rather, as he desires others should obey him; and as he would not bear an heavy Yoke himself, he must not impose it upon others.

It is to be observed, That S. Leo wrote this Letter to a Bishop of Thessalonica, whom he had made his Vicar in the Diocese of Illyria, which he had a Mind to add to his Patriarchate, and govern it with the same Authority that he did the Sub-urban Provinces.

The Thirteenth Letter directed to the Metropolitans of Achaia, is taken out of the Collection of Hossinius: It is Dated January the 6th, 446. S. Leo tells them how Joyful he was at the Receipt of their Letters, understanding thereby, that they approved of what he had done, in committing the Care of the Churches of Illyria to Anastasius Bishop of Thessalonica. He Admonishes them, That if there arise any Controversies among the Bishops of that Country, which cannot be decided in the Province, they ought to be brought before him, and determined by his Judgment, but if they are of very great consequence, and cannot be ended in the Province, nor accommodated by the Mediation of the Bishop of Thessalonica, the Bishops of the Province must come to a Synod, which he will call, and Two or Three Bishops at least of each Province must be present at it. He then Reproves the Metropolitan of Achaia, because he had Ordained many contrary to the Canons of the Church, and particularly had not long before made a Person Bishop of the same, who was unknown to the Inhabitants, and whom they were against. He sheweth how he forbids Metropolitans to Ordain such Persons as they thought good of, Bishops, without waiting for the consent of the People and Clergy, and enjoins them to accept him who shall be chosen by the common consent of all the City. Lastly, He requires them to Observe the Canons, which forbid a Bishop to take a Clerk of another Bishop.

if he do not shew Letters from his own Bishop, that he is, willing to let him have firm. He looks upon this point of Discipline as being very useful to uphold Agreement and Peace among S. Leo's Bishops.

We have already spoken to the Fourteenth Letter written to Januarius Bishop of Aquileia. The Fifteenth Letter written to Turribius, is of July the 21st, 447. S. Leo therein commands that Bishop, that he had came to give him notice, that the Abominable Heresie of the Priscillianists began to spring up afresh in Spain. He also calls it the Sect of the Priscillianists, because, he says, it was an heap of detestable Errors, and most filthy Superstitions.

He adds, That that Heresie hath been Condemned by the Church as often as it hath appeared, and that the Magistrates themselves have had to great an Hatred for that detestable Sect, that they have used the severity of the Laws against them, punishing the Author and principal Abettors with Death. And that not without Reason, because they law that all Laws, Divine and Humane, would be subverted, and the Civil Society disturbed, if such Persons, who divulged so detestable Errors, were suffered to live. That this severity had been used a long time together with the Lenity of the Church, because, tho' the Church being contented with the Judgment of her Bishops, avoids all Sanguinary Punishments, yet it is helped by the Edicts of Princes, which cause them, that fear Temporal Penalties, to have recourse sometimes to Spiritual Remedies. S. Leo in the next place relates the Sixteen Articles, in which Turribius makes the Doctrine of the Priscillianists to consist; and shews us, that they contain so many Impieties. The Articles are these, 1. That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are only One Person. 2. That there comes from the Essence of God, Virtues, that is to say, Spiritual Beings, which proceed from his Essence. 3. That Jesus Christ is the Son of God only, because he was Born of the Virgin Mary. 4. That they Falt on Christ's Nativity, and Sundays. 5. That the Soul is from the Divine Essence. 6. That Devils were never good by their Nature; that they were not Created by God, but they were Formed out of the Chaos, and Darkness. 7. That Marriage is forbidden, and that Generation is a detestable thing. 8. That the Bodies of Men are made by the Devil, and that they shall not rise from the Dead. 9. That the Children of the Promise are Born of Women, but are Conceived by the Holy Ghost. 10. That the Souls of Men have their abode in Heaven, before they are indolled in their Bodies, and that they are thrust into them upon the account of their Sins which they have committed heretofore. 11. That the Stars and Constellations govern all things by an inevitable Fate. 12. That the Body and Soul are subject to certain Powers, those that Govern the Soul are called Patriarchs, and those that Rule the parts of the Body, are Stars. 13. That the whole Body of the Canonical Scriptures is contained under the Name of the Patriarchs, which denote the Twelve Vertues which restore and illuminate the inner Man. 14. That our Bodies are subject to the Stars and Constellations. 15. S. Leo observes, That they have corrupted the Books of Scripture, and make use of Apocryphal Works full of Errors; That the Bishops ought to take them from them and burn them; that they bear the Names of the Apostles, and have some few of Piety, because they outwardly have an hidden Poison in them, and lead Men into Error. In the 16th Article S. Leo prohibits the Book that Diogenes had composed, being a Priscillianist. He also speaks of their infamous Mysteries, like to those of the Manichees, whom he had made to acknowledge, or rather, He condemns those Bishops, who are in those Errors, which he before observed, or rather, who did not oppose them, and would not curse them.

In fine, As to that which Turribius hath Noted to S. Leo, that some of the Orthodox did doubt, Whether the Fleth of Jesus Christ was really in the Sepulchre, during the time that his Soul went down into Hell: He Answers, That he wondered that any Christian should doubt of that Truth, since it is plain by the Testimony of Holy Scripture, that the Body of Jesus Christ was Buried, and was raised again from the Dead. He concludes, That it is necessary that a Council be called in Spain in some convenient place, where the Bishops of the Neighbouring Provinces may be present, and there examine, if there be any Bishop who holds these Errors which he hath related, and if any be found, they must be Excommunicated, because it is not to be endured, that they who ought to Preach the Faith to others, should have the boldness themselves to dispute against the Creed and Gospel. He says, That he hath written to the Bishops of the Provinces of Spain to Assemble a National Council, and that it belongs to him, to whom he writes, to cause it to be put in execution; but if that cannot be done, the Bishops of Gallacia should at least meet. He leaves the care of calling the Council over to a Letter which he sent a little after along with that which S. Leo wrote to him. That Bishop shews therein his Grief which he was in, to find his Country infected with so many Errors, and commands them not to suffer the Christians to read such Apocryphal Books, as the Acts of S. Andrew, S. John, S. Thomas, and the Book intitled, The Memoirs of the Apostles.

The Sixteenth Letter to the Bishops of Sicily is Dated October the 21st, 447. S. Leo in it approves the Custom of the Churches of Sicily, in Administering Baptism upon the Feast of Epiphany, and says, That no Man ought to be Baptized, but upon the Feast of Passover and Pentecost, according to the Custom of the Church of Rome, which he would have them to understand, that they are obliged to follow, because they were Ordain'd by the Bishop of Rome.

Nevertheless he proudest their Rank, because he had not as yet given them notice of it. Hoping they would alter this Opinion. He then proves, That they ought to observe certain times for the Celebration of the Mysteries of Religion; That the Feast of *Easter* is the most proper time for the Administration of Baptism, because that is the time when those Mysteries are remembered, which are prefigured by Baptism. That the Feast of *Pentecost* may also be joined with it; That those who thus Sinners, or Absence, could not receive the Sacrament of Baptism at *Easter*, might not be deprived at *Pentecost* of the Grace which it confers; and which the Holy Spirit pours out upon the Faithful; That the Apostles themselves have Authorized this Usage; but that there is no other Feast on which Baptism can be Administered after a solemn manner; a formula, that we ought to give due respect to all the Festivals which are appointed for the Honour of God; yet we must keep the Mystical Representation of that Sacrament; That this Law nevertheless doth not hinder from occurring these at all times which are in danger of Death; That those, who respect the Feast of *Ephesus*, as a fit Season for the Administration of Baptism, because Jesus Christ upon that Day received the Baptism of John, ought to consider, that there is a great deal of difference between the Baptism of John, and that of Jesus Christ; and that this last was not Instituted till the Side of Jesus Christ was opened; and there came from thence Blood and Water. This was the reason that S. Leo defended the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, to which he endeavoured to oblige the Bishops of *Sicily*, who were in his Patriarchate, and commanded them to send every Year Three Bishops to the Synod which he did hold at *Rome* the 29th of September.

There is another Letter to the same Bishops, Dated the next Day in which this last was written, wherein upon the Complaints of the Clergy of Two Churches of *Sicily*, who had accused their Bishops for squandering away the Revenues of their Churches, he forbids the Bishops, That they do not give, pawn, change, or sell the Goods of their Churches, unless it be for the advantage of the Church; and with the advice of all the Clergy. But for fear lest the Priests and Deacons should agree with their Bishop to make away the Church-goods, he forbids them, upon pain of Excommunication, to do any thing of that Nature, because it is just, said he, That not only the Bishops, but all Ecclesiastical Persons, should preserve the Revenues of the Church, and unreasonable, that the Goods given by the Faithful for the Salvation of their Souls, should be embazelled, or consumed.

Further *Quæstio* doubts, whether this Letter be S. Leo's, being induced to it by these Conjectures. 1. It is not found in any MSS. under the Name of S. Leo, *Vossius* having met with it in a MS. of Cardinal *Sirli's*, hath Printed it under S. Leo's Name, upon the account of the Date. 2. 'Tis not this Pope's Style; and there are in it many Expressions [4] which he never uses. 3. What probability is there, that S. Leo would write to the same Bishops Two different Letters, Two Days together? could he not have written in the former what is in this latter? 4. The Abuse which is reproved in this Letter, doth not in the least agree with the times of S. Leo, and the Discipline which is therein Establish'd hath yet less resemblance. Who will believe, that in the time of S. Leo, it was allowed to a Bishop to alienate the Goods of the Church with the consent of his Clergy only? 5. The Author of this Letter imposed this Penalty upon the Clergy, who Abuse the Goods of the Church, To be deprived both of their Office, and the Communion of the Church. In S. Leo's time they never joined these Two Punishments together. These Conjectures are certainly very probable, and make me of F. *Quæstio*'s Judgment, who thought this Letter forged, or at least, that it is another *Leo's*, and the Names of the Consuls have been added to it. This last is so much the more probable, because it is cited by *Grægorius* under the Name of Pope *Leo* the 12th. *Quæst. 2. cap. 52. sine ex-ceptione*, and so you will know, that it is not S. Leo's.

The Eighteenth Letter is written to *Desur*, Bishop of *Beneventum*, and dated the 29th of *March*, in the Year 448. He reproaches that Bishop, for having disturbed the whole Order of *Pisces*, by preferring a younger Priest before the more aged. He commands, That the more Ancient should take their Places; unless it were those Two who had consented, That the Person, of whom he speaks in this Letter, should be preferred before them, tho' they were Elder than he.

The Nineteenth Letter, dated *June* 1. 448. is an Answer to a Letter that *Eutyches* had written to S. Leo before he was condemned by *Flavian*. He had told him, That some Persons did revive the *Nestorian* Errors again. S. Leo returns him Answer, That he commended his Care, and tells him, That he would provide a sure Remedy, when he should be informed more at large, who they are that have attempted it.

The following Letters, for the most part, concern the Affair of *Eutyches*, and the History of the Councils of *Constantinople* under *Flavian*, of *Ephesus* under *Dioscorus*, and of *Chalcedon*. We shall put off speaking of these, till we shall make a particular Relation of that Affair. We shall satisfy ourselves to speak, in this place, of those that have no reference to it.

(4) Expressions, Of which there are some Examples, *Ab omni Episcopatum usurpatione recessere, innotum in Ecclesia domus misere*. All the Letter is written after a dry and barren way.

Of this Letter is the Thirty Sixth Letter to the Bishops of the Province of *Arles*. He comprehends them, as that, according to the desire of the Clergy, Nobility and People, they had, S. Leo's Bishop of blessed Memory. This Letter is dated Aug. 449.

The Thirty Seventh Letter is written to *Ravennius*, to congratulate his Promotion to his Bishoprick of *Arles*. He tells him, That he was much rejoiced at it, not only for his own sake, because upon the Account of the Church of *Arles*; for it is an Honour, as well as an Advantage, to have a Bishop who can help them; and give them an Example. He says, That he hath heretofore experienced his Moderation. (*Ravennius* having been sent to *Rome* therefore by *Hilarius* his Predecessor.) He exhorts him to join Authority with that Moderation, to mingle Justice with Lenity, to avoid Pride, to love Humility, and to keep himself within the bounds prescribed by the Laws of the Church. Lastly, he desires him to inform his own of his Government.

The following Letter is also directed to *Ravennius*, to whom he wrote about a Year before, dated *November*, who, being in *France*, boasted himself to be a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*. He gives him notice, That he was a Cheat, and desires him to write to all the Bishops of his Province, That they should not receive him into Communion. It is dated the 26th of Aug. 449; but it is not very certain, that it is really S. Leo's.

The Bishops of the Province of *Arles* having received a Letter from S. Leo, concerning the Ordination of *Ravennius*, thought that they had a favourable opportunity given them of obtaining of S. Leo a restitution of the Rights belonging to the Metropolis of *Arles*. They presented a kind of Petition to him, in which, after they had shewn what respect they owed to the Holy See, and thanked S. Leo for the approbation he had given to their Election of *Ravennius*, they prayed him to restore the Privileges of the Church of *Arles*, which had been diminished by S. Leo's last Declarations. To prove the Prerogatives of that Church, they allege, 1. The Antiquity of the Church of *Arles*, which they say, was founded by *Trophimus*, to whom they attribute the first planting of Religion in the Province of *France* called *Narbonne*. They observe, That *Trophimus* was sent by the Apostle *S. Peter*, which ought to be understood according to the ordinary manner of Speaking used at that time, by the Bishops of *Rome*, Successors of S. Peter and the Apostles. 2. They confirm the Dignity of the Church of *Arles* by the Privileges, which the Popes themselves had granted to it. 3. As also by the Privileges which the Emperors, *Constantine*, *Valentinian* and *Honorius*, had bestowed upon the City of *Arles*. 4. They alleged, That the Bishop of *Arles* was in the present possession of three Provinces adjoining to *Vienna*, as subject to his Care; and besides these, which he governed by his own Authority, he had the Inspection over all *France*, as Apostolick Vicar, to enforce them to observe the Rules of the Church. Moved by these Reasons, they entreated him to render to the Church of *Arles* all his Prerogatives.

The 50th Letter to the Bishops of the same Province, is an Answer to the precedent Petition, or the Judgment which S. Leo gives upon their Demand. After he hath declared the Joy, that he did conceive for the kindness which the French Bishops had for *Ravennius*, he says, That the Bishop of *Vienna* had prevented him from granting their Petition, having sent Letters and Deputies to complain, That the Bishop of *Arles* had ordained the Bishop of *Vasio*. He adds, That having considered the Reasons, on both sides, he had found, That the Cities of *Arles* and *Vienna*, having always been very famous, had disputed about their Church-Privileges; That sometimes one was Superior, and sometimes the other got uppermost; so that he must not leave the Church of *Vienna* without any Prerogative, especially since he had lately honoured it with the Power which he had taken away from *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles*. He therefore grants him four Suffragan-Bishops, which are *Valentia*, *Tarentum*, *Genova* and *Gratiopolis*, and leaves the other under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Arles*, who will be, as we require him, faithful to be a great Friend of Peace and Concord, that he will not think that taken from him, that is given to his Brother.

The Fifty First Letter is directed to *Ravennius*. He sends to him his Letter to *Flavian*, and exhorts him to get himself a Name in the beginning of his Episcopacy, by defending the Catholic Faith, about the Incarnation. 'Tis dated May 5. 450.

The Seventy Sixth Letter is also written to the same Bishop, but upon another Subject. He gives him notice on what day the Feast of Passover was to be celebrated in the year 452. and commands him to publish it to all the French; which shews, That he acknowledged him his Vicar among the French.

This Letter is followed by a Letter of *Cereius*, *Salonius* and *Veranus*, French Bishops, in which they thank S. Leo, That he had sent them his Letter to *Flavian*, and pray him to review and correct the Copy, which they had taken of it. This Letter is not so considerable as the next to it, which is a Synodical Letter of a French Council to Pope Leo, to thank him for sending them his Letter to *Flavian*. The name of *Ravennius* is in the beginning of it, which may make us think, That the Synod was held at *Arles*. The Subscriptions shew, That it was composed by 44 Bishops out of the 7 French Provinces. These Bishops, after they have excused themselves, That they gave him an Answer no sooner, because they could not meet together, say, That they received S. Leo's Letter as a firm of Faith; That many of them acknowledged the Doctrine which they had received by Tradition to be contained in it, and some

and since Julian had written to him in his Favour, he tells him, That tho' he had a very great respect for him, yet he will never do anything upon his Recommendation, which is contrary to the Rules of the Church. He adds, That *Anatolius* ought to be thoroughly satisfied, That by his Suffrage he had been raised to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, without obliging him to break the Laws of the Church in favour of his Ambition. He commands *Julian* to have a greater regard to the order of the Universal Church, than the personal Friendship of *Anatolius*, and not desire a favour of him, which he cannot obtain, without making him that requests it, and him that should grant it, guilty of a great sin.

The 82d. Letter is directed to *Rufinus*, *Ravennius*, *Venerius* and other French Bishops. *S. Leo* relates the definition of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and sends them a Copy of the Sentence which *Paschasius* and *Lucenarius* had pronounced in the Council of *Chalcedon*. It follows this Letter, but is something different from that which is found in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The 83d. Letter is directed to *Theodorus* Bishop of *Frejus*, and dated June 10. Anno 452. *S. Leo* having been consulted by this Bishop, without communicating it to his Metropolitan, he admonishes him, That he ought first of all to address himself to him for the obtaining an Explanation of his Difficulties, and if he were also ignorant of the Solution, they might join together to consult the Holy See, because there ought to be no question made, faith he, of any things which concern the general observation of all the Churches, without the Authority of the Primates, i. e. the Metropolitan. Notwithstanding, he doth not forbear to instruct this Bishop, about that which he demanded of him, concerning the discipline of the Church towards Penitents. He says, That Repentance is the only Remedy for Sins committed after Baptism; That Jesus Christ hath given power to Priests to impose Penance upon Sinners, and to admit them when they are purified by a proportionable satisfaction; to admit them, I say, to the participation of the Sacrament by the door of Reconciliation. He adds, That Jesus Christ comes between the action of the Priest, as I may, insofar, That if the effect follow the action, we must believe, that it is by the Virtue of the Holy Spirit; That if any Penitent die before reconciliation, he can't be reconciled after Death, but must be left to the Judgment of God; but he assures us, That it is very profitable and necessary that Sins be remitted before the day of Death, by the Prayer of the Priest. He will not have reconciliation denied to those who demand Penance, when they see them in danger of death, but he admonishes Sinners not to trust or depend upon that Pardon, nor put off their Repentance till the hour of death. He saith, That it is a sufficient Reason to grant reconciliation to those, who are in manifest Danger, that they shew their desires of it by some Signs, or there are some to witness that they have required it. Lastly, He commands this Bishop to inform his Metropolitan of these Answers.

The 84th. Letter is written to the Emperor *Marcian*. *S. Leo* in the first place congratulates the re-establishment of the Catholic Doctrine. He then signifies to him, That he had had some suspicion of *Anatolius*, and upon that account it was that he had not, for some time, sent him Letters of Communion, but in consideration of the Emperor's Testimony, and the Profession of Faith which he had made, he had receiv'd him to his Communion, yet having adverted him, That he would not communicate with those who had persecuted *Flavian*, and that the Defender of the *Eutychnian* Party should be deposed; That he was thoroughly satisfied, by his Letter, in which he signifies to him what had been decided in his Synod, but that he was surprized to hear, That after he had begun so well, he had deposed *Aetius* the Arch-Deacon, who was always an opposer of the *Eutychnians*, to put into his place *Andrew* an *Eutychnian*; which was done with so great Precipitancy, that he was ordained upon a Friday, contrary to the common Usage and to Apostolick Tradition, and that in degrading the former, they had given him the charge of the Cemetery, condemning him by that means to a kind of Exile. He prays the Emperor to take *Aetius* into his Protection, and to compel *Anatolius* to revoke what he had done. This Letter is of March 10. 453.

He repeats the same things in the 90th. to the Emperor *Pulcheria*, which is of the same date. In it he observes particularly, That *Anatolius* had obtained the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* through the favour of the Emperors, and through his consent, *Pietatis vestra beneficio*, & *pietatis mea assensu*. He had also said before in the precedent Letter, That he owed his Bishoprick to the kindness of the Emperor, *Vestra beneficio*. He urges also the Canons of the Council of *Nice* against the pretences of *Anatolius*, and declares, That he doth cancel and make void, by the Authority of *S. Peter*, all the Constitutions which are contrary to the Laws established in the Council of *Nice*.

He represents the same things to *Anatolius* in the 80th. Letter. He therein commands his Faith, but condemns his Pretensions. He finds fault with him, That he ordained the Bishop of *Antioch*, and was willing to break the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, by making the Church of *Alexandria* to lose the second place, and that of *Antioch* the third, and by depriving the Metropolitan in his Jurisdiction of the Rights and Honours which they had. He accuses him of endeavouring to make use of the Council, which was called for the suppressing of Heresie, to further his own Ambition. He assures him, That no Synod can hurt what the Council of *Nice* hath done, and that the Legates of the Holy See had reason to oppose his Attempts. He exhorts him, at length, to keep himself within the bounds of Humility and Christian Clarity, and not give any further occasion of Scandal in the Church of Jesus Christ. He tells him, That he may not elevate himself upon the account of some pretended Contentions of the Bishops made 60 years since, which were never sent to the Holy See, and have never been executed. He forbids him disturbing the Metropolitans about their ancient Rights, and he declares, That he intends that the Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* should remain in possession of their ancient Order. This Letter is also dated the same day.

S. Leo hath not contented himself with writing so strongly against the pretensions of *Anatolius*, but in his 81st. Letter written some days after the former, he commands *Julian*, Bishop of *Cos*, who had the charge of his Affairs in the East, not to consent to *Anatolius's* pretences. And

and since *Julian* had written to him in his Favour, he tells him, That tho' he had a very great respect for him, yet he will never do anything upon his Recommendation, which is contrary to the Rules of the Church. He adds, That *Anatolius* ought to be thoroughly satisfied, That by his Suffrage he had been raised to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, without obliging him to break the Laws of the Church in favour of his Ambition. He commands *Julian* to have a greater regard to the order of the Universal Church, than the personal Friendship of *Anatolius*, and not desire a favour of him, which he cannot obtain, without making him that requests it, and him that should grant it, guilty of a great sin.

The 82d. Letter is directed to *Rufinus*, *Ravennius*, *Venerius* and other French Bishops. *S. Leo* relates the definition of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and sends them a Copy of the Sentence which *Paschasius* and *Lucenarius* had pronounced in the Council of *Chalcedon*. It follows this Letter, but is something different from that which is found in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The 83d. Letter is directed to *Theodorus* Bishop of *Frejus*, and dated June 10. Anno 452. *S. Leo* having been consulted by this Bishop, without communicating it to his Metropolitan, he admonishes him, That he ought first of all to address himself to him for the obtaining an Explanation of his Difficulties, and if he were also ignorant of the Solution, they might join together to consult the Holy See, because there ought to be no question made, faith he, of any things which concern the general observation of all the Churches, without the Authority of the Primates, i. e. the Metropolitan. Notwithstanding, he doth not forbear to instruct this Bishop, about that which he demanded of him, concerning the discipline of the Church towards Penitents. He says, That Repentance is the only Remedy for Sins committed after Baptism; That Jesus Christ hath given power to Priests to impose Penance upon Sinners, and to admit them when they are purified by a proportionable satisfaction; to admit them, I say, to the participation of the Sacrament by the door of Reconciliation. He adds, That Jesus Christ comes between the action of the Priest, as I may, insofar, That if the effect follow the action, we must believe, that it is by the Virtue of the Holy Spirit; That if any Penitent die before reconciliation, he can't be reconciled after Death, but must be left to the Judgment of God; but he assures us, That it is very profitable and necessary that Sins be remitted before the day of Death, by the Prayer of the Priest. He will not have reconciliation denied to those who demand Penance, when they see them in danger of death, but he admonishes Sinners not to trust or depend upon that Pardon, nor put off their Repentance till the hour of death. He saith, That it is a sufficient Reason to grant reconciliation to those, who are in manifest Danger, that they shew their desires of it by some Signs, or there are some to witness that they have required it. Lastly, He commands this Bishop to inform his Metropolitan of these Answers.

The 84th. Letter is written to the Emperor *Marcian*. *S. Leo* in the first place congratulates the re-establishment of the Catholic Doctrine. He then signifies to him, That he had had some suspicion of *Anatolius*, and upon that account it was that he had not, for some time, sent him Letters of Communion, but in consideration of the Emperor's Testimony, and the Profession of Faith which he had made, he had receiv'd him to his Communion, yet having adverted him, That he would not communicate with those who had persecuted *Flavian*, and that the Defender of the *Eutychnian* Party should be deposed; That he was thoroughly satisfied, by his Letter, in which he signifies to him what had been decided in his Synod, but that he was surprized to hear, That after he had begun so well, he had deposed *Aetius* the Arch-Deacon, who was always an opposer of the *Eutychnians*, to put into his place *Andrew* an *Eutychnian*; which was done with so great Precipitancy, that he was ordained upon a Friday, contrary to the common Usage and to Apostolick Tradition, and that in degrading the former, they had given him the charge of the Cemetery, condemning him by that means to a kind of Exile. He prays the Emperor to take *Aetius* into his Protection, and to compel *Anatolius* to revoke what he had done. This Letter is of March 10. 453.

He wrote also at the same time the 85th. Letter to the Emperor *Pulcheria*. It is upon the same Subject, and contains almost the same things. He therein observes, That tho' *Andrew* had abused the Error of the *Eutychnians*, yet he ought not to be preferred before those who have always preferred the Faith in Purity.

He wrote also the next Day the following Letter about the same business to *Julian* Bishop of *Cos* his Agent in the East. It appears by that Letter, That *Anatolius* had taken away the Arch-Deaconry from *Aetius*, by Ordaining him Priest (for a Priest not being capable of an Arch-Deaconry) under the pretence of raising him to a greater Dignity, he had really deprived him of the Office of Arch-Deacon, which was more Honourable. *S. Leo* complains of these proceedings, and so much the more, because he had put a Person that favoured the *Eutychnians* into his place. He commands *Julian* to observe diligently, in the Name of the Holy Apostolick See, what passes in the East, and speak freely to the Emperor about those things that respect the good of the Church. He would have him write to him about such matters as may administer Debates. He enjoins him to reprove *Anatolius* smartly, because he had put an Heretical Arch-Deacon into the place of an Orthodox One. He accuses this Patriarch of having no Zeal for the Faith. He desires *Julian* to let him know, what it was that disturbed the Monks of *Palastine*, whether they are *Eutychnians*, or whether they are at odds with their Bishop

from Julian, because he is a favourer of that Party. He observes, That they ought to be punished according to the Nature of their fault; for there is a great deal of difference, saith he, between opposing the Faith, and being a little too hot for the Faith. He requires him also to give him Intelligence of the Monks of *Aegypt*, and the Affairs of *Alexandria*. In the last place he tells him, That he had not received the Form of Faith which he had sent him. It is not known what Form of Faith this is which S. Leo speaks of in this place, and which Julian sent him. F. *Sirmondus* hath Published One, which he pretends is this, but F. *Chiffletius* assures us, That he found it in that MS. of F. *Sirmondus* attributed to *Atanasius*. R. *Quesset* believes, That the Form of Faith which Julian sent to S. Leo, was nothing else, but the definition of Faith, which is in the Fifth Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*. S. Leo also desires Julian to send him a Translation of the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon* at large, which were not understood at *Rome*, because they were written in *Greek*.

The Eighty Seventh Letter is directed to the Bishops who were present at the Council of *Chalcedon*. In it S. Leo approves of the Decisions of that Council concerning Matters of Faith, but declares at the same time, that he will never consent to what hath been done there contrary to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*. This Letter bears Date *March the 21st. 453.*

S. Leo was obliged to write it for the satisfaction of the Emperor, who had required him to give his approbation plainly to that which had been defined in the Council of *Chalcedon*, for fear, lest he should take an occasion to oppose the Council, because the Pope would not acknowledge the Rights which he had granted to *Anatolius*. This S. Leo himself Testifies in the following Letter to Julian of *Coar*, wherein he praises the Zeal of the Emperor, and Empress, who had restrain'd the Insolence of some Monks. He also tells him, That the Emperor having privately bid him to Admonish the Emperress, he wrote presently to her, and he desires him to let him know what was the effect of his Letter, and if in short he hath approved of his Doctrine, or rather, S. *Arbanusius*, *Theophilus*, and S. *Cyril's*.

As to the business of *Actius*, he says, That he much Commiserated his Affliction, but he thought he must bear it patiently, for fear he seem to carry things too high. In fine, he tells him, That *Anatolius* persisted in his Claim, and that he understood by the Messenger that brought him the News of the Ordination of the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, that he would make the Bishops of *Illyria* to subscribe it. For this reason it was that he did not write to them, altho' Julian had desired him to do it; because he knew by that, that he would not be amended by it. He sends him Two Copies of the precedent Letter, the one by it self, the other at the end of the Letter, which was written to *Anatolius*, that he might give that to the Emperor which he thought most convenient.

In the Eighty Ninth he writes to the Emperor about that which he required of him, to give his Approbation of what the Council of *Chalcedon* had defined concerning the Faith. He assures him, That he had approved it already when he wrote to *Anatolius*, but that that Bishop would not Publish his Letter, because he therein reproves his Ambition. He thanks God, that he had given them an Emperor who knew how to join the Priestly Vigor and Royal Power together. Perhaps you will wonder at this Expression, but as F. *Quesset* has already observed, there are many such in S. Leo's Letters. *Constantine* assumes to himself the Title of an Outward Bishop of the Church. The Fathers of the Councils of *Chalcedon*, and of *Constantinople*, under *Flavian*, have not scrupled in their Acclamations of Praise to the Emperors, to give them the Title of Bishop. S. Leo also commends *Marcian*, because he took upon him to maintain the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and that he had suppressed the Commotions of the Monks. Lastly, He assures him, That he had declared his Judgment of the Council of *Chalcedon* in obedience to his Command. He says a little after the same things to *Pulcheria* in the Ninetieth Letter, Dated *March the 21st. 453.*

In the Ninety First written to Julian Bishop of *Coar*, he tells him, That he had omitted nothing that he was able to do for the defence of the Church's Cause; That it belongs to the Emperor to suppress the Disturbers of Church and State. He adds, That the Bishops ought not to allow the Monks to Preach, and therefore he wondred, that *Thalassius*, who was Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, had given that Liberty to one *George*, who was fallen from the Monastic State by his Irregularities. He says, That he will write to him according to his Duty, if Julian judges it convenient. Lastly, He exhorts him to do his utmost endeavour, that the Emperor do hinder the Hereticks from troubling the Peace of the Church. This Letter is Dated *April the 9th*, in the same Year.

The Ninety Second Letter to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* treats of several things. He observes in the first place, That the Catholic Faith keeps the Mean between the Two Extremes of *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches*. He admonishes *Maximus* to be vigilant over the Churches of the East, but more especially over those, which the Council of *Nice* had entrusted him withal, to prevent that Heresie be not established in them. And that he might be able to do this with the greater Authority, he advises him to maintain the Rights, which the Council of *Nice* had allowed his Church, and preserve to himself the third place. That he will easily gain his ends, by doing so, because it is impossible, that the Order established by the Inviolable Canons of the Council of *Nice* should be overthrown; That Ambition might prompt to make a Change as it already hath happened in the Council, where *Juvencius* endeavoured to usurp the Primacy of *Palestine*, and attempted to ground his Pretensions upon some supposititious Writings,

and that S. *Cyril* being afraid of that Enterprize, had written to him, but that whatsoever Constitutions were made thereupon against those of the Council of *Nice*, whenever S. Leo, a more numerous Council should meet, it would not, nor ought to be valid; That if his Legates had consented to any Decree of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which did not concern Doctrine, he declared it null, because he had sent them for no other end but to defend the Faith of the Church against Heresies; That all that had been handled in the Synods of Bishops, except what concerned the Faith, may not be received, if it do not agree with the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*; That he will see, by the Copy of the Letter written to *Anatolius*, how vigorously he defends the Council of *Nice*. Lastly, he adverteth *Maximus* to prohibit the Monks and Lay-Men from Preaching, and so much the more because it belongs to the Bishops only to do it. This Letter is of the 10th. of June.

In the Ninety Third Letter to *Theodoret*, he, in the first place, testifies the Joy which he had when he understood by the Legates which he had sent to the Council of *Chalcedon*, That the Catholic Faith had triumphed over the Errors of the *Nestorian* and *Eutychians*, and that the Council had confirmed by its Judgment, which was not subject to amendment, the Doctrines which he had asserted. These words are very remarkable, because they evidently prove to us, That there is no Judgment but that of an Universal Council, which may not be re-examined, and that the Judgment of the Pope himself is subject to amendment. This was it that made him add, That he was not troubled, that some People would not accept the Judgment which he had given, to evidence that the acknowledgment which the other Sees had made of his Supremacy, as given to him by God, was not meer Flattery. That the Opposition which the Truth had met withal upon that occasion, was the cause of some good, because the Divine Favours are more thankfully acknowledged, when they are obtained with difficulty, and God's Providence brings us to the fruition of Good by a kind of Evil. That the Truth is made clearer, and upholds it self with the greater strength, when the examination confirms, that Faith which we have been taught; and that lastly, the Grandeur of the Priestly Dignity shews it self best, when we respect the Authority of the Bishops that are most highly promoted; yet with a Privilege, that we do not in any wise encroach upon the Privileges of such as are inferior to them. Afterward he invites *Theodoret* to rejoice with him at the Victory which the Truth had obtained. He sets himself against the Outrages which *Discolorus* had committed. He tells *Theodoret*, That he must equally avoid the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. He thanks God, That he hath been freed from all manner of Sulpicion; and at last, exhorts him to be watchful for the Defence of the Faith of the Church, and not permit either Lay-men or Monks to become Preachers. This Letter is dated June 12.

The Ninety Fourth Letter to the Emperor *Marcian*, is about a difficult Controversie which was in the Church, concerning the day on which *Easter* should be kept in the year 455. S. Leo says, That the Ancient Fathers had imposed that Task upon the Bishop of *Alexandria* to find out the Feast of *Easter* every year, and to make it known to the Apostolick See, that he might give notice of it to the far distant Churches. That *Theophilus* had made a Calendar for an Hundred years, beginning at the year 380. but that the Passover in the 76th. year, i. e. in the year of Jesus Christ 455, is appointed upon an extraordinary day, and too much advanced in the Month of *April*. He beseeches *Marcian* to command, That an exact Calculation be made, that all Churches may celebrate this Feast at the same time. The following Letter to *Julian* is upon the same Subject. Both are of June 16. This last, in the ordinary Editions, is directed to *Eudoxia*. But the manner of writing, and MSS. prove to us, That it was really written to Julian.

The Ninety Sixth Letter is addressed to the Emperress *Eudoxia*. In it he exhorts her to make use of her Authority to compel some Monks of *Palestine* to submit themselves to the Council of *Chalcedon*.

In the Ninety Seventh Letter to the Monks of *Palestine*, he explains the Opinions which he had asserted in his Letter to *Flavian*, and evinces, That his Doctrine is clear contrary to the Error of *Nestorius*, as well as that of *Eutyches*.

In his Ninety Eighth Letter, he desires Julian to give him an exact Account of the News of what happened at *Constantinople*, and to take effectual care that the Canons be observed. It is dated June 25. 453.

The Ninety Ninth bears date Jan. 9. following. He gives the Emperor Thanks for appeasing the Troubles of *Palestine*, and restaring *Juvencius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to his See again.

The following Letter to Julian is of the same date. In it he shews much Joy, That the Monks of *Palestine* had acknowledged their Error, and that *Juvencius*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was restored. He adds, That *Peperius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, (Successor of *Discolorus*, who was deposed) did write him a Letter, in which he makes known to him the Purity of his Doctrine. He speaks of the difference between himself, and this Bishop, about the Celebration of *Easter*, in the year 455. He says, That he hath approved nothing in the Council of *Chalcedon* but what concerns the Faith, and was much pleased that *Actius* had been found Innocent.

In the Hundred and First Letter to *Marcian*, S. Leo assures this Emperor, That he will freely be reconciled to *Anatolius*, and for that end had already written to him, if his Letters, which he hath sent him, had had any effect, or he had answered them; yet if he will submit himself

to the *Canons*, and renounce his ambitious Pretensions, he would instantly receive him to his Communion. This Letter bears date, *March the 9th.*

The following Letter to *Julian* is of the same date. He tells him know, That he had received a Letter from *Proterius*, in which he shews himself well principled in the Faith; but because he was extremely troubled with the Faction of the *Eutychians*, who having made a corrupt Translation of *St. Leo's* Letter to *Flavian*, would persuade Men, That it favoured the Error of *Nestorius*; he desires *Julian* to cause it to be translated into *Greek*, and send it to *Alexandria*, sealed with the Emperor's Signet. He commands him to get knowledge of the Emperor's Answer about the day on which the Feast of *Easter* is to be kept the next year, and send him word of it, because the time of sending the Circular Letters for the Passover is at hand.

The Hundred and Third Letter is written to *Proterius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. *S. Leo* discovers to that Bishop, the Joy which he had conceived, when he understood, by his Epistle, That he is of an Orthodox Judgment, and that the Church of *Alexandria* hath received of *S. Mark*, the Scholar of *S. Peter*, the same Faith which the *Romans* have received of his Master. He exhorts *Proterius* carefully to defend this Faith. He adds, That he hath taught no new Doctrine in his Letter to *Flavian*, nor departed from the Rule of Faith received from his Antecessors; and if *Diocorus* had done the same, he would not have separated from the Church, since he had the Works of *S. Athanasius*, the Sermons of *Theophilus* and *S. Cyril*, which ought to have encouraged him to resist the Error of *Eutyches*. He advertises *Proterius*, That he must carefully avoid speaking any thing, which may come near the Opinions of *Nestorius*; and that in reaching the People, he must let them know, That he vents nothing new, but teaches what the Holy Fathers have unanimously preached, and to convince them of it, it is not sufficient to say so, but it is convenient to prove it, by bringing and explaining their Authorities, to which he may join his Letter.

In fine, *S. Leo* says, That he applies himself to Antiquity, as well in Matters of Discipline as Faith, and for this reason it is, That he hath opposed them, who through their Ambition would rob the Church of *Alexandria* of her Privileges, and Metropolitans of their Rights. He advises *Proterius* to uphold the Customs which were in use in the time of his Predecessors; To keep the Bishops, who according to the ancient Canons, are subject to the Church of *Alexandria*, close to their Duty, by obliging them to be present at his Synod at the appointed times, or when there is some Business that requires their presence. This Letter is of *March 10.* 454. It hath never been published.

To this Letter the Epistle of *Proterius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, to *S. Leo* touching the Feast of *Easter* in the year 455. is joined. He was of a contrary Judgment to the Pope, who at length yielded to the Opinion of *Proterius*. Those that are curious Inquirers after the Accounts which were then made, to find out the day on which *Easter* was to be kept every year, may find much satisfaction in it. About the end, he cautions *S. Leo*, That he should not venture to have this Letter turned into *Latin*, because it is very hard for Men that do not understand it well, to express exactly, in *Latin*, a Matter so hard and intricate as this is.

The Hundred and Fourth Letter to the Emperor *Marcian*, is of the same date with the Hundred and Third to *Proterius*, and contains almost the same things. *S. Leo* therein commands *Proterius*, because he had approved his Letter to *Flavian*. He says, That some Hereticks had falsified it, and desires the Emperor to cause it to be turned into *Greek*, and sent to *Alexandria*.

The Hundred and Fifth to the same bears date the 15th. of *April* following. In it he promises the Emperor to be reconciled to *Anatolius*, provided that he would desist from his Pretensions. He desires his Majesty to banish *Eutyches* further, because he divulged his Doctrines in the place of his Exile. He thanks him for sending a Person to *Alexandria*, that he might inform himself exactly of the time, when *Easter* must be celebrated.

The Letter of *Anatolius* to *S. Leo* is taken out of *Hoslenius's* Collection. In it he complains that *S. Leo* had given over writing to him, and declares, That the Letters which he had written to others about him, had increased his trouble. He tells him, That he desired nothing more than to give him satisfaction, and that having seen a Letter which *S. Leo* wrote to the Emperor, he had immediately performed what he desired of him for the good of the Church; That he had preferred *Actius* to an honourable Office among the Clergy, tho' not to be an Arch-Deacon, as appears by the following Letter; That he had expelled *Andrew* out of the Church, altho' he had made him Arch-Deacon, for no reason but that he came to that Dignity, by reason of his Age; That he had also put from the Communion of the Church, those who had been of the *Eutychian* Party, altho' they had satisfied him by their Subscriptions and Declarations, and that he would not receive them, till he had known from him, what he ought to do. He earnestly entreats him to write to him. Lastly, he protests, that as to the Dignity, which the Council of *Chalcedon* had granted him in favour of the See of the Church of *Constantinople*, he had not any hand in it, but it was the Clergy of *Constantinople* which desired it, and the Eastern Bishops, who had caused it to be ordained; that as for himself he had not concerned himself in it, but had always lived in such a manner, as could give

no just Cause to think that he was ambitious or forward in such Attempts. The Body of this Letter is written in *Latin*, but the words are in the *Greek* Character.

S. Leo answers this Epistle in his Hundred and Sixth, and tells *Anatolius*, That it is not for lack of kindness, that he had desisted from writing to him, but being obliged to oppose himself against those things which he acted contrary to the Canons, he had received no Answer from him. He commends him, that he hath composed the Business about *Actius*, and turned *Andrew* out of the Arch-Deaconry. He informs him, That he may receive him, and ordain him Priest, yea him, and all that have been engaged in the *Eutychian* Party, if they do profess publicly, in writing, that they condemn the Heresies of *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*, but that he ought not to make any Person Arch-Deacon, who hath ever been engaged in those Sects. He was not at all satisfied with the Excuse made by *Anatolius*, about the Prerogatives given to the See of *Constantinople*, by the Council of *Chalcedon*; for he says, That the Clergy could, not do it without his content. Notwithstanding, he was glad to see him so well disposed to give over that Enterprize, and exhorts him to do it forthwith. This Letter is dated *May 29.* 454.

The Hundred and Seventh Letter to the Emperor *Marcian* is upon the same Subject. He shews him, That he hath returned an Answer to *Anatolius*; That this Bishop ought to attribute the Interruption of Commerce by Letters, which had been between them, to nothing but his own silence; That he did not doubt, but that it was the Emperor who had disposed him thus to amend himself; That he doth not reconcile himself to him but upon Condition that he abandons his Pretensions, which he hath contrary to the Canons of the Church, and will be watchful to discover close Hereticks; that he may drive them out by the Assistance of the Imperial Authority, that it is easy, by that means, to extinguish the other Heresies entirely, since *Palestine* was already returned, and *Aegypt* began to acknowledge him; That he was much pleased with that which he had done in favour of *Actius*, and desires him to hearken to what *Julian* hath to communicate to him. Lastly, he requires him to prohibit the Monk *Carofus* from dispersing his Error in *Constantinople* as he hath done.

He wrote also another Letter to the Emperor at the same time, in which he thanks him for the Inquiry he had made, to let him know *Easter*-day. He assures him, That he had received *Proterius's* Letters, and that he will follow his Judgment, altho' he is not periwaded of the Reason, yet for Peace and Unity sake. Lastly, he prays the Emperor, That the * Receivers of the Church of *Constantinople* might not give up their Accounts before the secular Judges, but leave it according to the ancient Custom to the Bishop's Court.

The Hundred and Ninth Letter is a circular Letter to the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, in which he gives them notice, That the Feast of *Easter*, in the next year, shall be kept upon the 22d. of *April*. It is dated *July 28.* Ann. 454.

The Hundred and Tenth is written to *Juvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. In it he declares his Joy, that this Bishop, having condemned the Error of *Eutyches*, was again settled in his See. He exhorts him to defend the Faith of the Church about the Incarnation, of which the Holy Places, which are in his Bishoprick, are a convincing Proof. He explains the Catholic Doctrine, and tells him, That he will find it proved by Testimonies of Holy Scripture, in his Letter to *Flavian*. This Letter bears date *September 4th.*

The Hundred and Eleventh Letter is an Answer to *Julian's*, wherein he had sent him the News of *Diocorus's* death. He tells him, That he hopes that it will render the Conversion of many more easy. He commands him, to manage the Inclinations of the Emperor well, and to instruct him, what he may do for the good of the Church, because he knew that this Prince is periwaded, That he never acts so much for the good of his Empire, as when he procures the good of the Church. He puts *Julian* in mind to let him know, what condition the Church of *Alexandria* is in.

The Hundred and Twelfth, Hundred and Thirteenth and Hundred and Fourteenth Letters of *S. Leo* are written in 455. In the first he thanks the Emperor *Marcian* for the care he had taken, to have it plainly settled on what day *Easter* ought to be celebrated; and assures him, That he submits to the Judgment of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and that he hath followed it in the Letters which he hath written to all the Bishops of the West, to give them notice of the day of that Feast. He also thanks the Emperor for expelling *Carofus* and *Dorotheus* from their Monasteries. In the second, he makes answer to *Julian's* Letter, who had written to him, That *Carofus* had professed the Orthodox Faith, but was yet at variance with *Anatolius*; That *John* was sent into *Aegypt* to restore the Faith, and settle Peace there. He desires *Julian* to let him know what success he shall have there, and tells him, That he is much troubled for the condition of the Bishop of *Antioch*, if what his Accusers say, be true. He adds, That he hath so great confidence in the Piety of the Emperor, that he doth not doubt but that he will hinder the establishment of Heresie. In the 114th. he exhorts *Anatolius* to labour with all his Might to extinguish the remainders of the Heresie. The last of these Letters is dated *March 13.*

We have nothing more of that year nor the next, because *Rome* having been taken by the *Vandals*, *S. Leo* was so busy about the Affairs of his own Church, he had no leisure to take care of others. Besides, that in the trouble he then was, it was hard to send or receive Letters

ters from distant Countries. But as soon as he began to be a little at rest, he then began afresh to give Marks of his Pastoral Care and Vigilance over the Church.

The Hundred and Fifteenth Letter to the Emperor *Leo*, dated *June 9. Anno 457.* is the first. He prays the Emperor to protect the Faith, and not permit the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon* to be questioned, particularly at *Alexandria*, where, according to the account he had received from *Anatolius*, it was strongly opposed.

To him also he directs the following Letter of *July 11.* *S. Leo* praises him, because he was troubled to see the Church of *Alexandria* reduced to so lamentable a Condition through the Outrage of the Hereticks; That the Emperor *Marcian* was taken out of the World, just when he was using Remedies for it; but (God be praised) he had left a Son, from whom the Orthodox Religion might expect the same protection; That he had written to him for that reason; That he ought to join with him in endeavouring to maintain the Decisions of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and prays him to let him know what he could do with him there-upon.

The Hundred and Seventeenth is of the same date; In it he tells *Julian*, That he wondered he did not write to him; but being informed, by *Anatolius's* Letter, that he was gone to *Alexandria*, he had written to the Emperor to pray him to restore Peace to that Church; and to *Anatolius*, that he should use his Interest with the Emperor upon that Subject. He commands him to join his Solicitations with *Anatolius*, to uphold the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ordain an Orthodox Bishop at *Alexandria* in the place of *Proterius*.

The Hundred and Eighteenth Letter, dated *Aug. 23. 457.* is directed to *Basilius* Bishop of *Antioch*. In the beginning he complains, That this Bishop had not given him notice of his Ordination: He exhorts him to join with him, and other Bishops that are Orthodox, to defend the Catholic Faith with Courage, because he is perverted, That the Emperor and Lords of the Court will not undertake to innovate any thing, when they see the Orthodox Bishops firm and united.

In the Hundred and Nineteenth Letter he exhorts *Euximius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and *Germanus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to be resolute, and not suffer that any Council be assembled to discuss what hath been done in the Council of *Chalcedon*. He sent these Letters to *Julian* and *Acitius*, that they might deliver them to the Metropolitans to whom they are directed, and by that means all the Bishops may know it. This appears by the *120th.* or *121st.* Letters.

In the Hundred and Twenty Second Letter he congratulates the Emperor *Leo*, that he declared himself for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and exhorts him to further the Peace of the Church. This Letter is dated *Sept. 1. 457.*

He comforts the Bishops of *Egypt*, who had been banished from their Churches for the Orthodox Doctrine in the following Letter. This is of *Octob. 11.*

The Hundred and Twenty Fourth Letter is to *Anatolius*. After he hath thanked him for his care in writing to him the News, he exhorts him to oppose the Temptations of Hereticks vigorously, but he reproves him for suffering the Clergy of *Constantinople* to have Commerce with the Enemies of the Catholic Faith. This Letter is dated the *11th.* or *14th.* of *October*.

In the Hundred and Twenty Fifth Letter to the Emperor *Leo*, he endeavours to shew the Emperor, That he ought not to revive again the Questions about the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, and that he ought to hold to the decision of the Council of *Chalcedon*. He exhorts him to apply Remedies to the Distempers of the Church of *Alexandria*, and not suffer the Enemies of the true Faith to thrust themselves into the Government of that Church; That having received Petitions from both Hereticks and Catholics, he easily discerned to which of them he ought to lend his Assistance, since on the Hereticks part there is nothing but Violence and Sacrilege, who have put to death an Innocent Bishop, casting his Ashes into the Air, overturning the Altars, laying open the Mysteries to Parricides and Wicked Men, casting down the Oblation, and destroying the Holy Oil; That after all this they had the boldness to demand a Council: That the Emperor ought not to suffer this Impudence, but rescue the Church of *Alexandria* from the Oppression in which it was; That he had sent him a Letter treating of Matters of Faith, to instruct him fully in the Doctrine of the Church. Lastly, he complains, That some of the Clergy in *Constantinople* held Heretical Opinions. He accuses *Anatolius* of Negligence in not punishing them, and exhorts the Emperor to banish them out of the City. He recommends to him the Bishop *Julian*, and *Acitius* the Priest. This Letter is dated *Decemb. 1.*

In the Hundred and Twenty Sixth Letter he desires *Anatolius* to join with him in persuading the Emperor to maintain the Decisions of the Council of *Chalcedon*, oppose the Hereticks, and restore the Peace of the Church of *Alexandria*. He tells him, That he was very joyful to hear, that there were but four Bishops of *Egypt* who were guilty of the same Crime with *Timotheus*, and who were of his Party; That he must do his endeavour to help the other Bishops of *Egypt*, who are under Persecution, and assist those who are withdrawn to *Constantinople*; That their Presence is very necessary to divert the Emperor from calling a new Synod. He admonishes him not to suffer *Atticus* and *Andrew*, two Clergy-men of *Constantinople*,

Constantinople, to persist in their speaking against the Council of *Chalcedon*. He likewise makes smart Reflections upon him for suffering them.

In the One hundred twenty seventh he comforts the Orthodox Bishops of *Egypt*, who had retired to *Constantinople*. *Anatolius* bore the Reflections which *S. Leo* made upon him, with a sort of Disturbance. *Atticus* the Priest, whom *S. Leo* had branded, fought to justify himself, by sending some Writings, which he pretended to be Orthodox, but *S. Leo* was not satisfied with that, but insisted upon it, that he would plainly condemn the Error and Person of *Eutyches*; and sign the Profession of Faith made by the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Letter is dated in *March 458.*

The One hundred twenty ninth Letter of *S. Leo* to *Nicetas*, or rather to *Nicetas*, Bishop of *Aquileia*, is dated *March 21.* in the same Year. The First and Principal Question which he treats of in this Letter is this, *viz.* Whether those Women, who in the Captivity or Absence of their Husbands, whom they thought dead, having been married to others, ought to return to their First Husbands, if perchance they return again? He answers, That they are obliged to it, if their First Husbands demand them again, although their Second Husbands have not sinned in marrying them. And he at the same Time orders, That those Women be Excommunicated, who would not return to them.

The Second Question is concerning those who have eaten Meats offer'd to Idols, being urg'd to it through Hunger, or constrain'd through Fear. He says, That they must be cleared by Penance, which ought to be considered not so much in respect of the length of Time, as of the Sincerity of Grief. He orders, That they do the same to those who have been baptized a Second Time, either by Force, or because they have been engag'd in the Heretical Factions. He wisely observes, That the Time for Penance ought to be order'd according to the Devotion, Age or Profession of the Penitents. In fine, as to those Persons who have been baptized but once, but by the Hereticks, he says, That they ought to be Confirm'd by the Imposition of Hands, with Invocation of the Holy Spirit. *Sola invocatione Spiritus Sancti, per Impositionem Manuum Confirmandi.*

In the One hundred and thirtieth Letter he comforts the Bishops of *Egypt*, who were retir'd to *Constantinople*, and advises them not to suffer those Matters to be disputed afresh, which were decided in the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Letter is dated *March 21.*

The One hundred thirty first is of the same Date. He exhorts the Clergy of *Constantinople* to continue steadfast in the Faith, and separate themselves from the Hereticks; and he admonishes them, That they ought not to suffer *Atticus* and *Andrew* to remain in the Church, if they will not make Profession in Writing of the Faith of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The next Day he wrote to the Emperor the One hundred thirty and second Letter, in which he declareth to him, That he ought not to suffer the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon* to be brought under Examination a second Time; That he could neither Communicate with Hereticks, nor depart from the Decisions of the Synod; That he will send the Legates of the Holy See, as he hath desired; That he doth it not to enter into Dispute about that which hath already been decided, but only to clear it, and make it known.

In the One hundred thirty third Letter, to the same Emperor, dated *Aug. 17.* He writes to him, That he had sent Two Bishops, to require him, in his Name, to take Care of the Peace of the Church, maintain the Faith, and not suffer the Definitions of the Council of *Chalcedon* to be called in question. He enlarges chiefly upon the latter, shewing, that if once it be allow'd to dispute continually, and use Logical and Rhetorical Arguments in the Explication of the Mysteries there will never be an end. That *Jesus Christ* hath evidently prov'd that he would not have these Arts made use of, since he had not chosen Philosophers or Orators to preach his Gospel, but poor Fishermen, left the heavenly Doctrine, which is so powerful, should be thought to need the Help of Humane Eloquence: That the Arguments of Rhetorick appear so much the more, by how much the Things that are treated on are the more obscure and uncertain, and accounted true because they are defended with more Wit and Eloquence; but that the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* hath no need of that Artifice, because the Doctrine of Truth is clear in it self, and that no Man seeks what is pleasing to the Ear, when he desires only to know what he ought to believe. Next he explains, in a few Words, the Doctrine establish'd in the Council of *Chalcedon*. He bewails the Outrage committed against the Person of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. He requires no Punishment, but hopes that the Authors of it would amend, and suffer Penance for their Sin. In fine, he recommends to him his Legates, which he sent to him, not to enter any Dispute, but to represent to him what must be done for the Maintenance of the Faith, and Restauration of the Church's Peace. He prays him to send an Orthodox Bishop to *Alexandria*, and re-settle the Bishops of *Egypt*, which have been forc'd away by the Hereticks. This excellent Letter is one of those which *F. Quessel* hath lately publish'd. Prudent *, Bishop of *Troyes*, hath copied out a part of it in his Book against *Joannes Scotus. Vigilium* and *Pelagius II.* have also cited it, and *Facundus* hath produced a Passage of it.

The One hundred thirty fourth Letter is a Discourse against the Error of *Eutyches*. *S. Leo* relates therein first of all the Errors of the Hereticks about the Mystery of the Incarnation. He proves, That the Council of *Nice* hath confounded them altogether. He demonstrates, That

[* Tricassinus.]

S. Leo.

That it was necessary for the Reconciliation of Man to God, that Jesus Christ should be God and Man, and the Divine and Humane Nature should be united in one Person. He proves afterwards by many Reasons, confirmed by Testimonies of Holy Scriptures, That these Two Natures are really and truly in Jesus Christ. This, in the last Place, he makes good by the Authority of the Holy Fathers, of whom he produces many Passages. In a Word, he proves and explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a clear, noble and sublime manner, without involving himself in School Subtleties.

The One hundred thirty fifth Letter is written to *Neonas* Bishop of *Ravenna* (for so it ought to be read, and not *Legio*.) *E. Quesnel* thinks it was written in the Year 458 (a), although it is dated in the Consular of *Marcellian*. S. Leo, in this Letter, resolves a difficult Question, which had been proposed in a Synod, viz. Where they who were carried Captive in their Infancy, before they had any Use of Reason, not knowing whether they have been baptized or no, must be baptized? He concludes, That they need not fear to baptize them, since they have no proofs that they have been; but if they know that they have been baptized, though it were by Heretics, they must not be then baptized. This Letter shews, That Baptism upon condition was not in use at that Time.

In the One hundred thirty sixth Letter, directed to the Bishops of *Campania*, *Picenum* and *Sammium*. S. Leo reproves those Persons who baptized without Necessity upon the Festivals consecrated to the Martyrs. He forbids the Celebration of Baptism upon any other Days besides the Feasts of *Easter* and *Pentecost*, lest if no Danger or Peril oblige to a speedy Administration of that Sacrament. He also opposes the Practice of some, who caused Offenders to recite publicly the Sins which they had committed, and says, That it is sufficient to discover them in private Confessions to the Priests; and although it seems to be a commendable Action that Men should expose themselves to Shame through fear of God's Judgment, yet since it is possible to have Sins, which they that have committed them dare not often even publish them; therefore this Custom must be entirely abolished, for fear of frightening Men from the Remedy of Penance, lest they should discover those Crimes to their Enemies, for which they may be punished by Civil Justice. It is enough to confess his Sin first to God, and then to the Priest, who ought to pray to God for the Remission of the Sins of Penitents, that by this means Sinners will be more easily drawn to Repentance, when they are sure that the Sins, of which they confess themselves guilty shall not be made publick. This Letter bears date *March 6. 459*.

In the One hundred thirty seventh Letter S. Leo congratulates the Emperor *Leo* for having put *Timotheus* *Elurus* out of the See of *Alexandria*, and exhorts him to take care that some Orthodox Person, worthy of that See, be chosen into his Place, assuring him, that though *Timotheus* should return from his Errors, and profess the Catholick Faith, yet his Crimes render him unworthy of being restored. This Letter is dated *June 460*.

The One hundred thirty eighth Letter, of the same Date, is written to *Gennadius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. He complains that he permitted *Timotheus* to come to *Constantinople*. He advises *Gennadius* not to communicate with him, and to put him out of all Hopes of recovering his Bishoprick, by ordaining some Person of Merit in his Place.

This was put in execution, for a little after *Timotheus*, furnished *Solofacioli* [or *Basilium*], who was an Orthodox Person, was put into the See of *Alexandria*. S. Leo wrote to him, to congratulate his Election, and to exhort him to oppose the Heresies of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. This Letter is the One hundred thirty ninth, and dated *April 18. 460*. He wrote also the One hundred and fortieth Letter, at the same Time, to the Clergy of *Alexandria*; in which he exhorts them to Peace, and encourages them to maintain the Faith which had been taught them by the Orthodox Bishops of *Alexandria*, without any Variation, For the Truth, faith he, which is Simple and One, receives no Change. He admonishes him to bring over and receive to Repentance those who are in an Error.

S. Leo a little after (viz. September 1.) congratulates the Bishops of *Egypt*, that they had an Orthodox Patriarch, and exhorts them to labour after a re-union of Minds, and the Conversion of those who were engaged in Heresy. This Letter is the One hundred forty first, and the last of S. Leo's Letters, in this new Edition, augmented with Thirty Letters.

S. Leo hath written many other Letters besides; *Pelagius* in his One hundred and eleventh Letter, to the Bishops of *Ifrica*, cites Two Fragments of a Letter of S. Leo, to *Basil*: One of these Fragments is found in the One hundred thirty and third Letter, to the Emperor *Leo*, the other is not to be met with; so that this must be either that S. Leo hath repeated the

(a) *Thinks it to be written in 458.* He affirms, That there is a Fault in the Date of the Consular, and that we must read *Majorian* for *Marcellian*. 1. Because all the Letters of S. Leo, written in 451. under the Consular of *Marcellian* and *Adelpim*, carry all the Name of *Adelpim*; and indeed when S. Leo mentions but one Consul, 'tis always the Western one which he names. 2. It is there *Consulau*, but S. Leo never sets it down so, but *Consule* or *Consuli*.

bus. 3. Because it is evident by the Letter, that it is written on the occasion of a Question raised upon the account of some Persons who had been carried Captives by the Barbarians, and were lately returned into the Province of *Revenna*, their Country. In 451. there was no Invasion of the Barbarians in *Italy*, it could not be before 452. that *Attila* laid waste the Country of *Revenna*. This Letter then must be written some Years after.

same thing in Two Letters, or *Pelagius* is mistaken in his Quotation. The same Pope cites also a Fragment of a Letter of S. Leo's, to the Archdeacon *Actius*, which is not to be found S. Leo among those we have.

S. Leo had given his Legates some Memorandums in Writing, when he sent them to the Council of *Chalcedon*, of which *Boniface* read a part in the Sixteenth Session of that Council. *E. Quesnel* hath collected these Fragments, at the End of the Letters, and joyned to them a Letter of *Syllian* Bishop of *Coes* to the Emperor *Leo*; in which this Bishop answers the Emperor, who had desired Advice from him and other Bishops about the preferring of *Timotheus*, summoned *Elurus*, and about the Council of *Chalcedon*: He answers him, I say, That *Timotheus* ought not to be accounted a Bishop, and that he ought to be expelled from the See of *Alexandria*, which he had invaded, and that he ought to keep to the Decision of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and maintain its Decrees.

There is mention made in S. Leo's own Letters, and some other Records, of several other Letters written by or to S. Leo, of which we have no Fragments. *E. Quesnel* hath made an exact Catalogue of them, at the End of his Inquiries upon S. Leo's Letters, to which we may have recourse; There also we may see the Inscriptions of Nineteen or Twenty Letters of S. Leo, of which we have not one Word more remaining.

He hath left out a Letter which was heretofore reckoned the Eighty eighth of S. Leo's Letters, to the Bishops of *Germany* and *France*, touching the Office of the *Chorepiscopi*; but he hath proved in a Dissertation, purposely made on that Subject, that that Letter is certainly supposititious (a), and taken out of the Canons of the Second Council of *Sevil*, held anno 619. which forbids, in the same Terms those Offices to Priests which this Canon does to the *Chorepiscopi*; neither hath he ranked in the Number of S. Leo's Epistles, that which was formerly counted the Ninety Sixth Letter, because 'tis not this Pope's, but a Synodical Letter, written in the Name of S. Leo * Bishop of *Bourges*, *Vitturius* † Bishop of *Manis*, *Eustochius* * Bishop of *Tours*, and some other Bishops in the Churches of the Third Province of *Lyons* (a), which is that of *Tours*.

From the Letters we will come to his Sermons, but we must first examine the Conjectures upon which M. *Antelmi* grounds himself, in attributing them to S. *Profer*. The First is the Likeness of Style, which he pretends to be found between the Writings of S. *Profer* and the Sermons; which are said to be S. Leo's. He thinks that he meets in several Places of them not only with Words but also Phrases, Sentences, Expressions, and particular Modes of Speech proper to S. *Profer*, and produces many Examples, which he says are sufficient to determine the Point. The Second Proof is from an ancient Manuscript of Nine hundred Years' old, written in the Saxon Character, which was heretofore in the Library of M. *Thuanus*, and is present in M. *Colbert's*; where the Anniversary of the Fourth Year of the Exaltation of S. Leo bears the Name of S. *Profer*, according to an Ancient Inscription. There are also in the Manuscript two other Sermons attributed to S. Leo; the one is of Collection and Alms-giving, and the other upon the Fast of the Tenth Month, which are the Tenth and Sixteenth in *E. Quesnel's* Edition of S. Leo's Sermons. The old Title of these Sermons doth not carry the Name of S. Leo in the Manuscript, but it hath been added by a later Hand: From whence he concludes, That these Two Sermons as well as the former, are S. *Profer's*, and not S. Leo's.

(a) *Certainly supposititious.* The Reasons which he alleges are convincing. These are the principal of them. 1. This Letter is not in the Ancient Manuscripts, but only in those which are later than *Alfred's* Collection. 2. The Ancients have not cited it: It is not in any Collection of Canons before 616. 3. The Style is different from *Leo's*: It doth not come up to his Elegancy: S. Leo's would not have been so barren upon so good a Subject. 4. In the Title the Name of a Bishop of the Roman Church is given to this Saint, whereas he never assumed any other but that of a Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, or of the City, or Orthodox Church, of the City of *Rome*. 5. This Letter is copied Word for Word out of the Second Council of *Sevil*, except the first part of it, which is imperfect. 6. It contains Rules contrary to the Usage of the Church of *Rome*: as for instance, this, by which it is forbidden a Priest to enter into the Baptistry, or to baptize in the presence of a Bishop. It will be said, perhaps, That in a Canon of the Council of *Sevil* it is said, That these Prohibitions were made by the Holy See, which agrees very well with S. Leo's Letters. But this may be answered, 1. That this concerns not S. Leo more than any

other Bishop of *Rome*. 2. That these Words are not in *Leo's* Edition. It may be further objected, That *Leo III.* in his Letter to the French Bishops, writing against the *Chorepiscopi*, quotes the Decrees of S. Leo, but it is not this Letter which he cites, but the Letter to *Rufinus*, which lays down the Principles against the Ordination of *Chorepiscopi*. The Councils of *Paris*, *Melle* and *Metz* cite the Decrees of *Damasus*, *Juvenus* and *Leo* to prove, that the Episcopal Functions which the *Chorepiscopi* did perform were of no worth: But this doth not prove that these Popes have written any thing in particular against the *Chorepiscopi*. But although it were true that the Authors of the Eighth and Ninth Age had cited the Letter, under Examination, under the Name of S. Leo, it would not follow that it were really his: Perhaps 'tis *Leo III's*. This is what *E. Quesnel* says upon this Letter in his eleventh Dissertation.

(b) *The Third Province of Lyons.* This Letter was falsely directed to the Bishops of *Thrace*, for the Bishops named in the Title are French Bishops. It was Ecclesiastical quæ sunt intra Provinciam tertiam constantiæ; some Scribe, not knowing what was meant by *Tertia*, put *Thracia* instead of it.

He brings for a Third Proof, That neither *Gennadius* nor *Pope Gelasius*, who speak of S. Leo's Letters to *Evagrius*, do make the least mention of his Sermons; tho' more than *Anasthasius Bibliothecarius*, who speaks of the Actions of this Pope. It is said also, That in those Times the Bishops preached Sermons made by others: That *Gennadius* affirms us, That *Salvian* had composed many for Bishops, and lays the same thing of *Honoratus*: That if Bishops did make use of the Sermons of a Priest and a Bishop of *Marseilles*, and deified them of 'em, 'tis very credible that they should apply ourselves to S. Leo (whose Reputation was very great) for them. Now S. Leo being buried with so many Affairs, 'tis not likely that he could compose them himself, and if so, who should he chuse to do it for him but S. Prosper, who was his Secretary, and was sufficiently qualified to make good Sermons? And that it was these he sent to the Bishops under the Name of S. Leo. This is the Opinion of the Abbot *Anselmi* upon the Sermons which bear the Name of S. Leo, and the Conjectures upon which he Builds it.

But altho' I have no small esteem of the worth of this Author, yet I cannot but say, that this whole frame appears to me a mere Chimera, and the proofs which he brings are extremely weak; for what probability is there, that other Bishops should address themselves to S. Leo to make Sermons for them? It is visible enough, That the Bishops of Rome have otherwise been consulted about the affairs of the Church, but whoever said, that they were desired to make Sermons? Is there any example of it? *Salvian* made Sermons for some Bishops, and *Honoratus's* Homilies were used by others, but what is this to the Bishop of Rome? M. *Anselmi* supposes that he was burdened with so many affairs, and incumbered with so much business, that he had not leisure to write Letters. And is it Credible That they did address themselves to him to have Sermons? Or, That he should contrive to have them made and published in his Name? Further, it is discernible, That S. Leo's Sermons were composed by S. Leo for his own People, and Preached in his own Church [a]. 'Twas only for S. Leo that they were made, and for no other Bishops. But say some, *Sozomen* affirms us in his Ecclesiastical History, l. 7. c. 19. That in the Church of Rome, neither the Bishop, nor any in his stead, Preached to the People, as if this remark of *Sozomen* ought to be followed. Do they not know, that even they, that maintain this, as M. *Valesius* hath done, own that S. Leo did not conform to that Custom. So clear it is, That he Preached himself to the People: But yet it is not probable, that what *Sozomen* lays in that place, was ever true, or he must be understood in another sense, for who can imagine, that in so flourishing and orderly a Church as that of Rome was, the Bishop should neglect his principal Duty, and suffer his Flock to be without Feeding? Besides, S. Leo tells us in several places of his Sermons [b], That he did nothing new in Preaching, but followed the settled Custom, and in the Eighty Second Sermon he observes particularly, that his Predecessor S. Sixtus had made some publick Instructions. And do we not learn from S. *Ambrose*, that *Liberius* (*) made a Sermon upon the occasion of *Marcellina's* Vowing Virginity in the Church of S. Peter on the Feast of the Nativity? This is sufficient to make it appear, that *Sozomen's* Observation is false, or ought to be understood in another sense. But however that be, no Man dare extend it as far as S. Leo's time, because 'tis manifest beyond all contradiction, that the Sermons which bear his Name, were composed for the People of Rome, and Preached before them. So that there is nothing more Fictitious, than the System of M. Abbot *Anselmi*? But perhaps tho' S. Leo Preached them, yet he did not make them himself? Could a Bishop in so much business as he was, have time to make his Sermons? Is it not more likely that S. Prosper made them? This supposition is not so absurd as the former, but yet not much better grounded? Why might not S. Leo have had time enough to compose such short Sermons as his are? The chief Duty of a Bishop is to instruct his People, and it being especially appropriated to him, as S. Leo himself saith in his Letters to *Maximus* and *Theodoret*, it is evident, that he ought to prefer this Employment before all others. S. Leo was Eloquent, and spoke readily, he needed no very long time to make his Sermons. He Preached apparently without much preparation: Afterwards, They wrote his Sermons either in the time he Preached them, or he dictated them himself. But supposing that

S. Leo had caused them to be made, he did certainly make use of some other Pen, than S. Prosper's, for they are of a more sublime Style than the Works of that Author. The Style of S. Leo is plain and Doctrinal, not at all Florid, as the Sermons and Letters of S. Leo are. That Jingling and Rhiming Cadence so proper to S. Leo, is very rarely to be found in S. Prosper. This is it that we must judge the likeness of Style by, and not because the same Words, or Thoughts, are by chance found in Two Authors. And yet this is all that proves the parallels of M. Abbot *Anselmi*. And if any Persons will give themselves the trouble to compare the places, which he alleges, they'll see that there is no likeness of Style between the passages of one Author, and the other, altho' they meet with the same words. And further, Altho' there were some little conformity of Style between the Writings of S. Prosper, and S. Leo, yet have we not much greater reason to say, That S. Prosper hath imitated his Matter whom he often heard speak and preach, whose Sermons he read, and perhaps copied out to keep them, in *Scrinio Romane Ecclesie*, In the Registry of the Roman Church, it being supposed that he was a Notary of the Roman Church?

As to the Saxon MS. as it contains no more than Three Sermons, whatsoever Authority we allow it, it ought to make us doubt of no more than Three Sermons, for this doubt ought not to reach to others, which are always attributed to S. Leo in all the MSS. and never to S. Prosper. But notwithstanding these Three Sermons are not to be found, save in this MS. only, where the first is attributed to S. Prosper, yet the Style and Matter do evince that they are S. Leo's, and cannot be S. Prosper's. This is the Judgment, which the Learned M. *Faber*, whose is this MS. gives of it, and which he sent to *Vossius* Provost of *Tongres* to add them to his Edition of S. Leo. See what this great Man saith in his Letter to *Vossius*, p. 113. and 114. of his Works, *Hearing* that Michael Sonnius Bookseller hath a Correspondence with you by Letters, and that he expects shortly your Edition of S. Leo's Works, I thought that I might do you a kindness in sending you Three Sermons of this Father Copied out of an Ancient MS. that you might see whether they are among those that you have. And since you have made Answer to Sonnius, that they are not there, I do send you them so much the more freely, because I observe in them, as I think, the Eloquence of that Father, the roundness of his Periods, and that compact Style, which is peculiar to him. That which is attributed to S. Prosper, doth evidently belong to the same Author as the others, as is proved by the Agreement in the Style, and because he speaks of himself as Bishop of Rome, for tho' indeed some say, that S. Leo made use of S. Prosper, yet I shall never be persuaded, that so Eloquent a Pope as S. Leo was, hath Craved the Pen of another, and Preached to his People the Sermons that another made. M. *Anselmi* must pardon me, if I prefer M. *Faber's* Judgment before his, and if without relying upon the Authority of that MS. we acknowledge the first Sermon to be S. Leo's. But why doth it bear S. Prosper's Name in that Ancient MS? Do we not know, that there is a great confusion in the most Ancient MSS. about the Titles of Sermons, and that often they are very faulty? Witness the Two Ancient MSS. a Thousand Years old, of which F. *Mabilion* speaks in the Preface to S. *Maximus's* Homilies, *Mss. Ital. T. 1. p. 4.* where the Homilies of S. *Maximus* bear the Name of S. *Austine*. We need not then wonder, if a Sermon of S. Leo's carries the Name of S. Prosper in a MS. of 900 Years old. And yet this doth not prove that it is his Fathers, nor that he hath put it under his own Name, because it was known even then, that S. Prosper made S. Leo's Sermons, or that it was Copied out of a Manuscript, wherein the Sermons of S. Leo were attributed to S. Prosper. M. Abbot *Anselmi* owns, That in the time of S. Prosper, the Sermons which were made for S. Leo, did bear the Name of that Pope. Why then was the Name of S. Prosper affixed to them Three Hundred Years after? Whence did he that wrote the Manuscript learn that they were S. Prosper's? Why had not all his other Sermons the same lack? What necessity is there for amending all other Manuscripts by this, wherein there are no more than Three of S. Leo's Sermons? The Transcriber might easily mistake, he might Copy the first Sermon from a Manuscript which had been S. Prosper's, or written by S. Prosper, and take the Name of him that wrote the Manuscript, or the Person, whose it was, for the Name of the Author. He might find this Sermon at the end of S. Prosper's Works, and so attribute it of his own head to S. Prosper? However that be, it often happens, that we find in the most Ancient Manuscripts the Sermons of S. *Maximus*, and S. *Celsarius*, under the Name of S. *Austine*, and *Ambrose*, which in our time have been reitored to their true Authors, upon the account of the mere agreement of Style with the other Sermons of S. *Maximus*, and *Celsarius*, and without the Authority of any Manuscript? And why may we not do the same to the Sermons of S. Leo? A Negative Argument taken from the silence of *Gennadius*, *Gelasius*, and *Anasthasius*, is of little consequence. *Gennadius* often passes over in silence many excellent pieces of those Authors of whom he speaks. *Gelasius* has no design to speak of his Sermons, and *Anasthasius* never uses to mention the Writings of Popes. We must then leave S. Leo in possession of his Sermons.

The Four First are Discourses upon his own Promotion to the See of the Roman Church. The First was Preached, according to some, a Year after, according to others, on the Day of his Ordination, but it is more probable, that it was on the *Octave* after it, for he speaks of his Election as lately past, and of some time that came between, and yet he signifies, that he did not Preach it upon the same Day that he was Ordained, but *recurrente per suum ordi-*

[* *Valsius* says, Non erat Sermon ad Populum sed exhortatio ad Marcellinum. No pu lick Sermon, but a private A exhortation. But this is only to maintain his assertion, for the F. says, Populus concurrebat, nemo impellus recedebat, and for that end he adds Preaching, Amb. lib. 3. de Virginitate in l. 10. l. 11. m. 1.

(a) Preached in his own Church.] It is evident, that the four first Sermons upon the Anniversaries of S. Leo's Exaltation to the Pontificate, are proper to this Pope, and were Preached at Rome. They cannot agree to any other Bishop, or any other Church. There are also in these Sermons some things which none could fitly speak but S. Leo. The Sermons upon the Collects are built upon the usage of the Church of Rome. The end of the Sermons upon the Monthly Fasts, prove invincibly, that they were Preached at Rome; for how could he otherwise say, *Sabbato apud Beatum Cyprianum Vigiliis celeberrimus. The Fifth of Fasting contains a particular Fast of S. Leo's. The last Sermons relate to the Usage of the Church of Rome. The Eight, and Eighty, upon the Feast of S. Peter and S. Paul, cannot be, for any other Church, but for that of Rome, no more than*

that for the Feast of St. Peter's Chair. Lastly, They have all the Character of the Bishop of Rome speaking to his People. There is very little of them which could be Preached by any other Bishop, in any other Church.

(b) In several places of his Sermons.] Sermon 111. of the Epiphany, *Tamen us nostri nihil desisti fecisti, loqui de ead m festivitatis, quod Dominum docueris, audebo. Serm. 7. de Pass. c. 10. De servitute quam debeo. Serm. 2. de Resurrex. c. 1. Repetere vos consueveritis debui. Serm. 82. in Nat. Mac. he says of S. Sixtus, that he was, *Magnificus Senex puerum, sed magnificentior edificator animarum — ut p. illius institutis eius etiam in ipso frueretur deus postea, et habitando quod condidit, et faciend quod docuit.**

nem Die, in quo Dominus Episcopus, &c. In the Fifth Day, which is its course, on which the Lord was pleased to give a beginning to his Episcopal Ministry, which accounts very well to the Church. The first of these is the Sermon, in which he hath received his Faith, and first of all, that he hath been ordained, and again to Rome. After a long Silence, we find that Church, he declares to be the most grateful Faith he had of men good and virtuous. In telling that their Bishop, beyond his desert. He desires them to help him in their Prayers, that he may govern the Church in Peace. He assures them, that he will always have that Day in great Honour, in which he was advanced to his See. He tells the Order to members by reason of his unworthiness, yet he was obliged to rejoice in the favour which God had shewn him, hoping, that he, who had permitted him to be put into a Charge of so great Weight, will help him to undergo it, and give him strength that he may not faint under the Burden of that Dignity. Lastly, He tells the Joy that he hath to see the Bishops his Brethren assembled, and makes them to know, that S. Peter is with them, and that he governs that Church in the Person of his Successor.

In the Second Discourse, Preached a Year after his Ordination, he says, That tho' all Bishops ought to give God the Honour of their Ministry, yet he had greater reason than any Bishops to Attribute it wholly to the Divine Mercy, when he considers on the one hand his own Weakness, and on the other, the Excellency of his Ministry. That the very thoughts of it made him tremble, because nothing is more to be feared, than Labour by the Weak, and Dignity by Mean Persons, and an Office by Men of no desert. *Laborem fragili, humilitatem debili, dignitas non merenti.* That nevertheless, he does not despair, nor is faint-hearted, because he puts his Trust in him who works in, and by Man. That the *Episcopatus*, which they are about to sing, is very proper to his Office, and to give all the Glory to Jesus Christ; that it speaks of Melchisedec an Eternal Priest, whose Parents are not known, which is a Type of the New Law, and the Prince of the Church, which bestows not the Priesthood upon Persons of Quality, or of a particular Family, nor by Succession, but chooses such Men as the Holy Spirit hath freed for it, inasmuch that it is not the Privilege of Birth, but Qualities for the Sacerdotal Ordination, but 'tis the Heavenly Grace that makes Bishops. That the Church is still governed by Jesus Christ, who hath given to S. Peter the Apostolical Power. That that Apostle never forsook his Church, but continues to be the Foundation of it; that his Authority and Power still lives in his Successors, and that it is to him that that little God which he doth in his Charge is to be attributed. That it is S. Peter also that he ought to Exhort upon that Day, that it is the Feast of that Apostle; That the Bishops his Brethren were assembled not so much to Honour him, as S. Peter, who is not only Bishop of the Roman Church, but the Head of all the Churches in the World. Upon this Account he Exhorts the Christians of the Church of Rome to excel the Christians of all other Churches in the World in Virtue.

In the Third Discourse, upon the same subject, after he hath shewn that all Christians ought to join in that Feast, because all are in some measure Priests to God; having received the Ordination of the Holy Spirit, which makes them in a sense Priests, he speaks of the Privileges granted to S. Peter, and he adds, That the Right of that Power hath passed to all the Prelates of the Church, but it is not without good reason, that God spake that in One, which belongs to all, because in choosing S. Peter to enrich with his Power, he hath made him the Prototype of all Bishops; and that this privilege granted to S. Peter meets in all those who Judge according to the Justice of that Apostle. That as all the Apostles and Bishops have received the Keys in the Person of S. Peter, so likewise it was for all the Apostles, and all the Bishops, that Jesus Christ hath Prayed, when he Prayed in particular for S. Peter, *Tha' his Faith fail not.* Lastly, That S. Peter doth still take care of his Church, and that he doth not refuse to assist all the Christians in the World, yet it is to be believed, that he helps in a particular manner those of the Church of Rome, whom he hath preferred, and among whom his Body is Buried.

The Fourth Sermon is almost spent upon the same matters. After he hath proved, that all the good that we do, ought to be referred to God, he demonstrates, that the higher Men are promoted in the Church, the more they ought to fear; That all Bishops must give an Account of their Flocks; That all Churches having recourse to the Holy Apostolick See, God requires of his Bishop such an Universal Charity, as he hath commanded S. Peter to have; That it would be impossible for him to discharge to great an Office well, and that he must infallibly faint under the Burden, if Jesus Christ, who is an Eternal Priest after the Order of Melchisedec, did not give by his Divine Assistance continually aid and assist his Church. That this Anniversary Festival was not appointed for Pride, and Vanity, but to give Jesus Christ upon that Day the Honour of what he doth in the Person of his Minister, and to Celebrate the Memory of S. Peter, who never ceased to preside over the Holy See, and hath transmitted to his Successors the same Constancy which he hath received from Jesus Christ; That it is to him that we are obliged for that small Power which remains yet in the Church of Rome.

For, faith he, if God hath granted to the Martyrs as a recompence of their sufferings, and to make known their deserts. If he hath granted them, I say, an Ability to relieve Men in Distress, restore Health to the Sick, and cast out Devils out of the Bodies of such as are possessed, and to heal all manner of Diseases, who can be so ignorant, or so Repining,

against

against the Glory of S. Peter, as to assert, That there is any part of the Church which is not governed by his Care, or strengthened by his Help? He concludes, That if all the Church acknowledge it self obliged to S. Peter, the Roman Church ought more especially, to shew all tokens of the respect which it hath for him, and make all thankful acknowledgments of his Ministry. That it is to this Apostle, that all the Honour and Respect, which is this Day given to his Successor is directed and intended.

The Six following Sermons, are upon the Collections, or Contributions, which were made for the Poor upon some Sundays in the Year. They are very short, and much commend Almsgiving to men, and shew, that Gatherings for the Poor are derived to us from Apostolick Precepts.

Next there are Nineteen Sermons upon the Fast of the Tenth Month, that is, upon the Fast of the Month of September. He observes, That the *Ember-Fasts* were appointed to Teach us, That there is no time which ought not to be employed in the doing of Good Works; That this Fast in September was instituted to give God thanks for the Fruits of the Earth, which they had just gathered in, and put us in mind of bestowing a part of those things which God hath given us, to the Poor, by abstaining from them our selves. That the New Law doth not discharge Men from the obligation of Fasting, but on the contrary, the Fasts which it prescribes, are of longer continuance than those of the Jews; That the Apostles commanded it; That Fasting is of great advantage, but it ought to be accompanied with other Christian Virtues, and chiefly, Charity to our Neighbours; That Almsgiving, Prayer, and Fasting, are efficacious means to obtain remission of Sins, that when we give Alms, we lend our Money to God upon Usury; That such Usury is allowed, but it is not permitted under any pretence whatsoever to lend to Men upon Usuries.

The Ten Sermons upon the Nativity, contain in them more of Doctrine, than Morality. In them he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation, confutes the Errors of the Hereticks who have opposed it, and adds to the Doctrine some Moral Considerations.

The Eight Sermons upon the Epiphany, contain some Considerations upon the circumstances of that Mystery.

In the Twelve Lent-Sermons he speaks of the Institution and Benefit of Fasting. He believes, That it was appointed principally to make Expiation for Sins, and do Penance for their Sins; That the *Catechumens* are obliged to it, as well as the Faithful; That Virtues must be joined with the due Observation of Fasting, and chiefly Almsgiving, and forgiveness of Enemics; That the whole Lent, and above all, the last Days of it, ought to be used to prepare our selves for the Feast of Easter.

In the Nineteen following Sermons he explains the Mystery, Fruit, Effects and Circumstances of the Passion of our Saviour.

He hath Two Sermons upon the Resurrection, Two upon the Ascension of Jesus Christ, and Three upon the Pentecost. In these last he proves the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, in the second he takes notice of some Circumstances of the Heresie of Manes.

The Four next Sermons are upon the Ember-days immediately after *Whitsunday*, which follows that Feast, faith S. Leo, That the Graces bestowed by Virtue of those Mysteries may be preferred by that means. He speaks in these Sermons of the Benefit of Fasting.

The Sermon upon the Feast of S. Peter and S. Paul is looked upon, and that with a great deal of Reason, as one of the best Sermons of S. Leo. He shews, in the beginning of it, That this Feast be common to all the Churches in the World, it is reasonable that it should be celebrated with the greatest Solemnity in the City of Rome, where these two Apostles have manifested the Light of the Gospel, and where they received the Crown of Martyrdom. He describes the manner how Religion was first sealed at Rome, and how that City, which was the chief City of the Empire, became the principal Church in the World. He extolls the Zeal of S. Peter who came thither first of all to preach the Faith. He equals S. Paul with S. Peter in desert, and says, That these two Apostles were, as the two Eyes of the Body of the Church, of which Jesus Christ is the Head; That their Call, Travails and End, made them equal. He concludes, saying, That he doth not doubt, but that these two glorious Apostles do endeavour, by their Prayers, to move our Lord to Mercy.

There was heretofore another Sermon upon this Feast, but F. Quieseth hath rejected it in his Appendix, because all of it, except the beginning, is taken out of the 3d. Sermon of S. Leo, upon the Anniversary of his advancement to the Popedom.

The following Sermon is on the *Quinta* of the preceding Feast, if we may believe the Title: as it appears by the Body of the Sermon. That it was made upon another Subject, and apparently at another time after that Rome was freed from the *Vandalis*. S. Leo therein condemns the *Romanis* Superstition, who after they were delivered by the help of the Saints and the Mercy of God, did celebrate their * Cirque-shews with a great deal of Pomp and

[* *Ludi Circenses*, in honour of Neptune, or

the Eighty Second Sermon is upon the Feast of the 7. *Maccabees*, which was joined to the Feast of the Dedication of some Roman Church. He exhorts the Faithful to imitate these as others, Generous Martyrs, in conquering the Persecutions of their Spiritual Enemics. He highly praises the Person that had built the Church, which was dedicated, and takes an occasion

to

to admonish the Christians. That they ought to build a Spiritual Temple in themselves.

S. Leo makes an Observation in the beginning of his Panegyric of S. Lawrence, That the Martyrs are those, who have most exactly imitated the Charity of Jesus Christ. That our Lord in dying for us hath redeemed us, and that the Martyrs shew us by their death, that we ought not to fear Tortures. That among all the Martyrs, there is none that was more cruelly Persecuted, and shewed more Constancy than S. Lawrence; That as he was a Minister of the Sacraments, the Persecutor was animated by a double Motive, and put on by two different Passions: Being Covetous of Money, and an Enemy to the true Religion; his Avarice put him upon seizing the Treasures of the Church, and his Impiety upon destroying the Christian Religion. He could not make S. Lawrence deliver up the Treasures of the Church, but he must at the same time make him renounce his Religion. He demands of him then the place where the Treasures of the Church were? Our Saint shews him the Flocks of Poor which were maintained and clothed out of the Church's Revenues. The Tyrant, being disappointed of his hopes, was all in a fury, and prepared the most cruel Torments; and after he had torn and mangled his Body with many Blows, he broiled his Body upon a Grid-Iron. But the more cruel his Torments were, the greater was the Glory of this Martyr: So that Rome hath been as famous for the Martyrdom of S. Lawrence, as Jerusalem for S. Stephen. We hope, adds this Father, that we shall be helped by his Prayers and his Intercession.

The Nine following Sermons are upon the Summer Ember-days. He exhorts the Faithful to Fasting, and shews the Advantage of it, and requires them always to join Fasting and Abstinence together. He recommends the Love of God.

The Ninety Third Sermon is against the Error of *Eutycles*. The Ninety Fourth contains some Reflections upon the Mystery of the Incarnation upon the occasion of the Transfiguration of our Lord. In the Ninety Fifth he explains the Degrees of Blessedness, set down in the Sermon of Jesus Christ upon the Mount. The Ninety Sixth upon the Feast of S. Peter's Chair is newly published out of a Manuscript of the King's Library. It is S. Leo's Style.

F. *Quesnel* observes, in this place, That there are many Prayers in the *Missal* and *Roman Pontifical*, which are S. Leo's Style. In this number he puts the Prefaces of the Mass, and hence he adds two of them, the one for the Mass of Consecration of Bishops, the other for the Ordination of a Priest, with a Prayer of the Arch-Deacon to the Bishop, upon the reconciling of Penitents. These Pieces are taken out of the Pontifical, but 'tis not certain that they are S. Leo's.

The Appendix contains 3 Sermons falsely attributed to S. Leo, and 2 others made up of little pieces taken out of this Father. The 1st. is upon S. Vincent. The 2^d. upon the Nativity of our Lord. The 3^d. upon the Ascension. The 4th. upon the Feast of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul; and the Last is a Treatise against the Errors of *Eutycles* and other Heretics.

We do not here speak of the Books of the Calling of the *Gentiles*, the short Heads about Grace and Free-will, nor of the Epistle to *Demetrias*, Works which Father *Quesnel* hath put under S. Leo's Name in the beginning of his Works, because we will allow a Chapter by it self for the Examination, whether they are S. Leo's or not.

The Style of S. Leo is polite and over-elegant. His Discourse is made up of Periods, whose Parts are well distinguished and measured. He has a Rhyming Cadence of words, which is very wonderful; it is swelled with noble Epithets, fit Appositions, suitable Antitheses and admirable endings of Periods; this renders it pleasant to the Ear, and that sets such a lustre upon it as is dazzling and ravishing. But this Style not being natural, is found sometimes intricate and obscure, and keeps the Reader or Hearer in suspense. The Elegancy of these sort of Discourses arises from nothing but the ranging of the words, which makes a wonderful Cadence. If we will alter it, and express the same sense in other words, we shall perceive no such Beauty as we admired before. Nevertheless S. Leo's sense is very good; he is exact in Points of Doctrine, and very skilful in Discipline, but he is not very full of Moral Points; he treats of them very dryly, in a way that rather diverts than affects. He was zealous for the Rights and Privileges of his See, and sought all opportunities of advancing and enlarging them as much as possible. This design is very apparent in all his Writings, but we must own that he used his Power with a great deal of Meekness and Moderation, being persuaded, That the only use of it was to provide that the Laws of the Church be duly observed, and that nothing be commanded or allowed contrary to the Decrees of the Councils. These were his Principles. He heightened his Authority, but it was for Edification, and never for Destruction. He had a great Veneration for Emperors and Kings. He meddled not with Civil Affairs. Lastly, it may be said, That the Church of Rome never had more Grandeur and less Pride than in this Pope's time. The Bishop of Rome was never more honoured, more considered and respected than in this Pope's time, and yet he never carried himself with more Humility, Wisdom, Sweetness and Charity.

The first Edition of S. Leo's Works was composed by John Andrew, Bishop of the Isle of Corfica, and printed at Venice in 1483. This Edition was Reprinted in 1505. by *Petersonius*. This had but a few of his Letters. But the Collections of *Merlin* and *Crabbe*, afford us a greater number.

number. *Cassius* undertook a new Edition of S. Leo's Works, which he published at *Colen* in 1546, and 1547. *Surius* made another in 1561. This was followed by another of the Canons of S. Martin of *Louvain* in 1575, and 1578. and at *Answer* in 1583. The Letters of S. Leo are inserted in the Collection of the Decretals and Councils. In 1614, and 1618. the Works of S. Leo were Printed with the Homilies of S. Maximus and S. Chrysologus [at *Paris*], and afterwards Reprinted several times at *Lyon*, [viz. 1633, 1651, and 1671.] and at *Paris*.

But all these Editions are not comparable to the last, which F. *Quesnel*, a Priest of the Oratory, hath published. It was printed at *Paris* by *Coignard* in 1675. He hath published 31 Sermons never before printed, and reviewed the Works already publick, by a great number of MSS. from which he hath taken very considerable Amendments. It is divided into 2 Tomes, in Quarto. The 1st. contains S. Leo's Sermons and Letters, with the Books of the Calling of the *Gentiles*, the Aphorisms of Grace attributed to S. *Caelestine*, and the Epistle to *Demetrias*, which he pretends to be S. Leo's. He hath ranked his Sermons and Works in a better Order, and hath separated his Supposititious Works from his Genuine. This Tome ends with the Life of *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, written by *Honoratus*. The 2^d. Tome contains an ancient Book of Canons and Constitutions of the Popes, which F. *Quesnel* holds to be that which the Church of Rome used heretofore; six Dissertations upon Matters that have relation to the Works he was about to publish, and very learned and useful Notes upon S. Leo's Letters. Altho' his Dissertations seem to be something long, and contain some things which seem remote from the Works of this Father, yet they are written with so much Reason, and are so full of Learning, that no Man will be troubled to have them joined with the Works of this Father. The Industry of the Printer, the Beauty of the Character, and Correctness of the Edition, are answerable to the Learning of him who had the care of it.

S. HILARY Bishop of Arles.

HONORATUS Bishop of *Marseille*, whom we think to be the Author of the ancient Life of *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, hath written it with so much Exactness, that we cannot be mistaken in following him. He speaks nothing of his noble Extraction and Country, of *Arles*, imitating therein S. *Hilary* himself, who made no account of those Privileges. He passes over in silence what was very worthy of observation in his Youth concerning his Studies, the Acuteness and Vigor of Wit, his Proficiency in the Sciences, being perfwaded, That it is needless to enlarge upon those things, in writing the Life of a Person so Vertuous as S. *Hilary*.

In the next place he relates after what manner *Honoratus* Abbot of * *Lerins* left his Society, and went into his Country to find out S. *Hilary*, that he might convert him. He describes the opposition he met withal at first from S. *Hilary*, the Arguments which he made use of to move him, the disturbance S. *Hilary* himself was in, and at last, how being touched by Grace, which changed the Will, he took up a resolution to withdraw himself from the World. Having sold his Estate to his Brother, he gave the price of it to the Poor, or disposed of it for the Subsistence of the Monks, and then retreated into the Isle of *Lerins*. Sometime after *Honoratus* having been chosen Bishop of *Arles*, S. *Hilary* went with him thither; but the Love of retreat soon recalled him to his ancient Privacy. Two years after, in 429, *Honoratus* being ready to pass out of this Life into a better, sent for his dear Son *Hilary* to do the last Offices for him; whom, as he was about to return, the Governor *Cassius* cast his Eyes upon, to make him Successor to *Honoratus*, and his Choice was unanimously approved by all, wherefore he detained him, and, tho' against his Will, ordained him Bishop of *Arles*.

This Dignity, which often corrupts others, did only increase his Holiness and Zeal. He founded a Society of the Clergy, which he trained up to Godliness, by Imitation and Example. He taught them, by his own Practice, to condemn the World, to neglect the Body, to subdue it by Fasting and Mortifications, to suppress Sin, to live Hardly, to Journey on Foot, to Eat and Drink just no more than Necessity requires, to undergo hard Labor, to meditate on the Law of God, to relieve the Poor and Widows, and be good Examples to all the World. He sold the Ornaments of the Church to redeem Captives, insomuch that he was forced to use Chalice and Pattins of Glass. He expended the Offerings of the People for the Redemption of the Members of Jesus Christ, not reserving any thing for himself. He had a special regard for the Holy Monks. He was extremely humble, and yet he was inflexible in respect of the Proud, and terrible to Persons Haughty, and puffed up with their own Grandeur. This is an eminent Instance of his Constancy and Inflexibleness. The Governor of the City having done many Injuries, he often admonished him of them in private, but since the Governor valued it not,

S. Hilary
an title of
France.]

* *Lerins*,
an title of
France.]

not, no day, when he came into the Church with his *Caesars*, while *S. Hilary* was Preaching, he made off the *Sermons* saying, "These ought not to hear the Word of God in public, who are so seduced by private Inductions." His *Sermons* were eloquent and adorned with choice Sentences. He employed the *Spiritual Sword* of the Word of God to cut off Heresies. On the fasting day he preached to the People, even till Night, and that with so much Delight, that they almost forgot they had need of Eating. When he was to speak to the Ignorant, he used his Language as was suitable to their Capacities. But when he saw learned Persons come to hear him, he elevated himself, and made himself so much admired, that his Bishops at that time, called *Sylvestri* and *Eusebii*, Persons very well known by their Writings, going one day into his Church as he was Preaching, did observe that there was something extraordinary and Divine in his Discourses. When he had once begun, he would never make an end, if the Sign, which was given him to tell when it was time to conclude, had not made him give over. His Discourses were so elegant that a learned Poet of his time proclaimed publicly, That if *S. Augustin* had lived after *S. Hilary*, he would have been accounted inferior to him. The Works which he hath left us, are an evident Proof of his Eloquence, viz. The Life of *Honoratus*. His Homilies upon all the Festivals of the year, his Exposition of the Creed, a great number of Letters, and his Poems written, and a great deal of Wit. If what I say of his Eloquence, faith *Honoratus*, be not credible, sure *Eucherius* will be regarded, who having received his Book in Verse and Prose, wrote back again to him, That there was in it an equal Portion of Wit and Eloquence; yea, let them believe *Auxiliarius*, a Roman Orator, who commends his Letters as Pieces excellently written. He had so ready a Wit, that he could Read, Compose, Dictate and Write with his own Hand at the same time. This wonderful, but it is authorized by the Testimony of the Poet *Educius*, who himself saw it. His Table was so Frugal, that he never durst invite any Body to it. He fought all Opportunities of being serviceable to the Publick. Being at the Salt-pits, he invented and made some Engines himself, or certain Instruments to make some Wares, which would remove themselves conveniently and easily. He rose at Midnight, went 8 or 10 Miles on Foot, officiated every day at Divine Service, and made very long Sermons. When he imposed Penance on Offenders (which he did ordinarily on the Lord's day) they came to hear him in Throngs. All that were present poured forth Tears, and being astonished at the Judgments of God, and allured by the Promises, they sent out such sighing Cries and sighs, That all the Place was filled with the noise of them. Who ever better displayed the Rigor of God's Judgments? Who ever more lively represented the Torments of Hell? Who ever made Sinners more sensible of the Enormities of their Crimes? After his Exhortation was ended, he received the first Supplications with Tears, and confirmed by Prayer the Fruit of Repentance stirred up by his Exhortations. He cast out Devils from the Bodies of such as were possessed, by making them renounce their Sin publicly. When he saw his People go out of the Church after the Gospel was read, he kept them back, by telling them, You may easily go from hence, but you cannot go from Hell.

Who can express, faith *Honoratus*, how much good his Visitation did in the French Churches? He often went to see *S. German*, with whom he made an enquiry into the Life and Manners of the Clergy. While he was with him a certain Bishop, named *Celedonius*, was accused before him; because he had married a Widow before he was ordained, which is forbidden by the Canons, and the Authority of the Holy See. Some added, That he had been present at the Royal and Condemnation of Criminals. The Case being discussed with all the fairness imaginable, and the Witnesses heard, he pronounced, That he whom the Holy Canons deprived of his Priesthood, ought to forsake it of himself. He reliev'd a widow himself to Rome; he complains, That he had been condemned with too much Severity. *S. Hilary* understanding this, put himself immediately upon his Journey to go to Rome; the Coldness of the Season, the Height of the Alps, and other Troubles in the Journey, could not take off the Edge of his Zeal; he conquered them all, and went to Rome on Foot, after having paid his Devotion to the Tombs of the Apostles and Martyrs, he went to *S. Leo*, gave him all due Respect and Veneration, and humbly besought him that he would make no Alteration in the ordinary Discipline of the Church: He complain'd, That those Bishops who had been condemned in France were permitted to exercise their Ministry at Rome, which was a great Scandal, and ought to be rectify'd by him: As for himself, he says, He came not to assist at their Trial or Condemnation, but only to pay his Respects; and what he said was by way of Protestation, not Accusation, and if he would not hearken to him, he would not be further troublesome about it.

Nor was he more bold and courageous in his Words than Actions. He proved, that he very little valued the Memors of Rome, for he stilly maintain'd what he had done, yielded to no Man, would never communicate with those whom he had condemned, and seeing that he could not make the Romans understand Reason, he went home again. Being returned, he neglected nothing that might appease the Pope's Mind: he first of all sent *Ravennius* the Priest, who afterward was his Successor, and then deputed the Bishops *Neftarius* and *Constantius*, to negotiate his Affair with the Pope: he gave them long Instructions, but found no acceptance. It is worth our Pains to read what *Auxiliarius*, the Prefect of Rome [who was also employed to pacify the Pope] wrote to our Saint: "I have received, according to my

Duty,

the Bishops *Constantius* and *Neftarius*, who are come hither on your behalf. I have often discoursed with them about your Constancy and Contempt of the World. I have also spoken of your Business to Pope *Leo*: I do not doubt but here you will be a little astonished, since you are always firm, and in the same Purposes, not being transported with excessive Anger or Joy: I do not believe but that you must suspect some part of the World to be governed by Pride, but Men do not easily endure that others should speak their Opinions freely of them, besides, the Roman Ears are very Nice, that they will not suffer any thing that doth not please them. I am of Opinion, that if you would become more mild, you would gain much by it. Grant me this, and remove those little Clouds by the small Change of a Calm. *S. Hilary* did nothing of it, but seeing that no great Success was to be hoped for by that Negotiation, he gave himself wholly to Prayer and Labor, and passed the rest of his Days in continual Austerities. Some Hours before his Death he called together his Society, and having made a very affectionate Discourse to them, he resign'd his Soul to God, anno 454. We have related the Life of this Bishop at length, as it is written by *Honoratus* Bishop of *Marfeille*, because it contains many very important Points of Discipline, and discovers the Disposition and Character of *S. Hilary*. We have also in it an enumeration of the Works of *S. Hilary*: We have nothing of them at present but the Life of *Honoratus*, a Letter to *Eucherius*, and a Poem upon the Beginning of *Genesis*. *F. Quefnel* hath collected these Three Pieces, and caused them to be printed at the End of *S. Leo's* Works.

The Life of *Honoratus* had already been publish'd by *Bollandus*. It doth not at all come short of the Idea which *Honoratus* hath given us of the Wit and Eloquence of *S. Hilary*. He says, in the Beginning, That he had a great Conflict in his Mind, and though he took great Delight in celebrating the Memory of *S. Honoratus*; yet on the other Hand, he was much troubled to think that he had lost a Person for whom he had so great a Love. *Talem remissum dulces est, tali carere supplicium*. After he hath amplified this Notion, he observeth, That it is dangerous to praise a Man before his Death: But he cannot praise good Men too much, when they are departed into another Life, because, besides that the Praises which we bestow upon them cannot be suspected of Flattery, they tend much to the Edification of the Church, and may be of good Use to the Faithful: God is praised in his Saints, because all their Worth and Excellency ought to be imputed to the Author of Grace. He adds, That he is not afraid that any Man will think he speaks too favorably of *S. Honoratus*, because nothing can be said of him, which doth not come far short of his Merit and Vertues. That he was very sensible that he had not Wit and Eloquence enough to undertake to write upon a Subject, which requires the Eloquence of the most accomplish'd Orators of Antiquity, but that the Respect and Kindness which he had for him, engaged him to satisfy their Desires, hoping that the Deserts of that Saint would put Life into his Discourse, and revive the meanness of it.

The Custom of such Authors as write Panegyrics, is to begin with the Commendations of the Country and Parenage of him, upon whom they make them, that the Glory of his Ancestors may supply the Defects of his Vertues. But as for us Christians, we are all but one in Jesus Christ, the greatest Nobility among us is to be the Children of God; he is the most glorious and greatest who hath the meanest Conceit of his noble Extraction. These Reasons kept *S. Hilary* from enlarging upon the Honours and great Offices which had been in the Family of *Honoratus*, and among others the Consulship which the World looks upon as one of the most eminent Dignities. He begins his Encomium of him with the Praise of his Christian Vertues and Spiritual Regeneration, the Tractableness of his Infancy, Modesty of his Youth, the Regularity of his Conversation, and Life in his Youth; but above all, the Earnestness with which he desired and demanded Baptism, against the Will and Consent of his Parents, and the Care he had, after he had received it, to keep himself Harmless and undefiled, by avoiding all occasions of Sin, resisting Temptations, and shunning the Pleasures of the World. He often said to himself, This worldly Life pleaseth us, but it deludes us: This Consideration made him often resolve to renounce a worldly Life wholly: This enduc'd him to cut off his Hair, wear a coarse Habit, and mortify his Body with Labour. This Change stirr'd up his Father and nearest Relations against him, but he opposed them, and continued to live an austere Life: His Example prevail'd so much with his elder Brother, named *Venantius*, that he embraced the same way of Living. The Reputation of their Holiness spread it self soon through all the World, and attracted the Praise and Admiration of all Men: This made them take up a Resolution to forsake their Country, and find out a Retreat; they took with them a certain old Man named *Capresius*, and went into several Places to live in Solitude, but for all this their Reputation discovered them. They took Ship, intending to go by Sea into the East, but *Venantius* being dead by the way, in *Achaia*, *Honoratus* returned into Italy, and at length retired into the Isle of *Lerins*, there to pass his Life in the Exercises of a Monastick Life. This engaged him to enter into Holy Orders, which he had ever before avoided; and when many Persons came to find him out, that they might live under his Conduct, he built a Monastery, took care to govern the Religious, and ruled them with all the Kindness and Prudence possible. *S. Hilary* commends his Discretion, chiefly his Care to provide for the Necessities of the Religious, his kind Entertainment of Strangers, his liberal Distribution of Alms, and his Love for all the World. He also relates what great Pains he took to convert him,

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and after what manner he caught him. He proceeds, in the next Place, to his Episcopal Ventures, upon which, nevertheless, he doth not enlarge so much as he might have done, because they were sufficiently known to the Christians of Arles. He observes, notwithstanding the greatness of his Vigilance and Charity, how he mixt Severity with Mildness, after what manner he took care of his Flock, with what Vehemency he reprov'd Vice, how he settled Peace and Concord in the Church. He adds, That he did not make use of his Power for Terror, but he govern'd his Flock with Love; and that during the Time that he was Bishop, the Church grew in Grace but decreased in Riches, because he distributed those Treasures which his Predecessors had gathered together, and for a long Time lay useless, reserving no more than what was just necessary for his Subsistence, of which likewise he would retrench a part, if there were need of it.

In fine, *S. Honoratus*, being impaired with Labours and Austerities, fell into a languishing Distemper, which nevertheless did not hinder him from executing his Priestly Office. He preach'd in the Church upon the Feast of *Epiphany*, anno 429. but his Disease being increased, took him away within Eight or Nine Days after. He shew'd a great deal of Constancy and Courage in the Extremity of his Sickness; *S. Hilary*, who was present at his Death, relates here many exemplary Circumstances. He describes also his Funeral Solemnity; and after he hath made a short Relation of his Virtues, and equal'd him with the Martyrs, he ends his Discourse with an Address to him. To pray him to remember him and his People, and to be their Patron and Intercessor with God.

His Poem upon the Beginning of *Genesis* is much inferior to the Life of *Honoratus* in Beauty and Elegancy. It is full of Faults against the Rules of *Prosodia*; it contains nothing nobler remarkable in it.

The Letter of *Hilarius* Bishop of Arles to *S. Eucherius*, is a small Ticket, in which he tells him, That he had run over the Books of Constitutions, which he sent him, and desires to send him one of his Children, to whom he had given such excellent Precepts. This shews the Intimacy and Friendship there was between *Hilary* Bishop of Arles and *S. Eucherius*. It appears also by the Writings of this Latter, who speaks very honourably of him, and hath dedicated his Book, *Of the Praise of a Monastick Life*, to him. *Constantinus*, the Author of the Life of *S. German*, *Julianus*, *Pomerius*, *Sidonius*, *Apollinaris*, and all other Authors of that Time, speak of him as a very Holy Man. *S. Prosper*, who did not like well of him, because he was not altogether of *S. Austin's* Opinion about Grace, nevertheless, in his Letter to *S. Austin* speaks of him as a Person of great Authority, and very well versed in all spiritual Knowledge, and owns that he was a Man of excellent Worth. In his *Chronicon* he joins him with *S. Eucherius*, and says, That they both consummated an eminent Life by an Holy Death. Lastly, although *S. Leo* had great Quarrels with him, and spake very ill of him in his Life-time, yet he could not refrain speaking honourably of him after his Death. The only thing that he can be reproach'd with is, that he did not follow *S. Austin's* Opinion about Grace, and having favour'd, or at least being one of the principal Patrons of the *Semi-Pelagians*: But at that Time the most Learned and Holy Persons of France were of that Opinion. This was the Doctrine of the Monks of *Lerins*, with whom *S. Hilary* lived; yea, this was the Doctrine held by the Bishops and all the Clergy of the Provinces of *Vienna* and *Narbonne*. Those that maintained this Opinion were not look'd upon as Hereticks, unless it were by the zealous Followers of *S. Austin*: It is no wonder then that *S. Leo* does not reproach him with it. I have forgotten to observe, That *S. Hilary* was present at, and subscribed first, the Councils of *Ries* in 439. and *Orange* in 441.

S. VINCENTIUS LIRINENSIS.

Vincentius
Lirinensis.
[* Being a
Soldier.]

VINCENTIUS, a Frenchman by Nation, after he had spent some part of his Life among the Troubles, Commotions and Waves of the World*, through the Impulse of the Holy Spirit, retreated, as he himself says, Into the Haven of Religion; O Happy and Safe Haven for all the World: And having gotten Shelter against the Storms of Pride, and the Vanity of the World, to retire the remaining Part of his Days, and offer to God the continual Sacrifices of Humiliation, that he might avoid the Sufferings of this Life, and the Flames of the Life to come. The Place of his Retreat was the famous Monastery of the Isle of *Lerins*, so famous for so many Persons eminent for Doctrine and Piety, which it hath produced for the Church: *Vincentius* the Priest was none of the least Ornaments of it: *S. Eucherius*, who tells us, That he was the Brother of *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, compares him, for the Fervency of his Devotion, to the brightness of a sparkling Diamond, *interno gemmâ splendore perspicuum*: And in another place commends his Learning and Eloquence. *Gennadius* assures us, That he was well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and very well versed in the Discipline of the Church.

He hath composed an excellent Treatise against the Hereticks, in which he hath given very suitable Rules and convincing Principles to distinguish Error from Truth, and the seeds of Hereticks from the Catholick Church. But his Humility made him conceal his Name; and he published his Treatise under the Title of a * Commentary made by *Perpetuus* against the Hereticks. It was divided into two parts, but the 2d. being lost, he contented himself to make an Abridgment of it.

He proposes to himself, in this Commentary, to gather the Principles of the ancient Fathers against the Hereticks. He tells us, in the Preface, That it was the Usefulness of the Work to find the time and the place that he lived in, and his Profession, that engaged him to undertake this Work. The time, because all things here below being carried on with such a swiftness, it is reasonable that we should snatch up something that may stand us in stead in another Life, and so much the rather because the terrible expecting of the last Judgment (which he thought nigh at hand, because that the *Barbarians* had made so great a Progress into the Empire) ought to stir up the Zeal of the Faithful for Religion, and the Malice of the Hereticks ought to oblige the Orthodox to stand upon their Guard. The place also was very suitable for such a Work, because, being distant from the noise and crowd of the Cities, retired in a private Village, and shut up in the Cloysters of a Monastery, he was able, without Distraction, to do that which is said in the Psalm, *Attend ye, and see, that I am your God*: Lastly, no Employment can be more agreeable to a religious Life, which he professed. He therefore undertakes * to write, rather as an Historian than an Author, what he hath learned from the Ancients, and they have entrusted to their Posterity. He adverteth us, That his design was not to collect all, but only to offer to our observation what there is most necessary.

Entering then upon his Matter, he saith, That he hath learned from many Learned and Holy Persons (That the means to avoid Heresy, and adhere steadfastly to the true Faith, is to ground themselves upon two Foundations, 1. Upon the Authority of Holy Scripture. 2. Upon the Tradition of the Catholick Church. But perhaps some will demand, saith he, the Canon of the Holy Books being perfect and sufficient of it self to settle all Religion; why is it necessary to join the Authority of the Church with it? He answers, 'Tis because Holy Scripture, having a sublime fence, is differently explained; one understands it after this manner, and another after that, inasmuch that there are almost as many Opinions about the true meaning of it, as there are Persons. *Novatian* understands it one way, and *Plotinus* another: It is necessary then altogether upon the account of the subtle Evasions of so many Hereticks of several sorts, in interpreting Scripture to take the sense of the Catholick Church for our Rule. But yet we must be careful to choose out of those Doctrines, which we find in the Church, such as have always been believed in all places, and by all true Christians; for there is indeed nothing truly and properly Catholick, as the Name in its full signification doth denote, but what comprehends all in general. Now it will be so if we follow Antiquity, unanimity, Consent and Universality. We shall follow Universality, if we believe no other Doctrine true, but that which is taught in all Churches, dispersed through the whole World. We shall follow Antiquity, if we depart not from the Judgment of our Ancestors and Fathers. Lastly, we shall follow unanimous Consent, if we adhere to the Opinions of all, or of almost all the Ancients. But what shall an Orthodox Christian do if some part of the Church apostatize from the Faith of the whole Body of the Church? There is nothing to be done but to prefer the Doctrine of the whole Body that is sound, before the Error of a rotten and putrefied Member. But what if some new Error is ready to spread it self, I do not say, over a small part, but almost over all the Church? We must then be sure to cleave close to Antiquity, which cannot be corrupted with Novelty. In fine, if among the Ancients we find one or two Persons, or perhaps a City or Province in an Error, we must prefer the Decrees of the ancient and universal Church before the Rashness or Ignorance of some Particulars. But if there arise any Question, to which we cannot find a Parallel Case, we must then consult the Judgments of the Ancients, and compare together what those Authors have said at several times, and in different places, who being in the Communion of the Church may be esteemed Teachers worthy of Credit; and not only to rely upon what one or two have said; but what they all have held, written and taught unanimously, clearly, and without contradicting themselves at any time. To these Rules *Vincentius Lirinensis* had added these Examples. The Example of the *Donatists* he uses to prove, That we ought to keep to the Universality, that of the *Arians*. That we must cleave to Antiquity and reject Novelty. The Opinion of *S. Cyprian* about the Re-baptization of Hereticks, he makes use of to shew, That we must not always follow the Sentiments of one particular Ancient, but we may be Hereticks in maintaining the Doctrine which one Orthodox Doctor hath taught, wherefore we must depend upon Consent and unanimous Agreement.

Plotinus, *Apollinaris* and *Nestorius*, are also brought for Examples of Hereticks, who were unfortunately mistaken by departing from the Tradition of the Catholick Church. The Fall of *Origen* and *Tertullian* may be a Warning to all Christians how they lean upon the Authority, or Reputation, or Learning of any private Person, and forsake the Doctrine of the Universal Church. *Vincentius Lirinensis* after he hath enlarged, as much as was possible, upon these Examples, returns to his Principles, and maintains, That we ought to keep our selves to the ancient Rule of Faith, and ought not at any time to seek after or propagate any new Do-

Office in the Church. That they who suffer any new Doctrines, which are unknown, to be taught, are Deceivers. That Men may labour to explain and clear the Ancient Faith itself, but may not teach any thing new; they may have a way of expounding Matters, but not new Subjects. *Cum dicis vetera, non dicis nova.* But say some say, how is it that this Faith may not be improved or perfected? Certainly it may be, but it cannot be changed. The Church grows in Knowledge, Understanding and Wisdom, but it always holds the same Doctrines, neither taking from them nor adding to them. Things may be made more evidently receive greater Light, and be better distinguished; but they remain always in the same Fulness, Perfection and Nature. Antiquity may be polished or perfected, but cannot always keep the same Foundation. And truly, the Church hath done nothing else in the Councils, but maintain the ancient Faith against the Innovation of Heretics. It obliges us to believe more explicitly what we have already believed, and teach it, with more Power, which we have heretofore taught, and defend with greater care, what we have already defended. In fine, it gives us an express definition in writing of that, which it hath received from its Ancestors by Tradition. The Heretics, on the contrary, have introduced new Doctrines, and made use of the Holy Scripture to gain acceptance of them. *Vincentius Lirinensis* brings several Examples. In the next place, he considers after what manner we ought to consult and compare the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, and brings for an Example, in the 2d. part of his Commentary, the Proceedings of the Council of *Ephefus* against *Nestorius*, but because that part was lost, he contented himself in giving us an Abridgment, making a Summary of the Principles, which he had laid down in his Work. But we must not forget, that *Vincentius Lirinensis* owns, That there are two occasions, upon which these excellent Rules concerning Tradition are not of so great use. 1. When Questions of very small Consequence, which do not concern the Rule of Faith, are under Debate, or Questions, which serve for the Foundation of Christian Doctrine. 2. When we have to deal with Heresies which are of a long standing; for, faith he, 'tis not convenient to oppose all Heresies by Tradition only, but only such as are newly risen up, as soon as they appear, and before they have corrupted the ancient Records; for when they are once thoroughly settled and grown old, this Argument becomes weak; because they have had, as I may say, time to cover themselves with an appearance of Antiquity. So that we must content our selves to confute them by Scripture, or avoid them as Sects condemned and disproved by the ancient Councils of the Catholic Church.

It is very probable that this Author is the same with him, who propounded the Objections, or rather Questions against *S. Aspin's* Doctrine concerning Grace, which *S. Prosper* hath answered. These are likewise some places in that little Treatise in which he seems to quarrel with the rigid Scholars of *S. Aspin*. But be that as it will, he was in a Country and in a Monastery, where he did not think himself obliged to add to himself to *S. Aspin's* Opinions, whatsoever them he had for him. And perhaps it is for this reason, that he hath laid it down so finally, that we ought not to submit to the Authority of one Father alone, but to the unanimous consent of many. Nevertheless he condemns *Pelagius* and *Julian*, and there is no Objection to be made against the Rules, which he gave to discern the Doctrines of Faith from Heresy, Error and Opinion, since they are the same, which the Church hath always observed, the Holy Fathers have laid down in their Writings, and *S. Aspin* himself hath given in many places. *Vincentius Lirinensis* did not more but collect, enlarge, and put those Rules in order which he found in the Church, and he hath done it with much Faithfulness, Clearness and Eloquence. He composed this Treatise 4 years after the Council of *Ephefus* in 434. He died in the Reign of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*; he is acknowledged for a Saint in the Roman Martyrology, and his Memory is celebrated on the 24th. of May. This little Treatise hath been printed in the *Bibliotheca Bezaana* (Tome 7.) and in several Collections of Authors, as *Basil* in 1528. [at *Colen* 1569. with *Coffertius* Notes] at *Paris* in 1569; and in 1586. which Edition is reviewed by *Peter Pirithus* [at *Colen* it was Reprinted with *Coffertius* Notes in 1619. Twelves.] *Fillefchius* hath commented on it, and had it Printed 1619. [in Quarto.] It was Printed at *Lyon*, with a *Concordant* Treatise in 1622. Lastly, M. *Baleusius* published it with *Salvian*, 1663. [whole Edition was Reprinted at *Paris*, 1669. in Octavo. It was also Printed at *Cambridge* in 1669. Twelves.]

S. EUCHERIUS.

S. EUCHERIUS, after he had had two Sons, called *Salomius* and *Veranus* * with Andrew himself into the Isle of *Lerins*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Lyon*. We have some of his Works. The first is a Book written in Praise of the Desert, or of Solitude, dedicated to *S. Hilary* afterward Bishop of *Arles*, in the time that he left *Honoratus* to return to the Solitude of *Lerins*, that is to say, about the year 428. He hath collected, in that little Treatise, a great number of Arguments to raise Men's good Opinion of a Solitary Life. The Desert is the Temple of God. In the Desert God is found. The earthly Paradise is the Figure of the Desert. The Red-Sea opened it self to give them a free Passage into the Desert, and afterward closed again to prevent their return from thence. In the Desert they were nourished, and they received the Law. *David* was preferred in the Desert. *Elias*, *Elisba*, and the Prophets dwelt in Deserts. Jesus Christ was baptized in the Desert. There it was that Angels that his Glory appeared. He prayed in the Desert. The Saints retired themselves into the Desert. The Habitation of Deserts is to be preferred before all others; there God is more easily found, there we converse more familiarly with him, there we live more quietly and free from Temptations. The Praises of Deserts in general are attended by the particular Commendations of the Desert of *Lerins*. That is a sweet Place full of Fountains, over-spread with Herbs, abounding with most pleasant Flowers, grateful as well to the Eyes as Smell, an abode fit for *Honoratus*, who first founded the Monasteries, and had *Maximus* for his Successor; blessed *Lupus*, his Brother *Vincentius*, and Reverend *Cyprianus*, and many other Holy Old Men, who dwelt in separate Cells, have made the Life of the Egyptian Monks to flourish among us. Lastly, After he hath spoken of their Vertues, he congratulates *Hilarius*, That he was returned again to such a Charming and Delightful Dwelling.

The Second Work is a * Treatise of the Contempt of the World, dedicated to his Kinsman, called *Valerian*, who was of an Illustrious Family, to exhort him to fly from the World; He represents to him the two principal Duties incumbent upon Man. 1. To know and worship God. 2. To take Care of the Salvation of his Soul. That these Two Duties are inseparable, because no Man can be careful of his Soul unless he worship God, nor honour God, unless he take care of his Soul: That it is more reasonable to be solicitous for the safety of our Souls than our Bodies, because the Life of the Soul is Eternal, whereas the Life of the Body must have an end; and for that Reason we must labour in this Life for Eternity: That it is easy to obtain the Eternal Happiness which we desire, provided that we content this miserable Life: That the World hath Two principal Attractives to allure us to it, Riches and Honour, but that we ought to tread them both under our Feet: That Riches are ordinary Causes of Injustice, that they are uncertain, that we must necessarily leave them at our Death: That Honours are common to the Good and Evil, that Fortune hath her flittings, and nothing is stable and permanent but true Piety: That the true Honours and Riches are celestial; That it is impossible to make a serious Reflection upon the shortness of Life and the necessity of death, but we must think that these are not the only good Things for our Salvation: That we ought not to follow the Examples of those who lead a worldly Life, but to propound to themselves the Lives of them who renounce the World that they may lead a truly Christian Life, although they were Persons of Quality, and might have enjoyed Honours and Riches. *S. Clemen*, *S. Greg. Thaumaturgus*, *S. Basil*, *S. Greg. Nazianzen*, *S. Paulinus of Nola*, *S. Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* and *Petrinus*, are those whom *S. Eucherius* propounds to *Valerian*; he mentions the excellent Orators who renounced the Honours which they might have hoped for in the World, yet laid aside all their Glory to write for Religion, such as *Lactantius*, *Minutius Felix*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Hilary*, *S. F. Chrysofom*, and *S. Ambrose*. He propounds to him also the Examples of Holy Kings. Lastly, He makes use of the whole Frame of Nature, and all the Visible World, to prove that the only Employment of Man ought to be to honour the Creator of all Things. After all these Considerations he discovers to him the Vanity of all Philosophical Knowledge, and shews him that there is no true Wisdom taught, nor any true Happiness to be found but in the Religion of Jesus Christ. This Writing is dated in the 108th. Year from the first Building of *Rome*, which is the 432. of our common Era. These Two Treatises are written in a Style very Clean and Elegant, the Matter is not inferior in the Politeness and Purity of Language to the Works of those Authors who lived in those Ages, when Language was in greater Purity. They have been printed distinctly at *Amberg* in 1621. [This Treatise to *Valerian* was printed at *Basil*, with *Erasmus's* Notes; who commends it to us as one of the most elegant Pieces of Antiquity, anno 1520 and 1531.

It was also published by *Reboudius* with Notes, at *Amstere* 1620: together with the former, in the *Prairie of Solitude*, which *Genesius* put out at *Paris* 1598.]

His other Treatises are not so Profitable nor so Elegant as the former, by a great deal. His Treatise of the *Spiritual Terms and Phrases*, directed to *Verbum*, is a Collection of Mystical and Spiritual Reflections upon the Terms and Expressions of Holy Scriptures, in which there is very little Solidity. His first Book of Instructions contains the Explication of several Questions, which he proposes to himself out of the Old and New Testaments: Some of them are very well resolved, and we may find in them some very good Remarks. The Second Book contains, 1. The Explication of the Hebrew Names; 2. The Signification of some Hebrew Terms, which are often met with in the Bible, such as *Amara*, *Hallelujah*, &c. 3. The Explication of some special Phrases. 4. An Explication of the Names of Nations, Cities, and Rivers which are not known. 5. Of the Names of Mountains and Rivers. 6. The Names of Idols. 7. The Explication of their Habits and Clothings. 8. Of Birds and Beasts. 9. A Comparison of the Jewish Weights and Measures with those of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and the Signification of some Greek Names. The Usefulness and Worth of this Critical Work may be easily known, but the composing of it is very hard. *S. Eucherius* hath not examined these Things thoroughly, but contents himself to give the Meaning of every Thing in short, without troubling himself to prove them. He hath taken the greatest part of what he discourses of, out of several Authors. He discourses them very often well enough, but he is mistaken in many Places. *Genesius* makes mention of these Books.

The Commentaries upon *Genesis*, add the Books of *Kings*, (which go under the Name of *S. Eucherius*, either be his, because the Author himself tells us upon Chap. xxii. of the Third Book of *Kings*, that he lived under the Popedom of *S. Gregory*, at the Time when he sent *S. Augustine* and *S. Paulinus* into *England*. He also quotes *Cassiodorus*, and copies out often the Comments of *S. Gregory*, which evidently prove that these Books do carry a False Name.

The History of the Sufferings of *S. Mauritius* and the other *Theban* Martyrs, related by *S. Basil*, on the 22d. of *September*, and printed by it self [at *Ingolstadt*] in 1617. by the Care of *P. Steward*, is not the Style of our *S. Eucherius*: It may better be accounted another *S. Eucherius*'s, who was present at the Fourth Council of *Arles*, in 524, and at the Second Council of *Orange*, in 529. for he of whom we now speak was dead in 454. as is noted in *Proper's* *Chronicon*.

We have neither his Abridgment of *Cassian*, nor some other Works concerning a Monastick Life, which *Genesius* makes mention of. As to the Homilies of which *S. Mamertus* speaks, some think that some of those which bear the Name of *Eusebius Emesenus* are his, which it may not be amiss to examine in this Place. We have often spoke of them already, but did not thoroughly determine it, because we had not thoroughly examin'd it, but it is a convenient Time to do so. We find, at the fifth Sight, 145 of them upon all the *Sundays* and *Holidays* in the Year, which all the Manuscripts of *Monte-Cassino* and the *Vatican* retore to **Bruno* Bishop of *Sigü*. The Agreement of the Style of these Homilies with the other Treatises of that Author, leave no Place to doubt but that they are really his. Thus we see already the great Number of Sermons attributed to *S. Eucherius* much lessend. The others are certainly, as I have already observed, some one or several *French* Authors. There are some of the Sermons, as that of *Maximus Regens*, that cannot be composed but by a Person who lived in the Time when the Monastery of *Lerins* flourish'd. We find in the Life of *S. Hilary*, written by *Honoratus* Bishop of *Marzeille*, that there was at that Time a Bishop of *France* called *Eusebius*, who made a great many Sermons: This is confirmed by the Verses of *Helman*, Scholar of *Rabanus*, who reckons *Casarius* and *Eusebius* among the famous Bishops of *France*. All these Homilies therefore might well be attributed to him; but this cannot be, because we find some made by *Casarius*; others by *Maximus* Bishop of *Riez*, and lastly by *Faustus Regens*, which proves that 'tis a Collection of Sermons, compiled by the Clergy of the Monastery of *Lerins*, which bear perhaps the Name of *Eusebius*, because these Monks had a Custom of Concealing themselves under an Appellative Name, so that the Sermons of *Eusebius* seem to import nothing else, than the Sermons of a Pious Person. Perhaps this Title was given to these Sermons because the Author was not known, or because those who composed them would not name them otherwise, according to the Custom of *Lerins*. For this Reason it is that *Vincentius* of *Lerins* took the Name of *Peregrinus* in his Commentary, *Salvian* of *Timotheus*; and it may be 'tis for the same Reason that the Life of *S. Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, composed by *Honoratus*, bears the Name of *Reverend*.

There are also some of these Sermons made by *Casarius* Bishop of *Arles*, who penn'd a vast number of Sermons, and sent them every way to the Bishops, that they might have them preached in their Churches. *Salvian* also composed some for the Bishops, inasmuch that the great Number of Sermon-makers who lived at that Time, have bred much Confusion among their Sermons, which are almost all alike, which hath been much increased by the Copies. Nevertheless, let us pass our Conjectures upon them.

It is certain that the Panegyrick of *S. Maximus* belongs to *Faustus* *Regens*, to whom it is attributed by *Dionysius*, who composed the Life of this Holy Abbot. In it he marks, That the Monastery of *Lerins* had yielded two Bishops to the City of *Riez*: The First was *Maximus*, who

who was an Honour to it, but of the Second it ought to be ashamed. It is plain, That it is *Faustus* who speaks of thro' Humility. It is also evident, That the Sermon upon the Death of *Honoratus* was Preached at *Lerins* before the Monks of that Monastery, which makes it Credible, that it was also *Faustus*'s. Now these Sermons being in the same Style with the foregoing, we esteem them to be the same Authors, viz. The 1st, and 2d, Homily upon the *Nativity*, the 1st upon *Epiphany*, the 2d, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, upon the Feast of *Easter*; that upon the good Thief; the 2d about the *Ascension*, the Panegyricks of *S. Elphodius*, *S. Alexander*, *S. Genesius*, *S. Romanus*, and all the Sermons Published lately under the Name of *Eusebius*, some of which bear the Name of *Faustinus*. Among the Sermons of *S. Casarius* Bishop of *Arles*, the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 10th Sermons to the Monks, and an Exhortation to the People, are really his. We also Attribute to him the 2d, 3d, and 4th Homilies upon *Epiphany*, the 1st upon *Lent*, the 2d upon the *Creed*, the 1st, 3d, and 7th, upon *Easter*, the 1st upon *Ascension*, that of *Pentecost*, the Two Homilies upon *S. John*, *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*, that upon the *Maccabees*, the Discourse upon the *Trinity*, Two Sermons upon *S. Matthew*.

All the Discourses to the Monks seem to be the same Authors, so that if there be any of *Casarius* Bishop of *Arles*, they are all his; perhaps, they are *Maximus*'s, or *Faustus*'s, for their Works are confounded. To these we must add the Sermon to the Penitents, and the Five subsequent, which are very like *Casarius*'s. The Fourth Sermon upon *Easter* is *Maximus* *Regens*'s, and it may be there are some other Sermons his. The first Sermon upon the *Creed* is likely to be *Hilary*'s Bishop of *Arles*, who made a Discourse upon that subject, as we understand by *Honoratus*. But indeed it is not worthy of him. The Sermon of *S. Blandinus* was made by some Bishop of *Lyons*, probably *Eucherius*, 'tis his Style. The Homily upon *Easter* bears the Name of *Isidore*, in a Manuscript of the Abby of *S. German*. Indeed it is a Modern composition, for it treats of the *Eucharist*. *S. Thomas* hath taken out of it the subject of his *Prose*. The Homily upon the *Litanies* agrees exceeding well to *S. Mamertus*, Author of the *Regation-Days*. The Sermon upon the Repentance of the *Ninevites* seems to be the same Authors. The Sermon upon *S. Stephen* is altogether unlike to the other, it is probable, that it is a Translation of some Greek Sermon, but that is not certain. These are my Conjectures upon the Sermons Published under the Name of *Eusebius*. I confess, they are not absolutely certain, but there is so great disorder and confusion among these Sermons in the Manuscripts, and the Authors did follow the Copies, and imitate them so ordinarily at that time, that it is hard to speak any thing more certain.

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS.

PETRUS, who was surnamed *Chrysologus*, was a Native of **Imola*. He was taught, and admitted into the Clergy by *S. Cornelius* Bishop of that City, as he Notes in his 165 *Petrus* Sermon. Some are of Opinion, That being at *Rome* with his Bishop, at that time when the *Chrysologus* Clergy and People of *Ravenna* had sent their Deputies to desire a Bishop of *Sixtus* III, then *Petrus* Pope, he was chosen by that Pope to fill that vacant See, as he had been warned in a Dream by *S. Peter*, and *Apollinaris* the first Bishop of the See of *Ravenna*; but this is a groundless Story, being related by no Credible Author. It is only certain that *P. Chrysologus* was chosen, and Ordain'd about that time Bishop of *Ravenna*. He governed that Church several Years, There is a Letter of *S. Leo*'s written to *Neonas* his Successor, which was heretofore the 37th, and is at present the 135, which is thought to be written in 451, in the Consilium of *Martian* and *Adelphus* *. This supposeth that *P. Chrysologus* was Dead in 449. But [**Dr. Cave* follows this Opinion.] *F. Quenel* having proved in his Notes upon that Letter, that it is rather written in 438, some few years more may be allowed for the continuance of this Saint in his Episcopal Charge, yet not to carry it so far as the Year 500, nor confound him with that *Petrus* who lived under *Theodoricus*.

Trithemius says, That this Bishop composed several Sermons, or Homilies, for the People, a Letter to *Eutyches*, which beginneth with these words, *I have read with grief*, and some other Letters. We have 176 Sermons, and the Letter to *Eutyches*.

These Sermons are very short. In them he explains the Text of Holy Scripture in few words, but in a way very pleasing, and makes short Moral Reflections upon them. The Parables, and Miracles, of *Jesus* Christ, are the chief Subjects of his Sermons. In some of them he Treats of Fasting, Alms-giving, Vigilance, Patience, and some other Christian Virtues. He hath also several upon the Great Feasts, with some Panegyricks of Saints. *S. Chrysologus* hath found out the way to join extremum Brevity, and very great Elegance together, in his discourses. His Style is made up of short Sentences, and Phrases, which have a natural sequence and connexion one with another; the words are very fit, and the fence is simple and natural. It hath nothing swelling, or forced. His descriptions are clear and easy. But for all this, there is nothing great enough, sublime enough, nor eloquent enough to entitle him justly to the Surname of *Chrysologus*, of which he is possessed; we see no extraordinary Motives;

[* *Vulgo*
Bruno
Allensis.]

[* *Antimus*
called
by *Cor-*
nellius.]

[* *Dr. Cave*
follows this
Opinion.]

Perus
Chryso-
logus.

tives: we meet with nothing that quickens, or affects much; we find no Truth enforcing con-
sent, only Doctrines explained at large. All that can be said is this, His Relations are plea-
sant, and his Moral Discourses represent very well to the Mind what we ought to do; but make
no impression upon the Heart, nor are able to change the Will.

The Sermons of this Author have been Collected together above Nine Hundred Years, by
Felix Bishop of Ravenna, who lived in the Year 702, or 708. F. Oudin proves it in his Ad-
vertisement, that he found them in Three Manuscripts. They have been Printed since at Col-
len in 1541, 1609, [1616] and 1678, [Quarto] at Paris in 1585, at Antwerp in 1618, at Ly-
ons in [1633] 1636, at Bologna in 1643. This Edition is the best. They are also to be found
in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, [Tom. VII.] and with S. Leo's Works at Paris in 1614, and
1676.

The Epistle to *Eutyches* was written after that Monk had been Condemned by Flavian. S.
Chrysologus tells him, That he read with sorrow his sad Letter; for if the Peace of the Church,
the Agreement of the Clergy, and the Quiet of the People, cause Joy in Heaven; on the
contrary, Divisions ought to beget Sadness, and Grief; especially, when they proceed from so
lamentable a cause, as that was, for which he separated from his Bishop. He adds, That the
Church had been free from Controversies for Thirty Years; That *Origen* and *Nestorius* had
fallen into Error by Reasoning upon the ineffable Mystery of the Incarnation, That it was a
shame for Priests to be Ignorant of that which the *Magi* Acknowledged and Adored; That
when Jesus came into the World, *Glory to God* was Sung, and it is strange at present, that all
the World Bow at the Name of Jesus, that he should be Ignorant of the Reason of it. He
saith afterward with the Apostle, That tho' we have known Jesus Christ according to the
Flesh, yet now we know him no more; That it becomes us not to be very inquisitive, and
that we ought to honour, respect, wait upon our Judge, and not dispute about his Title.
This is, saith he, what may be answered to your Letter in a few words. I would have sent
you a longer Answer, if our Brother Flavian had not sent me some Instruments about what pas-
sed in your Cause: You say, That his Judgment ought not to stand, because he made whom
he thought fit to be Judges, but how should we know that, since we neither heard, nor saw
them? We should be unjust Arbitrators, if we should determine in favour of one Party, be-
fore we hear the other. In sum, We Exhort you, my most honoured Brother, to submit to
what hath been written by the Bishop of Rome, because S. Peter, who lived and presided in
his See, Teaches the True Faith to those that inquire after it. As for us, we dare not, for
the Love we have to Peace and Truth, concern our selves either to hear or judge Causes with-
out the consent of the Bishop of Rome. *Gerard Vossius*, who hath Published this Letter in
Greek and Latin among several other pieces, at the end of S. Greg. *Thaumaturgus* at Metz,
in 1604, [in 1603, Cave] tells us, That there are two Manuscripts in the Vatican, where
this Letter ends in these words: *This is what I thought fit to Answer at present to your Letter*.
And indeed, It is likely that the Letter ends at that place, and that what follows hath been
added afterward to raise the Authority of the Church of Rome. It is nevertheless to be found
in the Manuscripts of Cardinal *Strles*, and it is Printed also in the first part of the Acts of the
Council of Chalcedon, and in the ordinary Editions of S. Chrysologus.

MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS.

Maximus
Taurinen-
sis.

MAXIMUS Bishop of Turin flourished under the Empire of Honorius, and Theodosius the
younger. He lived to the Year 465, since in that Year we find him at a Synod at Rome
held under Pope Hilarius. Gennadius saith, That he applied himself to the Holy Scripture,
and that he was able to make an *Extempore* Homily to the People. We have several of his
Homilies, which are the rarest part of them cited by Gennadius. There are some upon the
Feasts of the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost, for the Two Sundays in
Advent, *Ala-Wednesday*, for Palm-Sunday, for the Passion-Week. There are also some for the
Saints Days, viz. for S. Stephen, S. John Baptist, S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Lawrence, S. Cyprian,
S. Eusebius of Vercelle, S. Michael, and the Martyrs of Turin. There is one upon the Creed,
another upon Watchfulness, another upon that Custom of giving Thanks after Meat, Two
against Covetousness, Two more upon Alms-giving, a Discourse upon the Eclipse of the Moon,
and a Sermon upon these words of *Isaiah*, *Thy Wine is mixed with Water*. In all there are
Sixty Three of them. Several others are mingled among the Sermons of S. Austin, and
S. Ambrose, for it is apparent, that they are not those Fathers, but this Bishops. For besides,
that they are for the most part taken notice of by Gennadius, they are of the same Style. It is
likely, that there are also others among the Sermons of the *Latin* Fathers which ought to be re-
stored to this Father. His Sermons are short and weak, they have neither Ornament, Beauty,
nor Loftiness, the Style of them is mean, and the Sense ordinary, they contain nothing in them
very remarkable. They have been Printed at Cologne in 1535, at Antwerp 1618, at Rome in
1564, and 1572; at Paris in 1614, and 1623, with the Works of S. Leo, and in the *Bibli-*
otheca

theca Patrum, [Tome VI. Part 1.] [At Lyons in 1633, and again at Cologne in 1678, with
Chrysologus's Homilies joined to them.] F. Mabillon in the First part of his *Museum Italicum*
hath Published Twelve Homilies of S. Maximus's, which he thought to be new, but they had
been Printed Three times before among the Works of S. Ambrose.

VALERIAN.

VALERIAN or VALERUS, Bishop of (a) *Cemele*, a City of the Sea-Alps,
an Ancient Bithoprick, (subject to the Metropolis of *Ambur*), flourished in the Popedom
of S. Leo. We have a Letter of this Pope's to the Bishops of France, in the Inscription of
which we find the Name of *Valerian*, and a Letter of the Bishops of France, in the Subscrip-
tion of which we find it also. He was present at the Council of *Ries* in 439, at the 3d.
Council of *Arles* in 455, to which he was summoned by *Revennius*, to determine the difference
between *Theodorus* Bishop of *Frejus*, and *Faustus* Abbot of *Lerins*. He took the part of *Faustus*
and the Monastery of *Lerins*, of which he was once a Monk. We have 20 Homilies of this
Author, and one Letter to the Monks. The 1st. is of the Usefulness of Discipline. The 2d.
and 3d. is of the narrow way to Salvation. The 4th. is upon the obligation of paying of
Vows, and giving to God what is promised. The 5th. is of the Abuse of the Tongue: The
6th. is of idle Words, wherein he blames vain Talk, Detraction, Rallery, Songs, and what-
soever tends not to the Edification of our Neighbour. The 7th. 8th. and 9th. are upon the
obligation that lies upon Men to be Charitable. He requires, among other things, That
Christian Charity should extend it self to all the World, excepting no Man. The 10th. is an
elegant Satyr upon the Life of Parasites. The 11th. teaches the Faithful to humble them-
selves, by acknowledging, That they are beholding to God for all the good they do, yet he
maintains, That Man contributes to it by his Free-will: But as it would be ridiculous in a
Soldier to attribute the Victory to himself, altho' he fought in it, so it would be a foolish
thing for a Christian to arrogate to himself the Honour of the good he does by the Assistance
of the Holy Spirit. We must give God the Praise of all our Labours, because they belong to
him. The 12th. and 13th. are about the Love of Enemies and the Benefit of Peace. The
14th. is concerning the necessity and conditions of Christian Humility. The following Three
are upon the Advantages of Martyrdom. The 18th. is in Honour of the 7 *Maccabees*. The
19th. opposes the Disorders of those who follow their Debaucheries upon the Sundays in Lent,
under pretence that it is allowed not to Fast upon those days. *Valerian* exhorts the Chri-
stians to keep up the Lent-discipline even upon those days, and not run to any Excess. The
last Homily is against Covetousness. The Letter to the Monks is a very little thing.

The Style of these Homilies is not lofty, but plain and without Ornament, yet perspicuous
and familiar. It hath neither Allegories nor Clinks of Words, nor harsh Figures. They are
moral Discourses, very useful, where we may find very edifying Instructions and profitable
Maxims. The Opinions of the Monks of *Lerins* and Priests of *Marseille* about Grace and
Free-will, are scattered up and down his Sermons. He holds a necessity of Grace in order to
doing good, but gives Man an absolute Liberty. He supposes, That the beginning may pro-
ceed from him, and that God never denies Grace for the Accomplishment. This Author was
published [at Paris] in 1612. [Octavo.] by F. Sirmondus, and after Printed [at Lyons] in
1623. [1633.] with the Works of S. Leo. [They are in *Bibl. Patrum*, Tome VIII.]

(a) *Cemele*.] *Cemele*, *Celle* or *Comelle*, was the City of the *Vedians*, a People of the Sea-Alps. It was a long time the Seat of a Bishop. S. Leo joined it to the Castle of *Nicea*, which hath
been a Bishop's See since, *Cemele* being destroyed, so that there are no Remains of it.

VICTOR CARTENNENSIS.

VICTOR Bishop of Cartenna, a City of Mauritania, wrote a Treatise against the *A-*
rian, which he caused the Orthodox to present to King *Genfericus*, as the Pre-Victor Ca-
sareae me think. He also composed a Tract upon the Repentance of the *Publican*, wherein he
lays down Rules for Penitents about the manner how they may live conformable
to the mind of Holy Scripture. He sent also a Book to one named *Basil*, in which he com-
forts him for the Death of his Son by the Hopes of the Resurrection. This Work is full of
solid Instructions. Lastly, he hath composed many Homilies, which have been carefully kept,
and divided into several Books by those who have been diligent to collect Works of Piety.
Let the Reader consider what Gennadius saith of this Author. We have none of his Works
under

under his own Name, but there is among the Works of S. Basil a *Latin Treatise*, entitled, *Confutation in Answer*, which hath also been put among the Works of S. Eucherius, which in all likelihood is that which Gemadius speaks of. Because it was written to Basil, twas thought S. Basil's, but 'tis plain it belongs to a Latin Author, and what Gemadius speaks of *Victor's Treatise*, agrees to this, for therein he speaks of the Resurrection, and the Book is full of Authorities and Examples of Holy Scripture. There is also a *Treatise of Repentance* among the Works of S. Ambrose, which is certainly *Victor's*, for it ends with these words, *Remember Victor in your Prayers*. This, together with the Testimony of Gemadius, puts it out of all doubt, that this *Treatise of Repentance* is *Victor's of Carthenna*. But F. Labbe observes, That in two ancient MSS. this Tract is attributed to *Victor Bishop of Tuma*, Author of the *Chronicon*, and not *Victor of Carthenna*. Nevertheless I believe 'tis more likely to be this *Victor's*; for, 1. Gemadius assures us, That this last made a Book of Repentance. 2. That he prescribes Rules of Repentance in it conformable to Holy Scripture, which absolutely agrees to this Book, for he gives very useful Rules and Instructions to Penitents, which he confirms by several Texts of Holy Scripture. Lastly, this *Treatise* is in the same Style, and written after the same manner as the *Treatise of Consolation to Basil*, which can't be attributed to any other *Victor* but this. We have nothing particular of these two Books. In the Discourse of Consolation he demonstrates, by Examples taken out of Holy Scripture, That God permits Men to be oppressed by Misfortunes and Afflictions, either to punish them for their Faults, or to try them, or to heal them of their Sins and Passions, yea, for what Reason soever he sends them, 'tis always for our good. He derides the Opinion of those who afflict themselves for their Disasters, or for the loss of their Members, because they imagine that they shall be raised in the same condition that they died, One-eyed, Lame or Leprous, &c. This is a silly Thought, the Resurrection shall deliver us from all our Maladies. In the *Treatise of Repentance* he exhorts Sinners to acknowledge their Sin before God, desire Pardon of him, to be touched with sincere Repent, and to do Penance. He discourages no Man, but invites the greatest Sinners to Repentance. He confirms all he says with Testimonies and Examples of Holy Scripture, as in the other *Treatise*.

[* Thomas in Africa, Cave.]

S. PROSPER.

S. Prosper

PROSPER of Riez in Aquitain, altho' he was a meer Lay-man (a) did yet concern himself in Theological Questions, and was one of the most zealous Defenders of S. Austin's Doctrine. He wrote a Letter to him in 429. which is among S. Austin's Epistles, in which he propounds to him the Objections which the Priests of *Marcelline* made against his Doctrine, and declares to him their Opinions, and prays him to answer their Objections, and confute their Opinions. S. Austin satisfied him by writing his Books of the Saints Predestination, and of the Gift of Perseverance.

The Letter of S. Prosper to Rufinus concerning Grace and Free-will, was also written in S. Austin's Life-time. Who this Rufinus was is not known, but it appears by the beginning of that Letter, that he had been much disturbed at the Reports, which the Enemies of S. Austin's Doctrine had spread abroad to cry it down, and wished, That upon this occasion it might be cleared. S. Prosper, desirous to satisfy him fully, explains to him, what were the Reports which the Enemies of S. Austin's Doctrine had divulged, and upon what account they did it. He saith then, that one of the Fundamental Errors of the *Pelagians* is, That Grace is bestowed according to Deserts, and that they made use of this Principle to revive their Doctrines. That at first they had maintain'd openly, That Man may fully perform a

(a) *Prosper of Riez*, altho' he was a meer Lay-man.] He was neither a Priest nor Clergyman, when he wrote to S. Austin, as appears by his Letter. In his Letter to Rufinus and the People of *Genève*, he assumes to himself the Title neither of Bishop nor Priest. All the Ancients who have spoken of him, give him neither of these Titles. *Victorius Aquitanus*, in the Preface of his *Chronicon*, having given *Eusebius* the Title of Bishop, and *Jerom* of Priest, calls S. Prosper, *Vir venerabilis*, a Reverend Person. This was written a little after S. Prosper's death. Pope *Gelasius* gives him no other Title but *Vir religiosissimus*, altho' he calls *Austin* Bishop, and *Jerom* Priest. Gemadius, who never omits the Titles of the Authors he speaks of, says of S. Prosper only, That he was *Homo Aquitanicus regalis*. S. Fulgentius in his Book to *Amandus*, ch. 30. *Prosper Vir crudelis*. *Marcellinus* and *Ado*, in their *Chronica*, call him also, *Episcopus Aquitanicus regis*.

ois. *Hincmarus*, *Florus*, *Prudentius*, *Rebanus*, never give him the Title of Bishop or Priest. None but *Honorius Augustodunensis*, or rather some Ignorant Scribe, hath called him, *Episcopus Aquitanicus regis*, by changing *Homo* into *Episcopus*. *Trankman* makes him Bishop of *Riez*, but that cannot be, because *Maximus* was Bishop there in S. Prosper's Life-time, and he had for his Immediate Successor, *Faulstus*, who out-lived S. Prosper. This appears by *Sidonius's* Eucharistical Poem, dedicated to *Faulstus*, where he says, That *Faulstus* succeeded *Maximus* twice; once in the Abbey of the Monastery of *Lerins*, another time in the Bishoprick of *Riez*. It is ridiculous to say, that he was of *Regium in Italy*. There were two *Prosper's* Bishops in *France*; but one was Bishop of *Orleans*, to whom *Sidonius's* 1st Letter of his 8th Book is directed, and the other subscribed the Councils of *Vaison* and *Carpentras*.

good

S. Prosper

good Action by the proper strength of his own Free-will, without the Assistance of Grace. But this Opinion being visibly contrary to sound Doctrine, and having been condemned by all Orthodox Christians; they had owned, That Grace was necessary for the beginning, continuance, and final perseverance in Goodness, but yet had withal declared, That by it they understood nothing else but a certain general Grace, which makes use of the Freedom of the Will, and which informs and convinces the Mind by Exhortations, by the Law, by Instruction, by Contemplation upon the Creatures, by Miracles, and by the Fear of Gods Judgments; Grace which hath no other Operation than to admonish a Man of his Duty, and which differs not from the Law, and that Preaching which teacheth all Men, inasmuch, That they who desire to believe, need no other helps to believing, and by believing they receive Justification upon the account of the deserts of their Faith and Free-will. Whence it follows, That Grace is given according to Man's Merit, and consequently is no more Grace: That this cunning design of the Children of Darkness had been discovered by the Judgment of the Eastern Bishops, by the Authority of the Holy See, and by the Vigilance of the African Bishops; That S. Austin, who was then, saith S. Prosper, one of the most excellent Bishops, *Prescriptio portio Domini Sacerdotum*, had fully confuted it in his Books of Controverfie, and entirely vanquished that Herefie; but that he did hear, That there were some Christians, in *France*, which spread abroad scandalous Speeches against his Doctrine and Writings, daring to averr, That it destroyed Mans Free-will, and under the Name of Grace introduced a fatal necessity, and that he would make us believe, that Man is compounded of two different Natures: That if it were so, they ought to appear openly against it, and publicly confute these Errors by writing, and not disperse them secretly against a Person, whose Doctrine, concerning Grace agreed so well with that of the Church of *Rome* and *Africa*, yea, and of all Orthodox Christians in the World. That the cause, why these Persons acted in this manner, was, That they could not endure what had been opposed against those things, which in their Conferences they had started against S. Austin's Doctrine; That they knew well enough that if they came to produce their Maxims in any Council, a great number of S. Austin's Writings would be objected against them, which would evidently prove that we ought to attribute all the Glory of the Good we do to the Grace of Jesus Christ, and not in the least to the freedom of our Wills. In sum, That he hoped through the Mercy of God, that he would not for ever deprive those of his Illumination, whom at present he permitted to forsake Christian Humility, that they might follow the bent of their own Wills. The Error of these Persons consists in asserting, That our Vertues and Holy Lives spring from Nature, or if they proceed from Grace, it had been preceded by some good Action or Election of the Will which had deserved it. S. Prosper undertakes to confute this Opinion, by proving from Testimonies of Holy Scripture, that since the Fall of Man, the Free-will hath no Power to do any good, or to deserve any thing, unless assisted by the Grace of Jesus Christ; and that all Men being fallen into a state of Perdition, through the sin of *Adam*, nothing but the gratuitous Mercy of God could deliver them. To prove this Doctrine, he brings the Example of Children who die Unbaptized, and of those Nations to whom the Gospel hath not been Preached. He adds, That Grace doth not destroy Free-will, but that it restores and changes it: That of it self it can do nothing but Evil, and all the Work it doth, tends to Man's Destruction: That Grace cures it, and makes it act and think otherwise; but he reaches, at the same time, that its Recovery proceeds not from himself, but from his Physician. Lastly, S. Prosper refells the Calumny with which they had blackened the Doctrine of S. Austin, by accusing it of introducing a Fatality, and admitting two Natures in Man. He maintains, That he never asserted any thing like to those Errors; That neither himself nor his Scholars hold, That any thing happens through Fate, but they assure us, that all is ordered and ruled by Divine Providence; That they allow not two Natures in Man, the one good, and the other bad, but only one Nature, which having been created perfect, is fallen from that Perfection by the sin of the first Man, and is become subject to Eternal Death; but Jesus Christ hath restored it by a second Creation, and secured its Liberty by preventing it and helping it continually. He concludes, by exhorting him, to whom he wrote, to read carefully S. Austin's Works, if he desired to be well instructed in the sound Doctrine concerning the Grace of Jesus Christ.

But the Adversaries of S. Austin were not contented to divulge scandalous Reports against his Doctrine, but they set down in writing the pernicious Consequences, which they thought might be drawn from it. *Vincentius*, who was perhaps the famous Monk of *Lerins*, of whom we have spoken, put out sixteen erroneous Propositions, which he pretends to be maintain'd by S. Austin and his Scholars. This oblig'd S. Prosper to deliver S. Austin's and his Scholars Judgment upon every one of his Propositions.

Objection I. That our Lord Jesus Christ did not die for the Salvation and Redemption of all Mankind.

S. Prosper answers, That it is a true Assertion that Jesus Christ died for all Men, because he assumed that Nature which is common to all Men, that he offered up himself upon the Account of all Men, and that he hath paid a Price sufficient for their Redemption. But nevertheless all Men have not a part in that Redemption, but those only who have been regenerated by Baptismal Grace, and are become the Members of Jesus Christ.

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Ob.

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Objection II. *That God will not save all Men, Altho' they desire to be saved.*

S. Prosper Answers, That it may be said, That God desires the Salvation of all Men, altho' there be some that shall not be saved, for Reasons known only to himself; That those that perish, perish through their own Fault; but they who are saved, are saved by the Grace of Jesus Christ.

Objection III. *That God created the part of Mankind to damn them Eternally.*

He Answers, That God creates no Man to Damnation. The sin of the first Man hath damned many, but God created them not to be damned, but to be Men. He denies not his Concurrence for the multiplying of Mankind. He rewards many for the good that is done by them, and he punishes, in others, the Vices that he sees them guilty of.

Objection IV. *That one part of Mankind is created to do the Will of the Devil.*

His Answer is, That God created no Man to do the Will of the Devil, but every Man is made a Capative of the Devil, by reason of the sin of the first Man.

Objection V. *That God is the Author of Evil, since he is the Author of our perverted Will, and hath created us of such a Nature as cannot but sin.*

He replies, This Objection is all grounded upon the Doctrine of Original Sin. God hath created Nature, but Sin, which is contrary to Nature, hath been introduced by the Apostacy of Adam.

Objection VI. *That Man's free Will is like the Devils, which cannot do any good.*

He answers, All the difference is, that God sometimes converts, through his Mercy, some of the vilest Sinners, but the Devils are past all hopes of Repentance.

Objection VII. *That God will not have a great number of Christians to be saved, nor give them a desire so to be.*

His Answer is, They, that desire not to be saved, cannot be saved; but 'tis not the Will of God that makes them not desire it; but on the contrary, 'tis that which stirrs up the Wills of them that desire it. God forsakes no Man that forsakes him not, and very often converts those who have forsaken him.

The Three Objections and Answers which follow, are bottomed upon the same Principles with the former.

The seven last are some Difficulties about Predestination, which come all to one Head almost, viz. If God hath predestined some to Salvation, and others to Damnation; this Predestination is the cause of all the Evil that is done, and all the Faithful, who are decreed to Damnation, shall necessarily be damned whatsoever they do. The general Answer to these Objections is this, That God hath not predestined the sin of any Man. He knew from all Eternity the sins which should be committed, and hath decreed the punishment of sins, but not the sins themselves. He damns the Wicked and Impenitent, but he makes them not either Wicked or Impenitent. It is true, he gives them not the Gift of Righteousness or Repentance, but neither is he obliged to do it. It is one thing to deny a Gift, and another to be the Cause of Evil. There is a great deal of difference between not lifting up a Person fallen, and casting him down. God compels no Man to commit sin, yet he is not obliged to pardon every Criminal.

These Answers of S. Prosper did not satisfy the Persons against whom they were written, but they took an occasion from them to form some new ones, which seemed to be grounded upon his Answers themselves, and upon the Doctrine of the Writings of S. Austin, who was then dead. They are reducible to fifteen.

Objection I. *That Predestination is a kind of Fatality, which necessitating Men to do Evil, damns them Infinitely.*

S. Prosper Answers, That all Orthodox Christians acknowledged Predestination; That none yet owned a fatal necessity of Sinning; That Predestination is not the cause of sin, nor of the Inclination to sin, which proceeds from the Offence of the first Man, from which no Man is delivered but by the Grace of Jesus Christ, which God hath prepared and decreed from all Eternity.

Objection II. *That Baptism doth not take away Original Sin from those who are not Predestined.*

He answers, Every Man that is Baptiz'd, being endued with Faith, obtains Remission not only of Original Sin, but of all those Sins, which he hath freely committed; but if he falls into Sin after Baptism, and dies in his Sins, he shall be damned for the Crimes which have followed Baptism; and that God having fore-known them from Eternity, hath never chosen nor predestin'd that Man to Salvation.

Objection III. *That it is impossible for them who are not predestined to live an Holy Life after their Baptism, because they are reserved till they fall into Sin, and shall not be taken out of the World till that happens to them.*

To this he replies, That these Persons fall not into any Sin, because they are not predestined; but they are not predestined, because God hath foreseen that they would fall into these Sins: If God doth not take them out of the World while they are in a good Estate, it ought to be referred to the Judgments of God, which are unknown to us, but are never unjust; God preserves them, not that he may entrap them into their own Destruction, 'tis his Grace which is the Cause of their Preservation, 'tis their own Fault if they perish.

Ob.

Objection IV. *That God doth not call all Men to Grace.*

The Answer is, He calls all those to it to whom the Gospel is preach'd; but how call it be said, That they are called to it who have never heard speaking of the Gospel.

Objection V. *That of those, who are call'd, some are call'd that they may believe, and others that they may not believe.*

He replies, If by Vocation we understand the Preaching of the Gospel, 'tis the same Gospel that is preach'd every where, and by consequent all are equally call'd: But if we consider the Effect of that Preaching produced in the Hearts of Men, some reject it by reason of their Infidelity, which arises from their sinful Wills; and others receive the Gospel, being inwardly enlightened by God's Grace.

Objection VI. *That Free-Will doth nothing, Predestination doth all.*

He Answers, This is not so, Free-Will without Grace is unable to do Good, but being assisted by Grace it doth Good: It is Madness to say, That Predestination doth of it self work Good or Evil in Men.

Objection VII. *That the Faithful, who are regenerated in Jesus Christ, do not receive the Gift of Perseverance, because they have not been separated from the Mass of Perdition by the Eternal Decree of God.*

He Answers, It is through their own Will that they fall into Sin, and 'tis because that God hath foreseen it, that he hath not separated them from the Mass of Perdition by his Eternal Decree. It is true, he hath not given them the Grace of Perseverance, but he was not at all oblig'd to give it to them.

Objection VIII. *That God will not have all Men to be saved, but only a small Number of the Elect.*

Answer. If the Will of God to save Men were so general, why did he for so many Ages together leave Men in Blindness? Why suffers he Infants to die before Baptism? Nevertheless it is truly said, That God will save all Men, because there is nothing which he hath not made known to them either by the Gospel or the Law, or by Nature, 'tis from Men themselves that their Infidelity proceeds, their Faith is the Gift of God.

Objection IX. *That Jesus Christ was not crucified for the Redemption of all the World.*

Answer. Jesus Christ hath taken the Nature of all Men, but that they may be saved they must become the Members of Jesus Christ.

Objection X. *That God with-holds the Preaching of the Gospel from some, lest they should believe and be saved.*

Answer. That if the Gospel hath been preach'd to all the World, it is not true that God hath with-holden the Knowledge of it from any: But if there be any Men that have not heard it preach'd, we must own, that it is done through the ferrer Judgment of God, which we ought not to find Fault with, because we cannot understand it.

Objection XI. *That God compels Men to Sin by his Omnipotency.*

Answer. No Orthodox Christian ever held this Maxim: On the contrary, when we read, That God hath hardened Sinners, and given them up to their Irregular Desires, we say, That they have deserved it for their Sins.

Objection XII. *That God takes away the Gift of Obedience from those Persons that live well.*

Answer. This could not have been propos'd but by those who confound the Presence and Will of God together; he knows Good and Evil, but wills nothing but Good; he takes away from no Man the Gift of Obedience, because he hath not predestin'd them, but he hath not predestinated them, because he foresaw that they would not continue in their Obedience to the End of their Lives.

Objection XIII. *That God hath created Men for other Ends than for Eternal Life, viz. to adorn the World, and to be serviceable to each other.*

Answer. God hath not created them that they should be damned; they damn themselves by their Impieties, but this hinders not but that they may for all this be profitable to the World.

Objection XIV. *That those that do not believe, do not believe because God hath ordain'd it from all Eternity.*

Answer. God foresaw it, but he hath neither ordain'd nor predestinated it.

Objection XV. *That Presence and Predestination are the same thing.*

Answer. God hath foreseen and predestinated all Things that are Good at the same Time, because he knows them, and is the Author of them, but he hath foreseen and yet not predestinated Evil.

S. Prosper, after he hath thus explain'd the Doctrine of the Church, condemns in Fifteen Propositions the Fifteen Errors which had been objected against the Scholars of S. Austin.

Two Priests of Geneva † did also find Fault with some Propositions in the Books of the Predestination of Saints and Perseverance, written by S. Austin, and sent the Places which disturb'd them, to S. Prosper. This Saint Relates them, and Clears them in the Answer which he makes to them; wherein he maintains the same Truth, That Grace is a meer gratuitous Gift; That the Beginning of Faith is the Effect of the Grace and Mercy of God; That this Grace is not given to all; and, That we cannot do any Good without its Help.

S. Prosper.

[* capitulum et Theodorus.]
[† Genesys Cave. vol. 1.]

Of

Of all the Books that were written against *S. Austin's* Principles, there was none that was in so much esteem as the Conference, or *Cassian's*. That Author, who the Thirteenth Conference, under the Name of the *Abbot Cassian*, lays down Maxims quite contrary to *S. Austin's*. *S. Prosper*, who had already opposed him, was soon afterwards attacked him by Writing, after the Death of *S. Austin* and *Pope Celestine*, under the Pseudonym of *Sixtus*. *Cassian* had asserted, as we have said, That the beginning of our good, and the end of Faith, proceed from Grace; and sometimes from Grace; that we have no more Grace, or Virtues; That our Grace will not naturally incline us to Goodness; That Grace sometimes prevails, and sometimes it does not; sometimes it is the cause of Grace. *S. Prosper* maintains, That these Principles are the Consequences of the Errors of the *Pelagians*; That it follows from hence, That Grace is given according to every Man's Merits, and that Nature is not impaired by *Adam's* Sin; That they have been continued, and confirmed in those Synods, which had condemned the *Pelagian* Errors, and in the Letters which the Pope had written against them; and that *S. Austin* had entirely vanquish'd them in his Writings.

[1] So he calls the *Pelagian* and *Semi-Pelagian*, as being ungrateful in denying that Grace which God do freely bestow on Men.]

The Poem called, *De Ingratis*, or *The Ungrateful*, is the most excellent Piece which *S. Prosper* compos'd about Grace. In this Poem, after he hath shew'd wherein consists the Heresy of *Pelagius*, and in what manner it hath been confuted by *S. Austin*, whom he highly extols, he saith, That there were some Christians who endeavour'd to revive that Heresy, by teaching, That Man's Free-Will can incline it self indifferently to Good or Evil. He makes the *Pelagian* to come to his Help, who exhort Persons to receive them; since they approve their Sentiments. He represents the Troubles and Perplexity they are in, and shews that the *Pelagians* have a Right to require Admission into the Church, or else they must be driven out who have espous'd the same Principles. He afterwards confutes the principal Points of the *Pelagian* Heresy, condemn'd by the Church, which he reduces to Three Heads. That Man is born entirely innocent; That he can live in this World without Sin; and That Grace is given according to Merit. He in the next Place shews the Doctrine of those whom he refutes, which he also refers to Three Heads. That God calls all the World by his Grace, which every one follows or rejects by his Free-Will; That the Strength of Grace assists his Abilities, and teacheth him to love Virtue; That it is in the Power of Man to persevere in Goodness, because God never removes his Assistance to those that are inclin'd to Good; *S. Prosper* holds the contrary, That the Grace of Jesus Christ is not given to all, and he demonstrates it by the Example of the Infidels, who have never heard the Gospel preach'd; and because if God would save all the World, all the World would be saved; That it cannot be said; That although God would save all Men, yet they shall not be saved, because they will not; because, saith *S. Prosper*, it would then follow, That the Effect of the Divine Will would depend upon the Humane Will, and that God would be a Person in vain, if he would not be helped: That Grace doth not depend on upon Freedom; That it is not merely of the Nature of the Law, which makes us know Good, but it converts the Soul and Mind; That without this Grace the Law, Gospel and Nature were useless; That it plants Faith in our Souls; That it is not only necessary, as his Enemies themselves do unanimously confess, to acquire a perfect Righteousness and Perseverance in Goodness, but also for the Beginning of Faith, which is a more gratuitous Gift, which cannot be deserved: This he proves by the Example of those who having lived in all manner of Vices, have been saved by Baptism; which they have received at the Hour of Death: That the Error of those who attribute the Will and Desire of Believing to Free-Will, relate into the Errors of the *Pelagians*, by giving that Power to the Free-Will, which hath been lost by the Sin of the First Man; That they make God himself unjust, in saying, That the Death of the Body hath passed upon the Posterity of *Adam*, which hath not been infected with his Sin. Then he confutes the Objections and Complaints of the *Semi-pelagians*, which are reducible to Two. 1. That the Freedom of Man's will is utterly destroyed by holding, That Man, of himself, is not able to do any thing but Evil. *S. Prosper* answers to this Objection, That the Sin of the First Man hath reduced us to that Necessity, but that we are not by that Means deprived of our Liberty, which always subsists, but which declines infallibly to evil, when it is left to its own proper Strength, but to good, when it is helped by Grace, which restores us to our first Dignity; That this Grace is the Original of all our Deserts; That the Example of Infants, of whom some receive Baptism and others are debar'd from it, makes it appear that it is merely gratuitous, and that God gives to whom he pleases only. The Second Objection is this, That if the Grace of Living well were not given to all Men, those who have not received it are not to be blamed for living ill. *S. Prosper* also answers, That this Objection could not be propo'd, but by Persons that did not acknowledge Original Sin, because all Men being by that Sin become subject to Condemnation, and having deserved to be abandon'd for their own Offences, God would not have been unjust if he did not shew Mercy to any Man: That we must not search into the Reasons why he doth it to one and not unto another, because that is a Secret which God hath thought fit to conceal from us in this Life, as he does many others.

Lastly, He compares the Sentiments of those whom he confutes with the Principles of the *Pelagians*, which directly oppose the Grace of Jesus Christ; He owns that they seem to condemn their Principal Errors, by acknowledging that *Adam's* Sin hath made us Moral, that, no Man can obtain Eternal Life without Baptism, and that Children are washed from their

their Sin by this Sacrament, but that they still follow their Principles, in asserting, That Nature hath yet in it self Force enough to chuse the True Good, and that the Saints, confirm'd *S. Prosper* in Virtue, may resist the Devil by their own Strength, God leaving them to themselves to give them a greater Opportunity of meriting; That we ought to have these Opinions in Abomination, and must acknowledge that Sin hath made so great a Wound in our Nature that it is not able so much as to desire the Recovery of them from God, not being sensible of its own Misery; That the Gifts of Nature serve only to make us proud, and give us no manner of Power to chuse that which is really Good; That if it were not so, Jesus Christ would die in vain; That the Necessity there was that a God should die to save Mankind, ought to inform us how deep our Wound was; That the Faithful who are engrafted into Jesus Christ, ought to acknowledge that they can do nothing without him. He maintains, That it is foolish to imagine, that if the Saints have done no good Actions by the Strength of their own Freedom, they deserve no Reward; That on the contrary all our Confidence ought to be in God, and that our Virtue is so much the more worthy of Reward, as it is the more fix'd on Jesus Christ; That Christian Humility obliges us to acknowledge, that we cannot do any good in this Valley of Tears, but by the Grace of Jesus Christ, which doth not destroy, but restores our Freedom, yet after such a manner, as that all the Good it doth ought to be attributed to Grace, and not to it; That, in the last Place, it doth not countenance our Negligence, nor hinder Men from pursuing after Virtue, since on the contrary we cannot do a virtuous Action without this Grace.

These are the Books of *S. Prosper*, which he purposely compos'd for the Defence of *S. Austin's* Doctrine, concerning Grace. He maintains the Principles of this Saint, but he mollifies them, at least as to the Terms, especially about the Subject of Predestination to Glory and of Reprobation, which he supposes to be built upon the Fore-sight of Man's Good-works, as the Schools speak. He speaks also of the Universal Desire of God to save all Men, after a very moderate manner. But he departs not from *S. Austin's* Principles, as to the Fall of Man, the Necessity of Grace, the Weakness of Man's Will, as also the Beginning of Faith and Conversion, and the Efficacy by which it works upon Men's Hearts.

Indeed he hath no other Divinity than what he hath taken out of *S. Austin*, it was that he might acquaint himself the better with the Principles of this Father, that he made an Abridg- [* These were printed alone at Helmstedt, anno 1613.] ment of his Sentences in Verse. We have yet these Two Works among the Books of *S. Prosper*: The one is entitl'd, * *Sentences gathered by S. Prosper from the Works of S. Austin*, and the other a Book of *Epigrams*, compos'd of *S. Austin's* Sentences: There are 197.

He consult'd no other Author but *S. Austin* in composing his Commentaries upon the Scriptures, as appears by his Commentary upon the Fifty last *Psalms*, in which he follows the Explications of *S. Austin* so exactly, that he doth nothing almost but abridge him, and put him into other Words.

The Two Epigrams which he hath compos'd against * the Adversaries of *S. Austin*, are also a Mark of the Esteem he had for that Father. I see no Reason to take from *S. Prosper* the Epitaph upon the *Nestorian* and *Pelagian* Heresies: But there is not the like Grounds for the Poem upon *Providence*, which contains Principles concerning Grace, directly opposite to what *S. Prosper* lays down in his Poem of *Ungrateful Persons*, for the Author of the Poem about Providence maintains, That Man since the Fall into Sin hath still some Ability to do good; That the Will goes before Grace; That the Good and Sinners are equally tempted and assisted, and that which makes the Righteous Men so glorious, is, that they resist, whereas the Sinner yields to them. These are the very Opinions which *S. Prosper* opposes in his Poem of *Ungrateful Persons* and in his other Works: For though we should suppose with M. Abbot *Antelmi*, that *S. Prosper* fought for mollifying Terms, yet we cannot think that he proceeded so far as to deliver that for Truth which he had formerly confuted; besides, the Style of this Poem differs much from the Poem of *Ungrateful Persons*. The Author wrote after the *Vandals* broke in upon the Empire.

The Poem of *An Husband to his Wife*, which bears *Paulinus's* Name, doth in many Manuscripts bear *S. Prosper's* Name, and *Bede* says tis his.

The Book of Promises and Predictions is not *S. Prosper's*, for the Author is an *African*, and the Style of this Work is very different from *S. Prosper's* other Works. Nevertheless it is attributed by *Cassiodorus* to *S. Prosper*, but either it is another of the same Name, or in the time of *Cassiodorus* this Work was falsely attributed to *S. Prosper*, either because it was conformable to his Doctrine, or perhaps because *S. Prosper* published it in the *West*. But however that be, it cannot be our Authors. The end and design of the Book is to make a Collection of the Promises and Prophecies contain'd in Holy Scripture, and to shew which of them are already fulfilled, and which were yet to be accomplished hereafter.

The Two Books concerning a Contemplative Life is manifestly *Julian Pomerius's*, of which we shall speak hereafter, [Printed alone 1487, and at Col. 1536, Orléans].

There remains nothing now but the *Chronicon*, *Gemadius* assures us, That *S. Prosper* had made a *Chronicon* from the beginning of the World, down to the Death of *Valentinian*, and the taking of *Rome* by *Genfericus* King of the *Vandals*. *Victorius*, *Cassiodorus*, and *S. Isidore* of *Sevil*, and many other Authors make mention of it. So that we cannot doubt, but that

S. Prosper

S. Prosper hath composed a Chronicon. The first, which appeared under S. Prosper's Name, was an Addition to the Second Part of *Eusebius's* Chronicon, augmented by S. Jerom, which begins at the Death of *Valens*, and ends at the Year 455. This hath been since augmented 10 Years more in the Edition, which M. *Chiffart* hath Published in his First Tome of his Collection of the French Historians. This is the very same which F. *Labbe* hath Published entire in his First Tome of his *Bibliotheca Manuscripta*. It begins at the Creation of the World, and ends at the Year 455. But M. *Pittheu's* hath Published another which begins and ends at the same Year, which bears S. Prosper's Name, but he gives it the Name of *Tiro*, which might make us think it some other Author's. Some believe that the First is S. Prosper's, and that the Second is not. Some others think that neither of them is his, others, that both are his. In my Judgment the most probable Opinion is, That the Chronicon Published by F. *Labbe* is the Genuine Chronicon of S. Prosper, and that M. *Pittheu's* is the same Chronicon, to which some other Person hath made an Addition. For to think, That there were Two Authors of the same Name, and at the same time, who have made Two Chronicon's which begin and end at the same Year, is very improbable to me.

[Confessio
Fidei. Cove.
Printed at
Lose, Paris,
1619.]

F. *Sirmondus* hath Published a little Book intitled, *The Confession of S. Prosper. 'Tis a small Book of little consequence, and unworthy of this Father. He made also a Paschal Table, but we have it not.

Trithemius places among the Works of S. Prosper a Summary of Three Hundred Questions, but he seems to me to mean his Book of Maxims taken out of S. Austin, which perhaps was much larger than now it is. And indeed, This Book begins with the same words which *Trithemius* cites as the beginning of the Summary of S. Prosper. He also attributes to him a Treatise of Famous Men, The History of the taking of Rome, and some Letters. But since *Trithemius* doth not say, That he ever saw these Works, and he is not very Ancient, we can not much depend upon his Testimony concerning them.

The Chronicon of S. Prosper Teaches us, That he survived the Year 455, and *Victorius* writing his Paschal Rule in 457, speaking of him, as a Person then Dead, makes the time of his Death evident to us.

Gennadius says, That S. Prosper's Style is Scholastick, and that there is great force in what he says. *Nervolus Affertionibus*. He treats of very difficult matters with much subtilty and clearness. He imitated S. Austin, but was more concise. His Discourse is neither Beautified nor Pompous, but Masculine and Vigorous.

These are the chief Editions of this Father's Works, 1. At Lyons in 1539, Folio. 2. At Louvain in 1566, Quarto. 3. More large and correct at Doway in 1577, [Offavo.] But some prefer the Edition at Cologne in 1609, Offavo. These works are also Printed with S. Leo's at Paris in 1671, and several times since. [Besides these Editions they were Printed at Cologne in 1565, Quarto. And 1618, Offavo. At Lyons 1639. And in Biblioth. Patrum, Tome VIII. P. 1.]

Of the Author of the Books, Of the Calling of the Gentiles, And, Of the Epistle to Demetrius.

THE Author of the Books, *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, hath been a long time fought after by the Learned. At first they were attributed to S. Ambrose, upon the Authority of some Manuscripts; but that Opinion was soon abandoned, when it was considered, that not only the Pelagian Heresie is therein spoken of, which sprang up after the Death of S. Ambrose, but also the Contest which arose in the Church about the Doctrine, which S. Austin had maintain'd in opposing those Hereticks. Afterwards they were imputed to S. Prosper, because they were found under his Name in some Manuscripts, and had great Affinity with the Questions of which he treats. But many Critics say, This is also a mistake, and that they are not this Father's, some because the Style is different from his, others because their Doctrine is contrary to this. Yet since there is no Manuscript to be found, wherein they are attributed to any other Authors, they set themselves to guessing. Some, as *Latius*, and *Vossius*, have judged them that *Hilary's* who wrote to S. Austin, which some have confounded with *Hilary Bishop of Arles*. Others, as *Erasinus*, have believed them to be *Eucherius's*, and find them much like his Style. Lastly, F. *Quesnel* ventures to assert, That they are S. Leo's, having discovered, as he imagines, an exact agreement in the Style and Doctrine of these Two Books, and S. Leo's Works. He seems to have sufficiently proved these Two points, and many Persons are of his Opinion; but M. Abbé *Anselmi* hath contradicted it, making a long dissertation, on purpose to beat down that Opinion, and at last returns to the common Opinion, and maintains, that these Books are S. Prosper's.

[Very ancient MSS.
as one in the
Library of the
Monks of Louvain,
another in
Card. Cambray's Li-
brary, and a
third in the
Library of
the Abbey of
Lanif. at
Namur.
Voss.]

Of all these Opinions none deserve Examination, but those which attribute this Book to S. Prosper, or S. Leo, all the other are manifestly false, or groundless. S. Ambrose cannot be

the Author, because he was Dead when these Questions were under debate. The Style of these Books, and of *Eucherius's* Works, is not so exactly alike, as that they can be attributed to the Author upon that ground only. They cannot be *Hilary Bishop of Arles's*, who was not of S. Austin's Opinion about Grace, but rather of their Judgment who are oppos'd in that Work. Neither *Hilary's* Bishop of Synacelle, nor *Hilary's* who was the Companion of S. Priscillian, (if these Two are Two distinct Persons,) since the Style of those Letters, which they Gentiles, have written to S. Austin, has no resemblance to the Author's of this Book. Nor can they be, rationally be said to be * Prosper's Bishop of Orleans, since he was so far from being able to write a Treatise of this Nature, that he was forced to desire *Sidonius Apollinaris* to write the Life of *Anianus* his Predecessor, nor thinking himself Learned enough to undertake to do it himself. Nor Lastly, Are they * S. Prosper's, who subscribed the Councils of *Carpenoratum* in 527, and *Vasio* in 529, because the Work of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, is cited under the Name of this Author by Pope *Gelasius* in his small Tracts against the Pelagians, for this Pope being Dead in 496, there is no probability that he should cite an Author that Lived till 529.

The main Question then, which will deserve our Inquiry, is reduced to this, Whether this Work be S. Prosper's, or S. Leo's, or some other Author's which is unknown to us. Let us consider the Reasons alledged on both sides.

First, then it is pleaded for S. Prosper, That this Treatise bears the Name of this Father in many Manuscripts; That *Hinematius* in his Book of Predestination, cites it under the Name of S. Prosper; That the Doctrine of this Treatise is very conformable to the Doctrine of this Father; that the Style is very like his, and that the same Expressions are very often met with in them. As for Example, S. Prosper faith in his Poem, That Rome being become the Head-Church in the World, hath made her self Mistress by Religion of all that which she could not Conquer by her Arms. The Author of the Book, *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, hath the same Expression, and uttered almost in the same Words, Ch. 16. lib. 2. S. Prosper in the Eighth Sentence of his Book of Answers to the French, faith, That God hath chosen all the World out of all the World, *Ex toto mundo totus mundus eligitur*. There is a parallel Expression in the First Book of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, Ch. 9. *De toto mundo totus mundus liberatur*. S. Prosper in his Poem relates, among the Examples of the unfearful Judgments of God, the differences which are to be found among Men upon the account of their Natural Endowments. The Author of the Book of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, has a like Comparison, lib. 1. ch. 14. Lastly, S. Prosper, and this Author, alledge the same Examples of Infants that Die unbaptized, of Infidels that are Converted at the point of Death, and several others to prove the same things.

M. *Anselmi*, who hath undertaken to defend that Opinion, which seemed to be cried down among the Critics, urgeth these Proofs more amply, and adds also some others, taken from the Agreement of Style, Expressions, and Opinions, of which he produces large Paragraphs, and at length adds to them the Testimony of *Pborius*, who speaking of the Writings of the Western Bishops against the Pelagians in Vol. 54. of his *Bibliotheca*, says, That *Prosper* made some Books at Rome against some Pelagians in the Popedom of Leo, and after that this Pope suppressed them, by the Advice which he had received from *Seprimius*, that they would raise new fits and contests again. What *Photius* says in this place, cannot agree to the other Works of S. Prosper, which were written before the Pontificate of S. Leo. 'Tis then of the Books of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, of which *Pborius* speaks in this place.

They who maintain the contrary, That these Books are not S. Prosper's, say first, That the Style is very different from the Works of this Father. This is the Judgment which the most Learned Critics of our Age have given of them, *Latius*, *Erasinus*, *Vossius*, *Grotius*, and many other excellent Critics, and very accurate discerners of such things, have been of that Opinion. And indeed the Style of the Books of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, is much more Eloquent, Accurate, and Elaborate, than S. Prosper's, the Sentences are shorter, the Parts of it more equal, and better proportioned, there are more Oppositions and Antitheses both in Words and Sense; there are many more Rhimes, and it is discernible, that the Author of these Books delights to make use of them, whereas they are not to be met with in S. Prosper's Works, but in such places as they seem to come of themselves.

2. The manner in which the Author of the Book of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, handles the matter he takes in hand, doth not agree to S. Prosper, who openly declares himself always against the Adversaries of S. Austin, praises that Father, stands up in his defence highly, alleges his Authority, and makes use of his Words: The Author of the Books of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, doth not use the same way. He professes himself disengaged, and added to neither Party, who has no design to oppose any Man, but is desirous to compose matters, to go in the middle way, that he may bring both sides to an Agreement, and find out the Truth, without encountering any Man. He never speaks of S. Austin, nor cites any of his Works. Lastly, He speaks of that Contest, as a Person who had no share in it. He delivers his Thoughts, as a Man who would try himself, and give his Judgment upon a famous Question, but would not enter into any dispute concerning it.

3. The time when the Books of *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* was written, makes it evident, that they cannot be S. Prosper's. The Author says in the beginning, That 'tis a great while since

Since the Patron of Peace Will and Grace began the Controversie. *Inter defensores libri ar. rati. G. gradatiora graula Dei. magna dudum. G. difficilia veriora quaestio. &c.* And a little after, *Do hac controversia opinionum amittit querere. &c.* This beginning proves Two things. 1. That this Question was not a new one, but had been formerly moved. 2. That this Author had not written before of that matter. So that it could not be S. Prosper, for 'tis certain he had written upon that Subject in S. Austin's Life time, and immediately after his Death, 'twas a fresh Author, who was willing to clear that Question, and to settle Peace in the Church.

4. The Author of the Book *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, carries the matter better than S. Prosper, for altho' he seems to agree in the substance of the Doctrine, yet he explains it in other words. He allows of a general Grace given to all Men. It is true, That by that Grace he understands nothing but our Natural Abilities, but S. Prosper never gives the Name of Grace to those Abilities. The Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, imparts it to Infants who Die without Baptism, S. Prosper on the contrary seems to exclude them from the calling to Grace, in his Fourth Answer to the Objections of the French. Lastly, This Author doth not accord with S. Prosper in the several ways of Arguing and Explaining himself.

Before we go any further, we must examine the Answers which M. Anselmi gives to the Reasons which we have alledged. He says, in the first place, That the Doctrine of S. Prosper, and the Book of the *Calling of the Gentiles* is the same; That F. Quefnel did acknowledge it himself, and confuted F. Norri, who believed the contrary, which is true as to the substance of the Doctrine. But he holds, That this Author's manner of Expression is different from that which S. Prosper always useth. We own, That the Author of the Books *Of the Calling*, sometimes takes the word Grace in the same sense, that S. Prosper does for the real Grace of Jesus Christ; but we maintain, That he hath also given the Name of Grace to Natural Gifts; and in that sense it is that he asserts, That it is common to all Men. Now we shall never find, That S. Prosper hath taken it in that sense. He owns this thing, he saith, That God hath always had a care of Men; That he hath called them by the Law, by the Light of Nature, and by the Preaching of the Gospel; but he hath not given the name of Grace to these sort of Advancements. M. Anselmi brings no Example of it. All that he proves, is, That S. Prosper hath acknowledged, That the Light of Nature is common to all Men; and that the Providence of God is over all Men, but that is not the thing he has in hand: He ought to prove, That S. Prosper hath given the Name of Grace to the concurrence of God's general Providence, that is to say, to the Light of Nature, Knowledge of the Law and Preaching of the Gospel, &c. But M. Abbot Anselmi does not cite so much as one Passage, where it is used in that sense. For that which comes nearest it in the 139th. Page of his Work, where he speaks of the power of Grace, and of the means of knowing God by Nature, proves nothing, because S. Prosper hath not given the name of Grace to those exterior means; he only asserts, That whatsoever mean God useth outwardly, 'tis always his Grace which inwardly attracteth. So that M. Abbot Anselmi is at length obliged to own, That there is some difference between the way in which the Author of the Books of the *Calling* treats of the Questions of Grace, and that in which S. Prosper hath handled them in his Works. But he pretends, That he conceals himself by this means; That he hath published it without his Name; That he hath disguised his Opinions; That he hath suppressed the name of S. Austin his Master that he might defend his Doctrine more cunningly; That he hath gone a new way to work, and 'tis for that reason that he makes a shew as if he had never written; That he hath well enough denegated himself in his other Works, and that he hath moderated the Principles of S. Austin; That having promised to write no more, he was forced to take such a way as he might not be known; That he had likewise disguised his Style, but was forced to do it by the manner in which he had undertaken to compose this Treatise.

I leave the Reader to judge of the solidity of these Answers, and shall content my self to observe, That if it be allowed, by Conjectures of this sort, to evade such Reasons as we have alledged, there is no Critical Argument; how strong soever it be, which may not this way be easily overturned. Why does M. Anselmi say, That S. Prosper conceals and disguises himself in that Work? How knows he that he did not put it out in his own Name? If it be so, what proof hath he that it is his? The Authority of Manuscripts, upon which he leans so much, will make nothing for him, if we become, That in S. Prosper's time this Work bore no name, and that it continued for a long time after in the time of Pope Gelasius. Why should S. Prosper disguise his Opinions? Why should he forbear to speak with that Liberty and Contancy, with which he always maintained S. Austin's Doctrines? Is it credible, that he was ashamed to use the name of that Person from whom he had so great a respect? Altho' he hath carefully, in his Works, rejected the bad sense which might be put upon the Expressions of that Father, and hath delivered them in a more favourable way, yet he always openly maintained them, he always stood up against his Opposers, as against Persons who were certainly in an Error. Lastly, tho' he purposely disguised his Style, yet it is not likely that he could do it with so good success, for really the Style of this Work is more curious, florid and noble than S. Prosper's Works are. It is not possible to disguise this Style so. Men degenerate when they counterfeit, and when Men go out of their natural way, all that they produce

is deformed and imperfect. It is very hard to find out so many Rhymes, and so exactly frame his Periods, when he is not accustomed to it. Nor do I see, how the manner of composition of this Writing did oblige S. Prosper to change his Style. Lastly, All that M. Anselmi says against these Reasons, which are brought to prove, That the Book of the *Calling of the Gentiles* is not S. Prosper's, is grounded upon Suppositions, of which he hath not the least shadow of proof.

Let us now see if the Reasons which are given to fasten them upon S. Prosper be more sound. They may all be reduced to three Heads. The Authority of Manuscripts and Hincmarus, the agreement in Doctrine, and the likeness of the Styles.

As to the first Reason, which is the only one, wherein we really agree; these Manuscripts are not more eminent than those wherein the Books *De Vita Contemplativa*, of the Contemplative Life, made by Julian Pomerius, are attributed to S. Prosper, and the Authority of Hincmarus is not more to be regarded than that of the French Councils of above 800 years old, who have cited the Books of the Contemplative Life under the name of S. Prosper. It is well not the Authors of them, as the Hypomnesticon under the name of S. Austin; The Book of Predestination and Grace, under the name of the same Father; The Book of the hardening of Pharaoh's Heart, under the name of S. Jerome; The Commentary of Hilary the Deacon upon S. Paul's Epistles, under the name of S. Ambrose; And the Poem of Providence, under the name of S. Prosper. But to return to the Manuscripts of the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles*; the five Manuscripts of the Vatican. Of these five, the most ancient is thought to be above a Thousand years old, and another also is very ancient, which both bear S. Ambrose's name; the three other, of which the oldest is not above 800 years old, bear S. Prosper's name. There must needs be also other Manuscripts, where they bear the name of S. Ambrose, since they were all along Printed under the name of this Father, before the year 1566. It seems then, That if we will hold to the Authority of the most Ancient Manuscripts, we must attribute Manuscripts of these Books were without name, since S. Prosper's design was to conceal himself. Whence know we, That they who first prefixed S. Prosper's name to these Books, had sufficient information that they were his? Is it not most likely, that finding this Book without a name, the agreement of the Matter and the Doctrine, inclined them to put S. Prosper's name before them? And that others more Ignorant, tho' more Ancient, have also been so lucky in setting S. Ambrose's name before them. This difference hence, that the Manuscripts are not to be depended upon, and that the imagination of the Transcribers, is the cause that these Books bear these Titles in the Manuscripts.

As to the agreement of Style, we have already answered it, and shew'd, That altho' in the main, the Author of the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles*, be of the same Opinion with S. Prosper, yet he expresses himself in a different way; and that he keeps a Method which S. Prosper never observed. Let any Person but read a little, a few Periods of both, the Style is our strongest Argument, the difference is easy to be perceived. All the Tables of M. Anselmi don't at all deter me, nor give me cause to change my mind. In all the agreement of Style, there is nothing to be found, but some words which were in common use at that time. It would be very hard also not to meet with the same Terms in two Authors that treat of the same matter; nor is it at all surprising to meet with the same Sense, and the like Expressions. If we would search S. Austin's Works, as diligently as M. Anselmi hath taken the pains to do S. Prosper's, I do not question, but we might have as good success in comparing the Phrases of the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles* with his; and there are also Parallel Places, where the Sentences of S. Prosper, which he compares with those of the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles*, are taken out of S. Austin, or are found in the same Terms in the Works of that Father. But it is needless to go to Particulars, because notwithstanding all those long and tedious Parallels, the difference between the Style of the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles* and S. Prosper's Works, is easy to be perceived, for the reason which we have already several times repeated.

We have now no more to do but to examine the Conjectures by which F. Quefnel hath been induced to attribute the Work of the *Calling of the Gentiles* to S. Leo. His principal, or rather his only Argument is the agreement of Style, which he thinks he hath found between this Work and S. Leo's Writings. For having read the Works of this Father over and over again, and rendered his Style familiar to him, he acknowledged him, as he says, in the Books of the *Calling of the Gentiles*. He perceived immediately his Modes of Speech, his pleasant Words, his Transitions, his Figures, his Fancy, his exact Periods, his rhyming Cadences, his Apotrophes, his Interrogations and Paraphrases. And coming afterward more strictly to examine this Work, he found, 1. That the time did very well agree to S. Leo's Age, who might have composed it under the Popedom of Sixtus, the Content about Grace having already been very much agitated. 2. That the Country of this Author did also fit with S. Leo; That he was not an African, since he never quotes S. Austin; That 'tis not likely that he was a French Man, Gennadius not having mentioned him; That he is rather an Italian. The Purity of his Style shews it, and this is confirmed by a Testimony out of Chap. 33. Lib. 2.

where he says, The Barbarians coming to the assistance of the Romans, have received that Religion in our Country, which they could never have come to the knowledge of in their own; which signifies, That the City of Rome was the Country of this Author. To this we may add, That these Books were never cited in *Affixes*: That they were never seen in *France*, till the ninth Age, whereas we find them cited in 466. by Pope *Gelasius*, as a Work known and received at Rome. 3. This Author cites the Holy Scriptures after S. Leo's manner. They both of them use S. Jerome's Version, they cite the same Texts, and use them in a particular way. 4. They express their Doctrine about Grace after the same manner. They both acknowledge a general Grace, and call the Elements and Creatures, the Leaves and Volumes, wherein the Eternal Law is written. 5. They have often the same Thoughts. They speak alike of the foundation of the Church of Rome, That God hath chosen it to be the Head-Church of the World, and that he permitted the Roman Empire to be extended over all the Earth, that Religion might enlarge itself the more easily, and that it hath entered into those places where the Roman Empire had gained no Power. Compare Chap. 1. *Serm. 1. of S. Peter and S. Paul* in S. Leo, with Chap. 16. *Lib. 2. of the Calling of the Gentiles*. They both say, That S. Peter hath taken his Soundness and Contagion from the principal Rock; S. Leo, *A principali Petra soliditatem & virtutis traxit & nominis*. The Author of the Books of the Calling of the Gentiles, *Lib. 2. Chap. 28. Ab illa principali Petra communionem & virtutis sumpsit & nominis*; the same Fancy, Style and Expression. 6. The Style of the Book of the Calling of the Gentiles, is exactly like S. Leo. We have already observed, That it is Elegant and Polite, full of Antitheses and Rhymes; that his Sentences are proportion'd and divided into equal Parts, which is, as we have noted, the Description of S. Leo's Style. 7. Not only the Style is very exactly alike, but they use often the same Words, and that peculiar ones. We may see a large List of them, p. 375. of the Second Tome of Father *Quefnel's* Edition. He joins to it, in the following Pages, a comparison of many Phrases, and thinks that by this he hath invincibly prov'd, That the Work *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* is Saint Leo's.

But his Adversary undertakes to prove Two Things against him,

1. That all his Conjectures are weak.
2. That there are Arguments which clearly shew, and put it out of question, That the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* are not S. Leo's.

But since it is needless to enter upon a Discussion of the First, if the Last be well proved, therefore I will begin with the Latter.

Let us then take a View, of the Reasons which do invincibly prove, according to M. *Anthelmi*, that S. Leo is not the Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*. The First is taken from the Friendship that was between S. Leo and *Cassian*: Is it credible that he would desire *Cassian* to write in the Name of the Church against *Nestorius*, as he did, and would have had so much Respect for him, if he had thought him in an Error? And would he have written the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, against his Doctrine, if he had known that he had forsaken it, as *Fr. Quefnel* maintains? I believe that he hath no Proofs, and that it is not probable that *Cassian* changed his Opinion. I own that S. Leo was one of his Friends, but this is no Proof that he was of his Judgment, nor can any Man be invincibly convinc'd thereby that he did not write the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*: All that he could do for his Friend was to direct him, not to attack him directly, to treat him mildly, and instruct him rather than oppose him. Now this is what the Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* does; The Differences between S. *Austin's* Scholars and their Adversaries were never look'd upon as Heretical. S. *Proper*, though he was zealous for S. *Austin's* Doctrines, yet owns that those whom he oppos'd were Orthodox Christians, and ought for all that to be reckon'd in the Church. The Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, speaks in a more moderate way and account of those Contests, as about some hard Questions, which were debated among Church Christians. *Cassian* and the rest of his Party defended their Sentiments with much Calmness, without Passion or Obstinacy: All which evinceth that S. Leo might very well make use of *Cassian* to write against the *Nestorians*, and yet some Time after make these Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, in which he differs from him about Grace.

But at least, says M. *Anthelmi* for the Second Reason, he would have preserved some Respect for *Cassian* and his Scholars, he would not call their Disputes, *Calumniosae certamina*, *More Scolding*; he would not have accused them of making Objections full of Calumnies, of denying things impiously, of being presumptuous and ignorant, of laying Snare to deceive, of making impudent Complaints, and of having deceitful Intentions; yet these Terms are dispos'd up and down the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, and applied to them who do not give enough to Grace.

It is answer'd, That S. Leo respects *Cassian* enough in not naming him, in not confuting him expressly, in only speaking in general against those who attribute too much to Free-Will, in handling this Question as a Person not engag'd to any Party, in not declaring himself highly against them. As to the harsh Words which he alleges, they fall not upon *Cassian* or his Schol-

ars,

ars, but upon the erroneous Consequences which may be drawn from their Principles; besides, they are not so abusive and reproachful as is suppos'd (a).

The Third Argument is unanswerable in M. *Anthelmi's* Judgment: He hath been convinc'd by it, and it ought to satisfy every Man almost. It is this, saith he, "If S. Leo being yet but a Deacon, had so strongly oppos'd the *Semi-Pelagians*, it is not credible that he would have let them alone all the Time he was Pope; It was a vile and strange thing, that he should do nothing against them, and so much the rather, because during the Time of his Popedom that Party was honour'd and prefer'd." His Successor *Hilarius* made *Fausstus*, the Head of them, President of a Council at Rome. If it be said, That S. Leo dissembled and conniv'd at those Errors, then we do not rightly give him the Title of a declared Enemy of the Hereticks; and an undaunted Defender of the Truth. He is compar'd to the Lion of the Tribe of *Judah* to no purpose; because he oppos'd the *Pelagians* with so much Zeal, why should he neglect to encounter the *Semi-Pelagians*, if he had been of the Mind of the Author of the Books *Of the Calling*, and believ'd with him, that they "reviv'd the Errors of *Pelagius*? Would not S. *Proper* his Secretary, a grand Enemy of the *Semi-Pelagians*, have stirr'd up his Zeal against them? I much doubt whether these fine Declarations can pass for invincible and unanswerable Proofs with any Man of Wit. The Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, hath not treated the Defenders of Free-Will as Hereticks. He rejects their Opinion as a particular Person. Let us then suppose that S. Leo is the Author of it, what Necessity had he, that being rais'd to the Popedom, he should condemn them under the Title of Pope, as Formal Hereticks? Though he believ'd, That the Opinions which he confuted in these Books were Heretical, yet why should he persecute those Persons who held them in silence, without being positive in asserting them, or combining into a Sect or Party? I do not see that there was any Dispute upon that Subject under his Pontificate; the Contest did not begin a fresh till a long Time after: Let him tell us what occasion S. Leo had to condemn the *Semi-Pelagians*? Were they ever brought before his Tribunal? Did any Person write to him against them? Did they publish any Books to maintain their Opinions during his Pontificate? There is not the least proof of all this. But some of that Party were honour'd and prefer'd, they were made Abbots and Bishops in *France*, S. Leo ought not to have suffer'd it: As if in those Times there had been any need of the Pope's Bulls to be made a Bishop: But his Successor *Hilarius* made *Fausstus* of *Riez*, who was head of that Party, President of a Council at Rome (he is mistaken in construing the Word *Presidere*, for it doth not signify to preside, but only to be present, *Præsidere* *Esse* *in* *agore* *Concilio*, a numerous Assembly of the Brethren being present.) Can it hence be gather'd, that S. Leo favour'd the *Semi-Pelagians*? I do not believe that many would draw such a Conclusion from it, altho *Fausstus* was present at a Council in Rome, yet he had then written no Book, wherein he declared against S. *Austin's* Doctrines? He did not do this till a long Time after; and altho it had been already compos'd, it could not be infer'd from thence that he had Pope *Hilary's* Approbation of it, and much less that S. Leo his Predecessor was a Favourer of him. But that which looks more surprizing is this, That M. *Anthelmi* did not take notice that all these Arguments are quite overthrow'd by that One Example of S. *Proper*, for he perceives not that this Father wrote nothing against those who are called *Semi-Pelagians*, after his Book against *Cassian*, which was publish'd before S. Leo was Pope. If it were true that they were active under this Pope, why was he silent himself, or at least why did he not attack them openly, as he did heretofore? Why did he not use his Interest against them? Why did he not accuse them to S. Leo? If this sort of Reasoning be not allowable in respect of S. *Proper*, why doth M. *Anthelmi* enforce it, in respect of S. Leo? We may near as well conclude, That S. *Proper* never wrote any thing against the *Semi-Pelagians*.

The Argument which is taken from the Testimony of Pope *Gelasius*, who cites the Author of the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, under the Name of a Doctor of the Church, without naming it, seems more plausible than the former, for if this Work were S. Leo's

(a) So Abusive as is suppos'd. Calumniosae certamina doth not signify, in this Place, Disputes which are fill'd with Calumnies, for the Word *Calumniosae* in *Cicero* and other good Authors, doth not always signify Calumnies, in that Sense we use the Word, but sometimes Subtlety and Cavilling, Craft and Wit, &c. *Qui sepe optimas causas ingenii calumniis laudificare solent*. *Calumniari* signifies also to produce false Quotations, or abuse wrongfully; so that *Calumniosae certamina*, signify subtle Disputes, full of Wranglings. And *Calumniosae obijctiones*, imports, they object falsely. This Author takes it thus, Chap. xv. where *calumniarii justitiae occultae* is to complain chaufefully of the Secret Justice of God: And Chap. xvii. he that murmur'd against the Good Man of the House, who gave as much to him that

came last to labour as to the first, is call'd a *Calumniator*. S. Leo also uses this Word in the same Sense, in *Serm. 25. ch. 2. where calumniosae questionum* signify Subtleties: And in *Serm. 58. ch. 6. an illa sacerdotum calumniosae*, that is, *exprobrant*. In *Serm. 59. ch. 2. de terrenis calumniatur*, that is, *objiciunt*; and in *tit. 1. of the same Serm. calumniosae & miniciter clamantur*. The Words *impe diffinitur*, and others, have not so harsh a Signification in *Latin* as in *French*. It is ordinary with those that defend Grace, to accuse those who attribute any Desert to the Free-will, of Presumption, Pride, Confidence, &c. The Author of the Books *Of the Vocation of the Gentiles* doth it with more Moderation than others, but he cannot forbear it altogether.

The Author of the Books of the Calling of the Gentiles, &c.

how could *Gelasius* be ignorant of it? Or knowing it, what Reason could he have to conceal his Name? But this Objection only proves, That his Work was without a Name, as I see all the World agrees, and then all the Question will be, To know if it is not *S. Leo's*, who composed it, without putting his Name to it? The Reasons of *F. Quefnel* seem to make this Opinion very probable; let us now see what Answers are given, since we are already certain that there is no Argument to shew, that these Books cannot be *S. Leo's*. His Adversary contents himself to prove, That *S. Prosper* uses *S. Jerome's* Version as well as *S. Leo*, and that sometimes also he uses the Ancient Version, and thinks that thus he hath answered the strongest Argument. I will not stay here to examine which of the two hath Injury or Reason on his Side, I will only confine my self to the Argument about the Agreement of Style, in which *M. Anthelmi* yields to his Adversary, since he owns, That 'tis the Agreement of Style of the Epistles and Sermons of *S. Leo* with the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, that makes him attribute those Books to *S. Prosper*. This Concession is very favourable to *F. Quefnel*, for it being very certain that the Sermons and Epistles which bear the Name of *S. Leo* are that Father's; but not so, that the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* are *S. Prosper's*; if it be necessary that these Works must both of them belong to one and the same Author, it is much more reasonable to attribute the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles* to *S. Leo*, than to fix the Epistles and Sermons of *S. Leo* upon *S. Prosper*. *F. Alexander* and *F. Oudin* pretend that there is some Difference of Style, and that there are not in *S. Leo* so many Rhymes and Figures, nor such a Cadence: But they seem not to have taken sufficient notice of it, for if there be any Difference 'tis inconsiderable.

From all that we have hitherto said concerning the Author *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, we may conclude, 1. That this Book did at first appear without the Name of the Author. 2. That it was made since the Year 430, and before 456. 3. That in the Time of Pope *Gelasius*, the Work was known, but it was then without Name. 4. That since it hath born the Name of *S. Ambrose* in some Manuscripts, and of *S. Prosper* in others. 5. That 'tis certainly none of *S. Ambrose's*. 6. That there is no probability that 'tis *S. Prosper's*. 7. That the Author having hitherto been always unknown, 'tis hard to know now whole it is. 8. That if we judge by the manner of treating of Things, and by the Agreement of Style, *S. Leo* stands fairest for it. 9. That there is nothing to prove that this Work is not his. Nothing more can be expected but that it be positively ascribed to be *S. Leo's*: But that I dare not do upon the mere Conformity of Style, although, I confess, it renders *F. Quefnel's* Opinion extremely probable.

I have given no Answer to the Testimony of *Photius* alledged by *M. Anthelmi*, but it is nothing to our Purpose. It appears that that Author had a very confused Knowledge of the History of the *Pelagians*, and that the Differences about *S. Austin's* Doctrine were not form'd till after his Death. What he says concerning *S. Prosper*, That he opposed the Remnants of the *Pelagians*, under the Pontificate of *S. Leo*, is wholly imaginary. He had heard say, That *S. Prosper* had written about Grace, and thought he attack'd the *Pelagians*; and knowing by *Septimius's* Letter, and *S. Leo's* to *Jannarius* Bishop of *Aquileia*, That they had raised some Commotions under the Pontificate of this Pope, he thought that it was at this Time that *S. Prosper* had opposed them, and so much the rather, because he knew that *S. Prosper* was then at *Rome*: But it is discernable enough that *Photius* speaks all this by mere guess, and as a Person so remote both in Time and Place, as that he had not an exact History, but contriv'd this Model of his own. But yet, were it true, that *S. Prosper* had written against the *Pelagians* in the Popedom of *S. Leo*, 'tis a mere Surmise to apply it to the Books *Of the Calling of the Gentiles*, which are not written against the *Pelagians*. How knows he that *Photius* speaks of these Books? Is it not possible that *S. Prosper* might compose some other Books against the *Pelagians* at that Time, which are not come to us? But there is no room, as we have already said, to bottom upon this Passage of *Photius*, who himself doth not assert this, but merely by Conjecture.

But we have insisted too much upon the Criticism of this Work, an extract of it will be more useful, and less tedious. The Author in the beginning propounds the Question, which he designs to handle in these words. There is a great and difficult Question moved a long time since, between the Patrons of Free-Will, and the Preachers of Grace, viz. Whether God Wills that all Men should be saved? And because that cannot be denied, it is further demanded, Why the Will of the Almighty is not always accomplished? If it be said, That it depends upon the Will of Man, this seems to exclude Grace which is no more a Free-gift, but a Debt, if it be bestowed according to desert. It is further enquired, Why that Gift, without which no Man can be saved, is not given to all by him, who desires the Salvation of all Men? The design of the Author is to resolve these Questions, and to effect this, he proposes to himself to Treat, First of all, Of the Motions of the Will, against those who imagine, that they deny all Freedom who Preach up Grace, not observing, that they may as well accuse them of denying Grace, when they suppose, that it doth not go before, but only accompanies the Will. For if we take away the Will, where is the Original of Virtue? And if we do not acknowledge Grace, where is the Cause of Merit? He then distinguishes Three sorts of Wills, the Sensual, Animal, and Spiritual; the Animal is in Infants, the Sensual in Men without Grace, the Spiritual is the Will of those Men who Act by Grace. He distinguishes also Two sorts

of Graces, 1. General Graces, which are nothing else but the exterior helps, as the Elements, Nature, the Law, the Preaching of the Gospel; and, 2. Special Grace. The first is useless without the latter, which doth not destroy Nature, but restore it, doth not take away Freedom, but enables it to act. Without it there is no good, all that Men do is evil. The light of Nature is not sufficient to believe, Faith is the Gift of Grace, it is Grace which increaseth it, 'tis Grace which preserves it.

Having laid down these Principles, he gives Four Rules for the Explaining of such general Expressions of Holy Scripture, as concern the Salvation of Men. 1. That the Holy Scripture speaking of the Good and Evil, the Elect and Reprobate, uses such general terms in speaking of these Two sorts of Persons, as if it would comprehend all Men in particular under this Universal Expression. 2. That the Scripture speaking of the Men of one and the same Nation, uses such general terms, altho' it intends to speak some time of the Elect, and some time of the Reprobate. 3d. Rule. That the Scripture speaks of Men of divers times, as if they were the same Men, and of the same time. The 4th. That the word, *All*, is often taken for all sorts of Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Countries, and that it is in this sense, that these words of the Apostle may be understood, *God will have all Men to be saved*.

As to the general Prayers of the Church, he observes, that that's the reason of Praying for all Men, but that these Prayers are not heard with respect to every particular, altho' they be with regard to others; that the reason of this difference depends on the secret Judgments of God, and that it cannot be said, that it is the Merit of the Will which is the cause of this distinction; That Grace is given to the Good, and denied to Sinners; That the Examples of Infants, and of such Wicked Men as are Converted at the Hour of Death, prove the contrary. In fine, That Grace is an Act of the Divine Liberality; That we ought not to enquire into the Reason, why God gives it to some, and denies it to others? Why he chooseth some, and doth not choose others; That this Question is unsearchable, and that we ought not to have recourse to Free-will for the Explication of it.

After he hath rejected in the first Book that which was the subject of the Contest, he finds out Three Truths, which he Establishes in the Second: 1. That God Wills that all Men should be Saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth. 2. That we cannot come to that knowledge, but by Grace, and that Merits contribute nothing to it. 3. That the Mind of Man cannot comprehend the Judgments of God. Let us now see the Consequences which he draws from these Principles, That we cannot give the Reason, why he puts off the Calling of some, and gives not his Special Grace to all those whom he Calls. That all Men have had a part in the general Calling, the *Gentiles* by Nature, the *Jews* by the Law, but they who have pleased God have been separated from others by Faith and Grace, which altho' more rare and secret, was not denied in the first times. That at present, 'tis not equally disposed to all the World; That those to whom it is given have not Merited it; That he that hath received it must expect all his growth and proficiency from the same Grace; That nevertheless Men doth Merit by persevering, because he hath power to fall away; That one convincing Proof, That Men are beholding to God's Special Grace for their Conversion, and not to their Natural Goodness, is this, That since the Flood God hath continually Called Men by Miracles, Signs, and Prophecies, and that nevertheless no Man hath turned himself: That on the contrary, The Apostles have Converted all the World by their Preaching: Were Men better in the times of the Apostles, than before? Nay, Do we not know, that Iniquity then was greater? This is it that shews the Efficacy of Grace. That when it is said, That Jesus Christ Died for all Men, i. e. for all Nations, it was for that end that God had permitted that the *Roman* Empire was so very much enlarged, that the Christian Religion might spread it self the more easily; that it so happened, and that *Rome* was become more Glorious by Religion, than Temporal Power, *Amplicius* *erce Religiosis, quam solio potestatis*; That all other Nations have been, or will be, Called every one in their time; that in the Old Testament the Grace of Jesus Christ was hidden from the *Gentiles*, and yet it is not a whit less true, to say, That God will have all Men to be Saved in all times. But if God will have all Men Saved, Why are so many Damned? Our Author Answers. 1. That that is a Question which depends upon the secret Judgments of God, which are unsearchable to Men. 2. That all Men deserve Damnation upon the account of Original Sin. 3. That no Man may complain that he Dies too soon, because it is the property of Humane Nature ever since *Adam* sinned to be subject to Death. 4. That God exempts from this general Miserie those whom he pleaseth, and that he by that means moderates the Punishment which all the Posterity of *Adam* have deserved; That others cannot complain, that God hath not delivered them out of a State of Damnation, because he owes that Grace to no Man. 5. That he hath imparted to all Men certain general Graces, which consist, as we have said, in outward helps; That Infants themselves are not deprived of it, because God hath given them to their Parents, who ought to be serviceable to them to procure their Salvation; That it is true, that beside this general Grace, there is a Special Grace, both for the Adult, and for Infants, who are of the Number of the Elect, but God owes it to no Man. 6. That this special Grace doth not exclude the Will, or consent of Man, but produces it in him, makes him to Will, Believe, and Love; That it doth not nevertheless take away the changeableness of the Will, for if it did then no Man could fall; That those that will, and do come, are called by this Grace, and they

The Author of the Books of the Calling of the Gentiles, &c.

The Author of the Books Of the Calling of the Gentiles, &c.

they that do not come, resist it by their own Will; That those that Perish are inexcusable, and those that are Saved have no cause of boasting of their own Abilities. 7. That in all times there have been general Graces for all the World, and special for the Just; That among these last some have more, some less, yet no Man may complain of the Mercy of God, since he owes nothing to any Man. Nor can we more reasonably complain of his Justice, since all that Perish deserve Damnation. 8. That the particular Election of some doth not render our Labour, Prayers, or Good-works, needless, because God hath ordained them from all Eternity, because this Grace is given for Prayer, and because Election is perfected by Prayer, and Good-works. 9. That it ought not to be said of any Man, before he is Dead, that he shall certainly be of the Number of the Elect, and that we ought not to despair of any Man's Salvation, because the more Holy may yield to Temptation, and the greatest Sinners be Converted; That the Church also in her Prayers giving thanks for those, who have embraced the Faith, requests perseverance for them, and implores God's Mercy for Infidels, that they may turn from their ways and live.

After what we have said of the Author of the Books Of the Calling of the Gentiles, it is not necessary to enlarge much upon that which concerns the Author Of the Epistle to Demetrius, since all Critics agree, that it belongs to the same Author. Indeed they produce no other proofs but the conformity of Style, but that seems sufficient to determine these Two Works to the same Author.

F. Quesnel brings some Reasons proper to prove it S. Leo's. 1. He says, That the Scripture is Quoted, as in S. Leo's Works, sometimes according to S. Jerom's Translation, and sometimes according to the Ancient Vulgar. 2. He produces many Sentences Of the Epistle to Demetrius, which are found in S. Leo's Works. He finds the same comparisons and applications of Scripture, &c. 3. He marks out the very words of S. Leo. 4. He saith, There is no probability, that the Epistle to Demetrius was composed by an African; that a Man of that Country, mentioning his Religion, would not have forgotten to tell, how much S. Austin had been helpful to it, and that the Style agrees better to a Roman than an African, and because he promotes the Authority of the Church of Rome, in maintaining that the Holy See hath given an Example to all the Churches of the World, by Condemning Pelagius. 5. That there was an intimate acquaintance between S. Leo and Demetrius; That it is related in Platina, and the Roman Breviary, That he persuaded her to Build a Church upon some Lands that belonged to her, and Dedicate it to S. Stephen. In sum, That there is no ground to attribute this Work to S. Prosper; That the Style is altogether different from that Father's; That the Inscription of the Letter in the Printed Books, *Propter Episcopum Sacre Virgini Demetriadi*, *Propter* the Bishop to the Holy Virgin Demetrius, is apparently added, since S. Prosper never was a Bishop. That the Author Of the Epistle to Demetrius speaks not of S. Austin, altho' he had often occasion to do it, which S. Prosper would not have omitted. Lastly, He seems to say, That the Church of Rome was the first that Condemned Pelagius, but S. Prosper gives this Honour to the Bishops of Africa. These are the special Reasons of F. Quesnel.

M. Anselmi on the other side maintains, That this Letter is S. Prosper's, and to prove it, compares several long pieces of this Letter with S. Prosper's Writings, but they do not seem to be more lucky about this Piece, than about the former Books, but we leave this to the Judgment of those who will take the pains to examine them. In the next place, he undertakes to overthrow the last Argument of F. Quesnel, taken from the difference of which he speaks, concerning the order of time in which Pelagius was Condemned in Africa and Rome. He thereupon makes a long discourse, which it is not necessary for us to enter upon, nor discuss, since S. Prosper hath said in a place of his Poem,

— *Pessem subeuntem prima recidit*
Sedes Roma Perri; —

We must understand by this word, *Prima*, either the first in Dignity, or the first according to the order of time; and so much the rather of the latter, because in another place of his Poem, and in his Book against Cassian, he places the Sentence of the Africans after Zosimus's. But the proof is not worth our trouble, we must own 'tis one of the least, and will tarry on it no longer. Nor can we say, that the Argument taken from the Familiarity between S. Leo, and Demetrius, is very found; but yet M. Abbot Anselmi doth not confute it solidly, by pretending that Demetrius who is spoken of in Anastasius, Platina, and the Roman Breviary, is distinct from Demetrius. The Epithet, *Ancilla Dei*, The Handmaid of the Lord, doth suit as well to a Virgin, as a Married Woman; and the taking away the Letters from the end is according to the usage of the Latins, who follow that Termination. Lastly, Paulus Diaconus calls the Foundress of S. Stephen's Church, Demetrius. But why do we stay so long upon Trifles? It is more profitable, and more to the purpose, to examine, whether the Letter to Demetrius be written against those Priests of Marseille, and against those other Christians, who tho' they Condemned the Heresie of Pelagius, would not agree to all the Principles of S. Austin, or whether he speaks only of the Pelagians. Altho' it be commonly thought that the Author of this Letter opposes the first as well as the last, yet I am of the Opinion of a Learned Person who discovered this to me. That that which is said in this Letter, Ch. 10. of some Persons, who pretending to deny

ny all other Doctrines of Pelagius, yet retained this. That Grace is given according to Merits, is meant of some moderate and counterfeit Pelagians, as S. Leo observes in his Sixth Letter. Of the where he speaks plainly of the Pelagians. For in both places it is said, That these Persons Author of had retain'd this Maxim with a design to revive all the other Pelagian Errors, and to over-throw the Books, turn the Doctrine of Original Sin, which they owned among the Orthodox, but denied of the Gentiles, among those of their own Party. *Cum inter nostros Originalis peccati vulnera facerentur, inter illos qui tamen hoc tenere ostenderent, Quod primum bonum praevaricatio solis imitatoribus obfuit.* This does not agree neither to the Priests of Marseille, nor to those other Persons who did not approve all the Principles of S. Austin, for they did sincerely Condemn them who denied Original Sin, they were no Party, nor had any Alliance with the Pelagians. They were then the Pelagians in disguise, which the Author of this Letter to Demetrius speaks of in his Letter; and the Sixth Letter of S. Leo teaches us, That there were many in the Popedom of this Pope, who made false professions of the Faith, and with a design of reviving all their Errors, by putting some of them in disguise. S. Prosper says in his Chronicle, That Julian used his utmost endeavors to gain admission into the Communion of the Church, by pretending to renounce his Errors, but S. Leo hindred S. Sixtus from receiving him. And it is no wonder that the Author of the Letter of which we speak, wrote to Demetrius against the Pelagians, because Pelagius had heretofore written to that Virgin, and he was acquainted with Julian, and might have a Familiarity with some of his Friends.

The Author of this Letter in the first place commends her Noble Birth and Vertue; he observes by the bye, that there is no true Vertue without Charity, and the Love of God, which ought to be the Motive of our Actions. Then he speaks of Humility, first towards Men, and next towards God. This last consists in acknowledging sincerely, and wholly, the Grace of Jesus Christ. He asserts, That Pride was the Origin of the Pelagian Heresie, and this Pride that makes some hold that Maxim so fast; That Grace is given according to Merits, a Maxim which is made use of to revive the other Pelagian Errors; That Christian Humility makes us confess, that no Man hath any hopes of Salvation, unless Regenerate in Jesus Christ; That it teaches us to give all Glory to him; That it makes us acknowledge, that without Grace we can do no good thing; That it makes us own, that the Operation of Grace is not prevented by the Will; That the Commandments are given to us, that we may fly to it for help, without which we cannot perform them; That Pride, which corrupts our best Actions, is much to be feared; That Humility subjects Man to God; That we ought not to trust in our own Merits; That no good comes from our selves, no not so much as a Prayer. Lastly, That all Good-works, and all Vertues comes from God. These are the Principles laid down and explained in this Letter.

We have already spoken of the * Aphorisms of Grace. F. Quesnel, and M. Abbot Anselmi, do both agree, that they belong to the same Author, but the one attributes them to S. Prosper, the other to S. Leo, they both ground themselves upon the Conformity of Style. But it seems to me very hard to judge upon a piece which is so short as this is. We have already spoken our Opinion, and leave it to the more curious Critics to examine thoroughly. Let those who are more bold than we are, positively determine to whom these Treatises ought to be attributed. As for us, we content our selves in matters of this nature, to speak what seems to us most probable, believing that none can go further than probability: Also we confute others without passion, and will not take it ill, that others confute us. *Nos sequimur probabiliter, nec ultra id quod verisimile est, progredi possumus, et resellere sine pertinacia, et resellere sine iracundia parati sumus.* Cic. Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 2. It is needless to repeat in this place, what we have said of the Style of the Books, Of the Calling of the Gentiles, and The Epistle to Demetrius. It is only worth our Observation, That whosoever is the Author of them, he was a very Learned Man, of a solid Judgment, a fine and delicate Wit, and that understood well the matter he treated of. And altho' it were very obscure and intricate, yet he explains and clears it with so much Elegancy, and so good a Method, that he makes it both pleasant to read, and easy to understand. He dissolves the great Difficulties, and moderates the Doctrines which appear most rigorous, and illustrates those things which seem hard to attain. These Treatises have been Printed with the Works of S. Ambrose, and S. Prosper. And F. Quesnel hath Published a new Edition of them under the Name of S. Leo, as we have already several times observed.

* T

FLAVIAN,

BASIL IUS Bishop of Seleucia.

BASIL, Bishop of *Seleucia*, a City of *Isauria*, flourished in the time of the Contest of *Eusebicus*. He was present at the Council of *Constantinople*, held under *Flavian* in 448, and at the Council of *Chalcedon*, where after he had begged Pardon for what he had done in the Council of *Ephesus* held under *Discorius*, he was restored, and believed as others.

We have at this day * 40 Homilies of this Bishop. *Phariss* had seen but 15 of them, but the other being of the same Style and Coherence, it cannot be doubted but that they are the same Authors.

The first of these Homilies is upon the first words of *Genesis*, *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*. It seems to have been preached at the beginning of the solemn Fast of *Lent*. He therein describes very elegantly the Production of all Creatures, and the admirable Order of the Universe. Speaking of the Creation of Man, he observes, That the words which the Scripture uses, being in the Plural Number, *Let us make Man in our Image*, is an Argument of a Trinity of Persons. He makes the Likeness of Man, with God, to consist in this, that he considers upon the Heavens, but doth his Works upon Earth, and that he establisheth Government and Laws.

In the 2d. Homily he explains more particularly the Creation of Man, and the Formation of Woman.

In the 3d. he describes the Estate of *Adam* in the Earthly Paradise, and his untucky and miserable fall. He had an absolute freedom. He might take all sorts of innocent Pleasures, because Pleasure was not then infectious and deadly : All the Creatures were subject to him, he could make use of them without Sinning, except one Fruit only. But the Devil envying his Happiness took on him the Form of a Serpent, and persuaded the Woman to eat the forbidden Fruit. She gave it to her Husband, and they immediately knew that they were naked. God called them, upbraided them with their Disobedience, and condemned them to different Punishments, both them and their Posterity ; but he must not, for all that, despair of his Salvation. Jesus Christ is come to cure Man of that old Wound. He hath brought Medicines contrary to those things, which were the cause of his Fall. He opposeth Solitude to Paradise, Fasting to Delights, the Trophée of the Crofs to the Decree of the Devil ; a Virgin conceiving without the Curse of Sin, to the first Woman ; a Child born of a Virgin, and free from the old Disease, to the miserable Children of *Adam*. The new *Adam* is entred again into Paradise, from whence the first was driven ; and from thence he sends forth his Darts to wound the Serpent.

Cain and *Abel* are the subject of the 4th. Homily. *Moses* sets down their History as a dreadful Example, to teach Men to love Virtue and hate Vice. The Stories of the old Testament have all no other end. This teaches us, That God debaleth himself to Men ; That he accepts their Sacrifices, tho' he hath no need of them to instruct them, who offer them to him, and that he hath care of good Men after their Death. *Abel* is the first just Man slain wrongfully. The Vengeance, which God inflicted upon his Death, gives cause to hope for a Resurrection. *Cain* is the first Child of *Eve*, a wicked Man, an Enemy of Nature, whose Crimes and Punishments are there painted in a lively manner.

The 5th. Homily is concerning *Noah* and the Flood. 'Twas Man's sins that brought it upon him ; he delayed it as long as he could ; he admonished them several times ; he invited them to Repentance ; but Men not growing better by his Admonitions, were all overwhelmed with a Deluge, except *Noah* and his Family, who were saved in the Ark. The Wood, which was the instrument of Man's Destruction in *Adam*, was the Instrument of their safety in the times of *Noah*.

The 6th. is also about some Question, which might be made concerning the Deluge. He observes there, That the Sons of God, of whom 'tis said, that they had Commerce with the Daughters of Men, are not the Angels, but the Posterity of *Seth*, who had Commerce with the Race of *Cain*. He gives the reason of the difference of Clean and Unclean Beasts. He saith, That God commanded it, that he might make the Jews afraid to eat of those Creatures which they were forbidden to eat ; as also, that they might not adore them. He believes, That *Noah* was not obliged to hunt after all those Creatures that went into the Ark with him, and catch them, but that they came thither of themselves. He teaches us to admire *Noah's* Dexterity in building the Ark, and the Providence of God in the course of the Flood.

In the 7th. he propounds to our observation the ready Obedience of *Abraham*, and the blind submission which he yielded to the Command of God in preparing himself to sacrifice his Son. He describes this History in a very affecting manner.

The 8th. gives us the perfect History of *Joseph*, and makes a faithful Description of his Vertues.

The 9th. manifests to us the Providence of God in the Life of *Moses*.

The 10th. compares *Elisba* to Jesus Christ, and the Son of the *Shunamite*, raised from the dead by that Prophet, with the *Gentiles*.

Basilus of Seleucia.

[* Dr. Cave reckons 43, viz. 17 upon the old, and 126 upon the new Testament.]

B A-

Several Letters of divers Bishops.

FLAVIAN, and several other Bishops, who wrote the Letter or Records about the Affair of Eusebicus.

If we would place in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors, those Bishops who have written Letters, or pastoral Persons in the Councils, we might reckon *Flavian*, who was Patriarch of *Constantinople* from the year 424, to 448; among them. He hath written three Letters against *Eusebicus*, of which the second (Attributed to P. 424) is recited in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*; and the first hath been printed by *M. Concilium* in his 1st. Tome of the Monuments of the Greek Church. We might also put in *Marsellus*, *Flavian's* Successor, who hath one Letter to the Emperor *Leo*, touching the Acts of the Councils, and another to Pope *Leo*, among the Letters of this last. *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Dorisium*, the principal Accuser of *Eusebicus*, should obtain his place upon the account of two Petitions, which he presented against him to the Synods of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*; or upon the Account of the Letter he wrote to *Marcian*. We must also place here *Mithrasius*, Priest of *Alexandria*, and *Isidorus*, and *Theodorus* Deacon of that Church; who presented Petitions against *Discorius*, Bishop of *Tyre*, may also be placed here, upon the account of a Petition, which he presented to the Council for the maintaining the Rights of his Bishoprick. *Agapetus*, *Lucian*, *Theodoret*, *Vitalis*, and some others, who wrote to the Emperor *Leo*; the Letters set down at the end of the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, p. 904; unless they are omitted (a). Here also we may enter *Isidore*, a Priest of *Basilis*, whose Letter to *Marcian* the *Perfect*, made to great a noise. We might also mention *Eusebius* the Monk, Head of that Party, and *Bassianus* Bishop of *Asps*, (afterward of *Ephesus*) upon the account of the Petitions, which they presented in their own defence. But those who have composed each sort of Works as these, do not deserve the name of Authors, and we shall speak enough of them, in relating the History of the Councils. We shall also find there two Letters of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, the one to *Simplicius*, the other to *Petrus* *Sulla*, and there we shall speak of the Letter of this last, which we have not, as well as of the Letter of *Petrus* *Monsus* to *Acacius*.

(a) Unless they be omitted. Great part of this Letter is recited in the Council of *Chalcedon*, Tom. 4. of the Councils, p. 261.

Several Letters of divers Bishops.

There are also Writers almost of the same rank with the former, who have not above a Letter or two; and these stand among other Mens Works. *Paschasius* Bishop of *Ephesus* in *Sicily* hath been the first of them. *Eusebius* hath published a Letter of his about Easter in the Year 445, which is found among S. Leo's Letters in the last Edition, p. 412. *Julian*, Bishop of *Con*, is of the same time; we have only one Letter of his directed to the Emperor *Leo*, which is at the end of S. Leo's Letters. We have also among the Letters of this Father a great number of Letters directed to him, viz. a Letter of *Gregorius*, *Salomon* and *Veranus*, Bishops of the Province of the *Alps*; a Letter of the Bishop of *Vienna* to S. Leo; two Letters of the French Bishops; a Letter of *Beatus* of *Reims*; a Letter of *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Milan*, and the Bishops of his Province; three Letters of *Flavian*, of which we have spoken already; a Letter of *Marcian*, *Theodorus*, *Placidus*, *Palladius* and *Leonius*; a Letter of *Properius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, concerning Easter, recited by *Eusebius*; one of S. *Petrus* *Chrysologus* to *Eusebicus*; one of *Salomon* a French Bishop, and another of his Brother *Veranus*; a Letter of *Turribius* to *Idacius* and *Ceposius*; and the Letter of *Leo*, Bishop of *Angers*, to the Bishops of the Province of *Tours*. Of all these we have already spoken. To these Letters we must add a Letter of a Bishop, called *Justicus*, whose Bishoprick we know not, written to *Eusebius*, recited by F. *Sirmundus*, in his Notes upon the 2d. Book of *Sidonius* the Poet, p. 34. Two Letters of *Lupus*, Bishop of *Troyes*, of which one is in the 4th. Tome of the Councils, and the other in the 5th. Tome of M. *Luke* d' *Acherius's* *Spicilegium*; a Letter of *Leonius*, Bishop of *Arles*, to Pope *Hilarius*, in the same place, and in the Appendix of the 4th. Tome of the last Edition of the Councils; and the Testament and Epitaph of *Perpetuus* Bishop of *Tours*, in the 5th. Tome of the *Spicilegium*.

Several Letters of divers Bishops.

Basilus of
Seleucia. k

The 11th. contains some Reflections upon the Life of the Prophet Elias: and the 12th. Basil uses the History of *Jonas*, and the Conversion of the *Ninevites*, to prove how great the mercy and goodness of God is towards Sinners. In the 13th. he explains the resemblance of *Jonas* to Jesus Christ.

The 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th. are upon King *David*. In the three first he extolls the special Favours, which God bestowed upon that holy King. In the last he discourses of his Sin and of his Repentance.

In the 18th. he endeavours to create a detestation of the Action of *Herod* and *Herodias*.

The 19th. is upon the History of the Centurion.

The 20th. is upon the Woman of *Canana*.

The 21st. is upon the Healing of the Lame Man, who lay at the Gate of the Temple.

The 22d. is upon the Storm appeased by Jesus Christ.

The 23d. is upon the Cure of him that was possessed with the Legion of Devils.

The 24th. is upon those words of the Mother of *Abdree's* Children, *Grant that these my two Sons may sit, the one on thy Right Hand, and the other on thy Left in thy Kingdom.*

The 25th. is upon these words of Jesus Christ to the Apostles, *Whom do Men say that I am.*

The 26th. is upon these other words of our Saviour, *I am the Good Shepherd.*

The 27th. is against the Festival, and Shows of the Olympick Games.

The 28th. is upon these words of Jesus Christ, *Except ye be Converted, and become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* Wherein he treats of Humility.

The 29th. is upon these other words, *Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*

The 30th. is upon these, *Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of Men.*

The 31st. is upon what Jesus Christ says, *Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of Sinners, &c.*

The 32d. is upon that Prayer of Jesus Christ to his Father, *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass from me.*

The 33d. is upon the Miracle of the 5000 Men Fed with the Five Loaves, related in *S. Math. 14.*

The 34th. is upon the Question which *John's* Disciples put to Jesus Christ, *Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?*

The 35th. is upon the Parable of the Pharisee and Publican.

The 36th. is upon the Two Blind Men cured by Jesus Christ.

The 37th. is upon the Bloody Murder of the Infants, which he describes in a very Elegant and Passionate manner.

In the 38th. he proves by the Prophecies, and particularly by *Daniel's*, that the Messiah is come, and that it is Jesus Christ. He fixes the beginning of the 70 Weeks at the rebuilding of *Jerusalem* by *Cyrus*, the Birth of Jesus Christ in the 29th. Year of the Reign of *Augustus*, his Death in the 19th. Year of *Tiberius*, and so counts 483 Years from the first Year of *Cyrus* to the Ascension of Christ into Heaven, which make 69 Weeks of Years. The 70th. ends the Ninth Year of the Emperor *Caius*, under whom the War began. This Writing is rather a Treatise than an Homily.

The 39th. is upon the Annunciation of the Virgin. In it he extolls the Dignity of the Mother of God, and fits up our Admiration of the Mystery of the Incarnation.

The Last is upon the Transfiguration of our Lord. *F. Combefis* hath [Printed at *Paris* in 1656, *Octavo*] Published an Homily upon *S. Stephen*, which bears the Name of this Author.

As to the Style, and manner of Writing, which this Author uses, *Phorius* gives this Judgment of them: "His Discourse, saith he, is figurative, and lofty. He observes, as much as any Man whatsoever, an even Cadence. He hath joined Clearness and Pleasure together, but his Tropes and Figures are very troublesome. By these he wears his Hearer always, and creates in him a bad Opinion of himself, as a Person Ignorant, how to make Art and Nature accord; and keep just measures to cut off Superfluities. Nevertheless we must own, That altho' he hath a great Number of Figures, yet he keeps up his Style very well, and his Discourse very rarely dwindles into flat Allusions. Nor doth it render him obscure, because he illustrates his Discourse by the distinction of the Parts, and Periods, and by the Elegancy of his Expressions, clears up the difficulties in the Figures. But the great number of his Figures takes away the grace of it, and so much the more, because they are used too roughly, and the Artifice of them is not sufficiently concealed.

Phorius adds, That it was that *Basil* who was the Friend of *S. Chrysostom*, rather than *Basil* the Great, but he is mistaken in this. (It is perhaps neither of them, as we have observed elsewhere). But he is not deceived in what he says further, That in his Sermons he follows the foot-steps of *S. Chrysostom*, and that he hath taken his sense from his Discourses, especially as to what relates to the Explication of Scripture. *Phorius* hath well done to make this restriction, for 'tis in that particular only that he imitates *S. Chrysostom*. The Homilies of this Patriarch of *Constantinople* have Two Parts, as we have already Noted. In the first he Explains the Scripture according to the Letter, and joins to it some Moral Reflections. In the

the Second he takes in hand some Moral Doctrine, which he handles very largely. *Basil* of *Seleucia* meddles not with the last part, but contents himself to imitate the first, but has not *Basil* of *Seleucia* performed it so naturally as *S. Chrysostom*. *Phorius* also tells us, That *Basil* of *Seleucia* had written the Life of the Eminent Martyr *S. Thecla* in Verse. We have at this Day one in Prose, which is attributed to *Basil* of *Seleucia*. But there is no Proof that it is his; it doth not resemble his Style, and it seems to have been compiled by some more Modern Greek. (*Patrinus* Published it in Greek and Latin, at *Amstewp*, 1608.)

The Homilies of *Basil* of *Seleucia* were Printed in Greek at *Heidelberg* in the Year 1596. In Greek and Latin with *Dausguis's* Version and Notes at the same place, 1604. This Edition, with the Life of *S. Thecla*, in Greek and Latin, Translated by *Pantimus*, is put into the Collection of Greek Fathers made at *Paris* in * 1621, which contains the Works of *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Macarius*, and *Basil* of *Seleucia*, with a small Commentary upon the Canonical Epistles attributed to *Zonaras*. *F. Combefis* hath Printed a Translation of these Homilies in his *Latin Ecclesiastes* of Greek Authors Printed in 1674. He pretends to have corrected many faults of the Translator, but if he hath rendered some places more agreeably to the Greek Text, he hath Translated others more Barbarously, and made them harder to be understood. He hath also Published the Sermon upon *S. Stephen*. These Works also are to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. [* Cave. 1622.]

[Dr. Cave mentions a Treatise of this Authors, Entitled, *A Demonstration of the coming of Christ against the Jews*, Published by *Turrian* at *Ingolstadt*, 1616, *Octavo*, and in Greek in *Dausguis's* Edition, which this Author hath omitted.]

TIMOTHEUS ÆLURUS.

PROTERIUS Bishop of *Alexandria* being slain in 457, * by the People of *Alexandria*, *Timotheus Ælurus* † was seiz'd on by the People, and Ordain'd in his Place by * *Timotheus Ælurus*. One Bishop only: And since he could not maintain his Ordination, but by siding with the People, he condemn'd all those who had communicated with *Proterius*, as *Nestorians*. Some Time after, that he might justify himself to the Emperor *Leo*, he sent an Apology to him, in which he endeavours to confirm his Herefy, by the Quotations of the Holy Fathers, understood in a wrong Sense, making the Bishop of *Rome*, the Bishops that were present at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and all the *Western* Bishops to pass for *Nestorians*: But missing of his Design, which he had to deceive the Emperor, he was banish'd to *Gangra*. *Gennadius* says, That he translated the Book of this Arch-Heretic into Latin, who was alive when he wrote his Book of *Ecclesiastical Authors*; but we have neither the Original nor Translation. [* By *Timotheus* and his Accomplices. † Caused himself to be Ordain'd. * Two Bishops, but depol'd, *As. Eccl.*]

CHRYSIPPUS.

THE Time when *CHRYSIPPUS*, a Priest of *Jerusalem* liv'd, is not certainly known, yet it is most probable that he flourish'd in the Fifth Age. We find in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* a Sermon in Commendation of the Virgin, under his Name, which contains many extraordinary Praises of her, like to those used in the Litanies. *Phorius* tells us in the 17th. Volume of his *Bibliotheca*, That he had found in a Book, where was a Treatise of † *Eusebius*, a Priest of *Constantinople*, concerning the estate of Souls after Death; a Piece, where it was related, That *Gananiel*, and *Nicodemus*, who was his Father-in-Law (as it is there said) were baptiz'd by *S. John*, and did suffer Martyrdom. He adds, That this History was attributed to *Chrysippus*, a Priest of *Jerusalem*, who in his * Panegyrick of *Theodoros Martyr*, makes mention of *Lucian* a Priest of the same Church, and that this last liv'd in the Time that *John* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to whom *Gananiel* had related this Story, and shew'd him the Place where the Relicks of *S. Stephen* and *Nicodemus* were, which, being found, had done many Miracles. [* *Chrysippus*. † It is extant in *Dausguis's* *Antiquarium*, Tom. 2. p. 424, in Gr. and Latin. † *Eusebius*. * Some Fragments of it are found in *Eusebius's* Treatise above cited.]

VIGILIUS DIACONUS.

VIGILIUS assures us, That this Author, whom he places in the Fifth Age, hath written, according to the Tradition, *A Rule for the Monks*. He adds, That it was read in the Assemblies of the Monks, and that it contains, in few Words, and in a clear Method, all the Discipline of a Monastick Life. This agrees well with a Rule which is to be found in *Holstenius's* Collection, p. 11. p. 89. [in codice Regularum, p. 89: printed at Paris 1663. Quarto.]

FASTIDIUS PRISCUS.

FASTIDIUS PRISCUS, an English Author, hath written to a certain Woman Named *Fatalis*, one Treatise concerning the Christian Life, and another * of Widowhood. His Doctrine is sound, and worthy of Esteem. This is what *Gennadius* informs us of this Author. Some have made him Bishop of London, but do not prove it. He lived in the Fifth Age under *Theodosius* and *Honorius*. We have his Book of the Christian Life among the Works of *S. Austin* [Tom. IX. p. 888]. It hath been restored to him thro' the Credit of an Ancient Manuscript Printed by it self by *Holstenius* in 1663, [at Rome.] * The other Treatise is lost.

The Book of the Christian Life is directed to a Widow. He first of all derives the Name of Christian from the Undction of the Holy Spirit. He tells us, That all that bear that Name ought to imitate Jesus Christ. He then gives us a Reason, why God bears with Sinners, and afflicts the Good. He Explains the Principal Duties of a Christian, Love of God, Love of our Neighbour, and Good-Works, without which he shews, that none can be saved. He at last describes the Virtues of a true Christian, and Exhorts the Widow to whom he writes to lead a Life conformable to that which he had drawn up. This Treatise is written in a very mean Style. It hath more Piety and Plainness, than Eloquence and Loftiness. In some places he seems to favour the Opinions of *Pelagius*.

DRACONTIUS.

DRACONTIUS, a Spanish Priest, who lived in the time of *Theodosius* the Younger, hath composed an Heroick Poem upon the Six Days of the Creation, and an Elegy to the Emperor. There is nothing remarkable in that Work. It is written in a very Barbarous Style. *S. Isidore* and *S. Ildefonsus* of Toledo speak of this Author. The Poem is extant in the *Biblioth. Patrum* [Tom. 9. p. 724], and *F. Sirmundus* hath Printed it with the Elegy [at Paris] in 1619, *Octavo* * at the end of *Eugenius* of Toledo, who reviewed this Work, and put it in the condition that now it is.

EUDOCIA the Empress, and PROBA FALCONIA.

WHO would expect to see the Names of Women among the Number of Ecclesiastical Authors? In all times indeed there have been Learned Women, but yet very few durst meddle with Divinity. It is more strange to see an Empress to employ'd, and nothing is more wonderful, (as the Learned *Photius* observes upon this occasion) than to see a Princess, amidst the soft and charming delights of a Court, to compose Books. This Woman of whom we are now speaking, was the Daughter of *Leontius* an Athenian Philosopher, and Wife of *Theodosius* the Younger. She composed a Paraphrase upon the Eight first Books of the Bible in Greek Heroicks. *Photius* assures us in the 183 Codex of his *Bibliotheca*, that it was an Excellent Work, and not inferior to any other of that Nature in the Elegancy of the Verse. But by confining herself too strictly to the Rules of Translation, she hath transgressed

fed the Rules of Art. Nevertheless many approve of it, and affirm, that Translation ought to be so managed. She is not studious to please the Ears of the Younger sort, as Poets usually do, by allowing themselves the Liberty of changing Truths into Fables. She doth not divert her Readers by tedious digressions from the subject treated on; but follows her Text with so much Exactness and Fidelity, that they that read her Work, will be well satisfied with it. She preserves the same sense entirely in the same manner as it is written, without adding to it, or taking from it, and uses as much as possible such words as come nearest the Original. At the end of every Book she shews in Two Verses, that she was the Author of it. The same *Photius* adds in the following Volume, That she had composed in the same Style a Paraphrase upon the Prophecies of *Daniel* and *Zachary*, and Three Books in commendation of *S. Cyprian* the Martyr. The First contains the Life of *S. Justus*, the Artificer which *Cyprian* made use of to defile her, his Conversion and Ordination. The Life of *Cyprian* is related in the Second, and in the Third, the Martyrdom of *S. Cyprian*, which happened under *Dioclesian*. There are many things in this History which seem not to be certain. It supposes that *Cyprian* was Bishop of Antioch, whereas there was none of that Name there at the time of *Dioclesian*. It says over many other things in silence, that are related by *Photius*, but are very improbable, and unlikely to be true.

We have none of these Works of *Eudocia*, but there is Printed under her Name, *An History of the Life of Jesus Christ*, written in Heroick Verses taken out of *Homer*, that is to say, there is not one Verse, which is not a piece of *Homer's* Poems. Upon which account it is, that they are called *Catonian* *Homerick*, Verses made up of Fragments of *Homer*.

Zonaras and *Isidore* say, That *Pelagius Patricius*, whom the Emperor *Zeno* put to Death, had composed a Work which bore the same Title, and indeed in the Catalogue of the Library of *Heidelberg*, this Book is attributed to one *Patricius*, who is there thro' mistake called a Priest. There is also in the same place an Epigram of *Eudocia's* upon the same Poem. The first Greek Editions of *Aldus* and *Stephanus* in the Year 1554, and 1578, have no Author's Name. *Photius*, who speaks of *Eudocia's* other works, makes no mention of this. All which would make me believe, that 'tis not hers, but *Pelagius's*, and that 'tis imputed to her for no other Reason, but because she had commended it in an Epigram, which was in the beginning of it.

There is a Latin Work of the same Nature, attributed to *Proba Falconia*, the Wife of *Anticius Probus*, who also hath made an History of the Life of Jesus Christ, framed out of pieces of *Virgil's* Poems. It was Printed at *Colen* in 1601, at *Lyons* in 1516, at *Frankfort* in 1541, and at *Paris* in 1578. These Two Works are also put in the *Biblioth. Patr.* [Tom. V.] *S. Jerome* in his Letter to *Paulinus* says, that he had seen these Poems made up of pieces of *Homer*, and *Virgil*, but he shews no great liking to them, and indeed, these sort of Works cannot be very excellent, but are rather an Indication of the Author's Memory and Labour, than the fineness of their Wit, or the strength of their Fancy.

Proba Falconia flourished about the Year * 430. *Eudocia* was Married to the Emperor about the Year 421, and Died in 460. *Zonaras* tells us, That she fell into disgrace about a trivial matter. The Emperor having sent her an Apple of an extraordinary bigness, she gave it to *Paulinus*, who was highly in favour with her upon the account of his Learning; he not knowing where she had it, presented it to the Emperor, who seeing the Empress a little while after, asked her, What she had done with the Apple? She fearing, lest her Husband should grow suspicious of her, if she should say she had given it *Paulinus*, affirmed, with an Oath, that she had Eaten it. This made the Emperor believe, that she had not an innocent Familiarity with *Paulinus*, especially seeing her so much Abashed, when he shewed it to her. Whereupon he forced her to depart from him. She went to Jerusalem, where she spent her time in Building of Churches, and did not return till after her Husband's Death. This is the History, or rather, the Fable reported by *Zonaras*.

* TYRSIUS RUFUS ASTERIUS.

TYRSIUS RUFUS ASTERIUS, who was Consul in 449, reviewed and published *Sedulius's* Poems. Some have thought him the Author also of a Book, called, *A Tyrsus Ruffus Comparison of the Old and New Testament*, written also in Verse, but others attribute it to the same *Sedulius*. It is an Elegy, which contains in the First Verse of every Strophe some History of the Old Testament, and in the Second, an Application is made of it to some part of the New. It is written in a very clear and smooth Style.

PETRO.

PETRONIUS.

PETRONIUS, a Person of great Sanctity, after he had been for some time a Monk, was chosen Bishop of *Bononia*. He was Co-temporary with *Eucherius* Bishop of *Lyon*, as appears by the Letter of this latter, written to *Valerian*, concerning the Contempt of the World. He is thought, faith *Gennadius*, the Author of some Lives of the *Egyptian* Fathers, whom the Monks took upon as the Model and Mirror of their Profession. I have read, faith the same Person, a Book concerning the Ordination of a Bishop, which bears the same Name, but the Elegancy of the Style proves that it is not his, as some have thought it, but his Father *Petrinus*, who was a Man very Eloquent, and very well skilled in the most excellent Learning, for it is Noted in that Writing, that the Author was *Præfatus Petronius*. He Died in the Reign of *Theodosius*, and *Valentinian*. *S. Eucherius* cites him in his Book of the Contempt of the World. We have none of this Bishop's Works. Some Lives of the Fathers are attributed to him, but they are supposititious.

CONSTANTINUS, or CONSTANTIUS.

THIS Author was a Priest of *Lyon*, who wrote the Life of *S. German* Bishop of *Antipodarum*, recited by *Surius* on July the 31st.

PHILIPPUS.

PHILIP, a Priest and a Disciple of *S. Jerom*, hath composed a very plain Commentary upon *Job*. He hath also written some Letters to his Friends, in some of which he exhorts them to endure Afflictions and Poverty patiently. He Died under the Empire of *Marcian*. This is what *Gennadius* says of this Author. We have yet a Commentary upon *Job* under the Name of this Father, Printed at *Basil* in 1527, (both in Folio and Quarto). It is nothing to the purpose, that it hath been since attributed to *Beda*, and Printed under his Name among his Works, because this Author himself in his Treatise *De Uncia*, i. e. of the Ounce, cites it under the Name of *Philip*. But 'tis not absolutely certain, that it is the Work of the Scholar of *S. Jerom*. The Commentary upon *Job* falsely reckoned for *S. Jerom*'s, is nothing but an Abjgment of this.

SYAGRIUS.

SYAGRIUS, faith *Gennadius*, Ch. 63. of his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, hath made a Treatise concerning Faith against the inconsiderate and presumptuous Terms, which the Hereticks made use of to Abolish, or Change, the Names of the Three Persons of the *Trinity*, by refusing to give to the First Person the Name of Father, which shews, that the Son is of the same Nature, and by calling him by the Name of the Only Uncreated God, without beginning, and cause, that they may make us believe, that the other Persons, which are distinct from him, are of a different Nature. This Author demonstrates against them, that the Father may be said to be without a beginning, altho' he be of the same Nature with the Son whom he hath begotten, and not Created, and that the Holy Spirit is produced, altho' it may be said, that he is neither Begotten nor Created. I have also met, faith *Gennadius* further, some Books intitled, *Of Faith*, and the *Rules of Faith*, which also bear the Name of *Syagrius*, but because they are not of the same Style, 'tis not credible, that they are his. We have nothing more of this Author's.

ISAAC.

ISAAC.

ISAAC, a Priest of the Church of *Antioch*, hath written several Books, in *Sixty* principal of them are against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*. He hath also made a Poem, wherein he bewails the destruction of *Antioch*, as *S. Ephrem* before him had lamented the Ruin of *Nicomedia*. This *Isaac* Died under the Empire of *Leo*, and *Marcian*, about the Year 454. There was also another Younger of the same Name, who lived to the end of the Sixth Age, as *S. Gregory* tells us, in the Third Book of his Dialogues. The Treatise concerning the Contempt of the World, which bears the Name of *Isaac* in the *Biblioth. Patr.* [Tom. XI.] ought to be imputed to the latter, rather than to the former. *Trithemius* hath made a Catalogue of the Works of the former in the following manner, viz. Two Books against the *Nestorians*, and *Eutychians*, An Exhortation to a Spiritual Life; A Book of Fighting against Vices; A Book concerning our Approach to God; A Book of the difficulty in praising Virtue; A Dialogue of our Spiritual Growth; A Book of the Order of Monks; A Treatise of Humility; A Book of the Three Orders of Prebends; One of the Privilege of Monks; One of the diversity of Temptations; One of the Instruction of Novices; One of Repentance; A Poem upon the destruction of *Antioch*. He had seen these Treatises, and marks the beginnings of them. He adds moreover, That this Author had made several Hostilities which had never fallen into his Hands.

SIMEON STYLITES.

IT is commonly thought, that this Famous and Admirable Monk of Antiquity, who lived 56 Years on the top of a Pillar, whose Extraordinary Life hath been written by *Ananias*, it is extant in *Bibl. Patr.* Tom. 1. one of his own Scholars, and by *Theodoret*, is the Author of a small discourse concerning Death, which is in *Latin* in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Others attribute it, and that more probably, to another *Simeon Stylites*, who lived under *Justinian*, one of whose Letters is cited in the Fifth Action of the II. Council of *Nice*. But however that be, This discourse is a very little thing. He represents in it the state of the Soul after its separation from the Body, and describes after what manner the Angels conduct it to Glory, if it be Adorned with Virtues; and how it is receiv'd by the Devils, if it be full of Vices. The Ancient *Simeon Stylites* wrote some Letters [to *Theodosius*, to *Leo*, to *Eudokia*, to *Basil* Bishop of *Antioch*,] about the affairs of the Church.

MOSCHIMUS, or MOCHIMUS.

MOSCHIMUS of *Mesopotamia*, a Priest of *Antioch*, wrote an Excellent Treatise against *Eutyches*, as *Gennadius* says, Ch. 71. It is said, That he wrote some other Works, but I never read them. This is all we know of this Author, who hath nothing extant. There is in *Lupus*'s Collection of Pieces, a Letter of *Theodoret* written to this Priest, [now called *Aleppo*.]

ASCLEPIUS, PETER, and PAUL.

WE have nothing concerning these Three Authors, but what *Gennadius* relates in Ch. 73, 74, and 75, of his Book of the *Ecclesiastical Writers* of his time, viz. *Asclepius* the African, a Bishop of a small Town in the Territory of *Baya*, wrote against *Peter* and the *Arians*. He is also at this Day said to write against the *Donatists*. He is reputed to have *Paul*, taught excellently well *Extempore*.

Alciphron,
Peter and
Paul.

Peter, a Priest of the Church of Edessa, an Eminent Orator, hath written Treatises upon several Subjects, and made *Psalms* in Verse, in imitation of S. Ephrem the Deacon.
Paul, a Priest born in Pamphilia, so far as I can guess by his Writings, hath written to a Noble Virgin, Named *Constantia*, Two Books Of the preservation of Virginity; and some Treatises Of the Conquest of the World. The way to lead a Christian Life, and amend our Manners. His Style is plain, but seasoned with Divine Elegancy. He makes mention of *Goodness* the Mistress, the great Lover of Carnal Pleasures, whose Life was so devoid of Charity and Temperance, that he Died in the midst of a sumptuous Banquet, or as others relate, while he was writing of Love Letters.

SALVIAN.

Salvian.

SALVIAN, a Priest of Marseilles, very well skilled in Divine and Prophane Sciences, Master of Bishops, (a) hath written several Works in a clear and elaborate (b) Style. These Books I have read, faith *Gennadius*, Three Books Of the advantages of a Single Life, to Marcellin the Priest; Four Books Against Covetousness; Five Books Upon the Judgment; And another Book to *Salonius* (c) A Book to *Claudius*, containing, An Explication of the latter part of Ecclesiastes. (d). A Book of Letters; And A Treatise, in Heroick Verse, upon the beginning of Genesis, in imitation of the Greeks. He hath also composed several Homilies for the use of some Bishops, and so many Discourses upon the Sacrament, that I cannot remember them all. He was yet living, and enjoy'd an happy Old Age, when *Gennadius* wrote this of him about the Year 495. It is commonly believed, That we have none of *Salvian's* Works, of which *Gennadius* speaks, but it is very probable, that the Eight Books Of the Government of God, and of his Judgments, are the Five Books to *Salonius*; And the Four Books Of Covetousness, are the Four Books to the Catholick Church. As for the rest, they are not extant.

In the First he undertakes to settle the belief of God's Providence, and to prove that it is every where present, Governing, and judging all. This he shews in the Two first Books by Reason, Example, and Authority. After he hath laid this firm Foundation, upon which he builds his whole Edifice of Providence, he propounds this great Question: How it comes to pass, if this be true, that the Barbarians, and Heathens, are more happy than Christians, and that among Christians the Good are more Unfortunate very often than Sinners? In the first place he cuts the Knot, by saying, That he might Answer, That he is Ignorant of the reason; and that it belongs not to him to unfold the hidden Counsels of God, nor give a reason of his unsearchable Judgments; that it is sufficient for Christians, that the Holy Scripture hath clearly taught this point, inasmuch, that they cannot doubt of it; That they ought to content themselves with what the Apostle says, That in this World we must suffer Persecutions. But because many believe, that worldly good things are due to them, as a reward of their Faith, he saith first of all, That there are very few Men that can truly pretend, that they have Faith, and are through Christians. We are made Christians, saith he, by the Law, by the Prophets, by the Gospel, by Baptism, and by Christ. Now what Man is there that lives conformably to this Calling? Who is there that observes the Commands of Christ in the literal sense? Who loves his Enemies heartily? Who utterly forakes all? Who bears Injuries patiently? &c. False Oaths, Murthers, Lusts, and many other Sins reign in the World.

His way of handling this subject convinceth us, that his main end was to declaim against the Manners of his Age, which he doth in all the rest of this Work. He therein describes with all the Strength and Elegancy possible, the most common Irregularities. He inveighs particularly against the Uncleanliness of the Theatres, and Prophane Sights. He gives a

a Of Bishops.] *Salonius* and *Veranus* are ordinarily added, but there are several MSS, where they are not found. It is so read in *Horatius Augustinus*, *nenis*, but it is an evident Addition, for who sees not, that there is no fence in the Text of *Gennadius*, if it be read so. These are his words, *Salvianus divina et humana literatura instructus, et, ut obsequie invidiam loquar, Magister Episcoporum*. This is good and complete sense. But what does he mean to say after this, *Sanctiorum Salonii et Verani*? Was it a thing to be envied, to be Master of these Two Bishops? No surely, But it was to be Master of Bishops, and to make Sermons for them, as we learned by what follows, *Homiliis scriptis Episcopis*

mulas, for so it ought to be read, and not *Episcopos*.

b Elaborate.] *Scholastico* Sermones, is a Term which was used at that time to expresse a Poetic and Elaborate Discourse.

c To Salonius.] It is in *Gennadius*, *Pro coram meo satis factis*, which is very obscure. M. Balthus reads it, *Pro coram meo satis faciendo*, which is not much plainer. I believe it ought to be read, *De presenti iudicio et de merito satisfactis ad Salonium Libros VIII.*

d Ecclesiastes.] It is *Ecclesiasticus* in *Gennadius*, but it is a mistake. It ought to be read, *Ecclesiastes*, as *Ado* observes in his Chronicon.


ribble

able description of the Corrupt Manners of the People, and especially the Africans; and he affirms, That as great as the Calamities of Africa, and other parts of the Empire of Rome, *Salvian* were, in being made a Prey to the Barbarians, they were nothing like to those Punishments and Chastisements which the Crimes of Men deserved. In this Work he speaks of the taking of Carthage by *Genetrix*, which happened in 439, and of the War of *Lotarius* against the *Vandals* in the same Year, as of things newly done, which helps us to fix the time when these Books were written.

The Four Books of *Salvian*, Dedicated to the Catholick Church under the Name of *Timothy*, contain a Satyr against Rich, and Covetous Men; and some important Precepts about the Obligation of giving Alms. He bewails in the beginning, the general Corruption of Christians. That blessed time of the Primitive Church is gone and past; faith he; That time wherein all that believed in Jesus Christ did freely offer the Corruptible Goods of this Life to obtain Eternal Riches in Heaven, changing the possession of the things of this Life for the hopes of the good things of another, and purchasing immortal Riches with present Poverty. But now Covetousness, Lust, Theft, and other Vices which accompany them, such as Envyings, Haired, Enmities, Roughness, Lasciviousness, Drunkenness, have come in their place, the Vices of the Church are increased as much as the Members. The Number of Christians is greater, but their Faith is less, for where is now the singular Beauty of all her Members? Where is the time wherein every one minded not his own things. Further, Having described the eager desires which the Christians of his time had to gather great Riches, he confutes the plausible Reasons, and ordinary Pretences, which the Rich Men made use of to excuse their desires of Wealth. The first, says he, are those that say, That the Love which they bear to their Children obliges them to gather Wealth, and get Riches; as if it were impossible to love their Children without being Rich. Mult Avarice be the Bond and Knot of Kindness? If this be so, I must not condemn Covetousness, but that Love which inclines you to it. How so, Do you condemn the Affection which Fathers have for their Children? I am so far from that, that I say, That we must Love them above all things, but we must Love them as God commands us, by giving them a good Christian Education, and making them Rich in Vertue and Piety. *Salvian* after he hath rejected this foolish pretence, by which Rich Men attempt to cover their desire, proves, That it is not allowed to Men to make such use of their Riches as they please; That they are but Stewards of what God hath given them, and he will require an account of the Management, and use they have made of it, and condemn them to Eternal Flames for the misuse; That it is dangerous to put off our Conversion, or Alms to the Poor, till we come to Die, because there is a great likelihood, that we do not abstain from Sin out of choice, but because we cannot do otherwise; That Alms-deeds are of no use to them who live ill, and hope to buy off their Sins by the Legacies which they give at their last Gasps, but may be very helpful to those, who, having fallen thro' frailty or ignorance, are really touched with a sincere Repentance, when they know their fault; That he can say nothing of those who continue in their Vices to the last Moments; That he can promise them nothing; That it were Cruelty indeed to forsake them altogether, and hinder them from applying the last Remedies, but it would be also rash to promise any thing, seeing they offer themselves so late to be cured; That all the Remedies that can be used to cure their Sins, is nothing but Alms-giving, which must then be applied to them; That they ought to be advised to offer their Wealth for the deliverance of their Soul, but to do it with Tears, Grief, and Sorrow, because God doth not regard the Offering so much, as the disposition of the Heart of him that Offereth; That also when they Offer their substance to God, they must do it not with the Confidence of a Person that brings a Present, but with the Humility of a Debtor who would pay what he owes.

Salvian having thus shewn in the first Book, That Sinners are obliged to give Alms, he demonstrates in the Second, That this Obligation reaches to the Righteous also. Because there is none of all those many Benefits of Nature, or Grace, which we are not beholden to God for, and more especially, for the Death of Jesus Christ. But are then the Widow, Virgin, Consecrated to God, the Monk, and Clergy-Man, obliged to give all their Goods to the Poor? Did not the Law permit the Holy Men to preserve their Estates? The Law, faith *Salvian*, was perfected by the Gospel, all that was allowed then is not so now. Under the Law there was more liberty, Eating of Flesh was then commanded to us, but now Abstinence is wholly Preached up; there were few Fasting-Days, now all our Life is a continued Fast. Revenge was then lawful, but now we must suffer, &c. Let any Man read the Precepts of the Gospel. The Apostle will not have a Widow to live in Pleasures and Delights, how can it then be permitted her to be Rich? Such Virgins as give but a part of their Goods are Fools, for the Lamp goes out because there is not Oil enough. It is needless to demonstrate, that Clergy-Men, and Bishops, are obliged to reserve nothing of their Goods to themselves, since it is their part to give an Example to the Ignorant Christians, whom they ought as much to surpass in Devotion, as they do in Degree and Dignity. For the highest place in the Priestly Office, without great worth, is nothing else but a Title given to an Office, Dignity to an unworthy Person, and as a Precious Stone in the Dirt. The Levites of the Old Law had nothing of their own; with how much greater reason is it forbidden to the Ministers of the New Law to possess Riches, and leave them to their Heirs. Jesus Christ doth not advise them,

[(a) *Hypa-*
tius.
(b) *Palladia*
(c) *Quista*.
(d) *Auspici-*
ola.]

all that are too rigid Censors of Manners, and it is hard to inveigh strongly against a Vice,  without falling into the contrary Extrem.

There are Three Books of Questions; [Printed with *Salvoian* at *Basil*, and elsewhere.] to reconcile some places of the Old and New Testament together. Some attribute them to *Salvoian*, but 'tis certain they are not his. [They are commonly imputed to *Fulian Bishop of Rus* *helo*].

The Works of *Salomon* have been Printed in the former Age in several places, as at *Delft* in 1530, [with the Notes of *Alexander Braccianus in Folio*] at *Paris* in 1570, and in 1572, at *Rome* by *Manutius* in 1584. M. *Pitbaw* reviewed them by several Manuscripts, and published a new Edition at *Paris* in 1580. After him *Ritterhusius* caused them to be reprinted in 1611, [at *Altorf* in 2 Vol. Octavo] to which he added long Comments. *Pitbaw's* Edition was again Printed in 1645, [and in 1640 at *Paris*]. Lastly, M. *Baluzius* having reviewed them by Four Manuscripts, published them with short Notes. This Edition which is the last, and the best, was Printed for *Muguet* in 1663, [at *Paris*, where it was reprinted again in 1669, Octavo. Besides these Editions they were Printed at *Norimberg* in 1623, at *Rouen* in 1697, Twelves, with *Braccianus* his Notes. At *Oxford* in 1633, with the afore said Notes].

ARNOBIIUS, *junior*

THE Author of the Commentary upon the *Psalms* Dedicated to *Laurentius*, or rather *Damasus*, and *Rufinus*, commonly bears the Name of *Ambrosius*. It is hard to say; Whether it be the true Name of this Author, or some feigned Name; but however that be, we must not confound him with *Ambrosius* the Apologist for Religion, this last having lived after the Heretic of *Pelagius*, in the time when there were such hot Disputes about Predestination. He took part, and ranked himself on the side of the Priests of *Marseille*, against the Scholars of *S. Austin*; which makes me think he was a *French* Man brought up in the Monastery of *Lerins*. The Bishops to whom he writes are without doubt *Leonius* of *Arles*, and *Rufinus* Bishop of *Forum-Julii*. It appears by what he says upon the 105th *Psalms*, that he was in the Priesthood.

the Priesthood. His Commentary is extremely short. He applies himself to the Allegorical Sense, and refers all the Text of the *Psalms* to Jesus Christ, and his Church. He doth it with a great deal of Wit and Elegancy, and mixes now and then some Moral Observations, but his chief design is to find in the *Psalms* the whole *Oeconomy* of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and particularly the benefits of the Redemption. He seems to favour the Error of *Pelagius* in his Commentary upon the *50th Psalm*, where he says, That Man is born Subject to the Sentence passed upon *Adam*, without partaking in his Sin. *Qui nascitur, sententiam Adæ habet, peccatum vero non habet.* Nevertheless he acknowledges, That the Nature of Man is decayed thro' the Sin of the First-Man. He owns the effects of Original-Sin, and the Necessity of Redemption; and he observes all along, that we can do nothing without the Divine help; That it is he that delivers us from our Irregular Motions, who infills into us the knowledge of Good, who makes us love it and practise it. He goes yet further, and will not have Man attribute any Good-Work to himself, nor presume upon the strength of his Free-Will, because the *Will*, says he, upon *Psalms 117*, may be over-powered, but God cannot. The Freedom of Man cannot say, I have Conquered my Enemies, for no Man ever overcame either his visible, or invisible Enemies, without the help of God. To God then we owe our Victory, his Almighty Arm works that little Goodness that we have in us, he hath the power of Life and Death, he makes us sing his Divine Praises. But altho' he extolls the strength of Grace so much, yet he opposes those that Teach Predetermination, or as he says on *Psalms 109*, those that have Predetermined some to Good, and others to Evil, and deny Free-Will. He maintains, That Grace doth not expel Freedom, but that we may request, pray, knock at the Gate for it, and God will not deny his Grace to those Persons who do so. That there is an Universal preventing Grace, which Jesus Christ hath diffused upon all Men, which goes before all their desires, and by the help of which they have recourse to God for his Special Graces. That their Freedom is not utterly destroyed, but yet they must impute all the Good they do to God. God commands nothing impossible. Men never are guilty of Sin, but when they have no Will to do that thing which they are able to do. God never rejects them who have recourse to him. Read the Commentaries upon *Psalms 37, 77, 91, 109, 117, 118, and 146.* In his Commentary upon the *138th Psalm* he opposes the *Novatian* Heretic. In the *139th Psalm* he notes, That Excommunication is to terrify, not destroy, because it excludes from Eternal Life. He adds, That Heretics can have no place in the Kingdom of Heaven, because they corrupt the Word of God; and he says further, That Bishops who have no

case, to send their flock with this Divine Word, shall be punished in the same manner. He speaks of Guardian-Angels in his Commentary upon the 37th Psalm, and 38th Ps. That they with drive these evil Men, when they run into Sin. The Commentary is not the Style of the Ancient *Arnobius*, nor written with so much clearness as it might. But yet the Style is not bad. [It hath been Printed alone at *Basle* in 1522, and by *Erasmus* at *Cologne* in 1532, *Octavo*, and more correct at *Paris* in 1639. The extant also in *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. 8.]

We have also under the Name of *Arnobius* a Dialogue about the Trinity and Incarnation, first Printed by *Erasmus*, at the end of his Edition of *S. Irenaeus*, at *Cologne* in 1536, and since with all *Erasmus's* Works. 'Tis also in *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. 8.] and some Notes upon the Gospel; [Printed at *Basle* in 1543, *Octavo*, and, reviewed and amended by *Schottus*, at *Paris* in 1639.]

HONORATUS, Bishop of Marfeille.

GEMNADIUS says, That this Bishop was Eloquent, and that he had an excellent faculty of making Sermons *Extempore*, for being filled with the Fear of God, and well skilled in Ecclesiastical Matters, as soon as he opened his Mouth Divine Instructions flowed from it, as from a Magazine. He composed several Homilies, in which he set himself especially to Explain the Mysteries of Religion, and Confute the Hereticks. The People and Clergy came in throngs to hear him, and the other Bishops desired him often to come and Preach in their Churches. Pope *Gelasius* acknowledges under his Hand, That he was found in the Faith, and shews the great Esteem he had for him in a Letter. He composed the Lives of the Saints for the Edification of the Faithful, and chiefly insits upon the Life of *S. Hilary*, to whom he was obliged for his Education. He often joined devoutly with his People in the Litanies, to implore the Mercy of God. This is what *Gemnadius*, or some other Author of the same time, says, in Commendation of *Honoratus*. I say, *Gemnadius*, or some other Author, because this Clause is not to be found in some Manuscripts of *Gemnadius's* Treatise of Ecclesiastical Authors, and it seems not to be his Style. But however that be, it is not to be doubted, but that it was written by some Author of that time.

We have the Life of *S. Hilary* Bishop of *Aries*, but it is questionable, whether it be *Honoratus's*, because in the Manuscript of the Church of *Aries*, where it is found, 'tis attributed to *Reverentius*, *Hilary's* Successor. There never was a Bishop of *Aries* of that Name, but perhaps the Name of *Reverentius* who was immediate Successor to *Hilary*, was intended. Now it is evident, that this Life cannot be his, since the Author says, that *Reverentius* was sent to *Rome* by *S. Hilary*, and that afterward he was his Successor. It is certain, that it was written by one of *S. Hilary's* Scholars, and why should it not be *Honoratus*, since it is manifest he wrote one, and this is very worthy of him? It is excellently well written, and full of very useful Maxims. There is nothing in it Mean, or Childish, and the Marks of Truth and Sincerity are visible quite thro' it, it gives us a full Idea of *S. Hilary's* Person, and lays before us a Platform of a Life becoming a Bishop. The Author proves what he says by the Testimonies of those who had seen and written to *S. Hilary*. He recites their very words, as also *S. Hilary's*. Lastly, It may be said, That it must needs be he that wrote the Lives of the Saints. I say no more here, because I have made an Extract of it, when I spoke of *Hilary* Bishop of *Aries*. [It is Extant in *Surius* on *May* the 5th.]

SALONIUS and VERANUS.

SALONIUS and **VERANUS**, the Sons of *S. Eucherius*, were brought up in the Monastery of *Lerins*, under the Government of *Honoratus*, and *Hilary*, and instructed afterward by *Vincencius*, and *Salvoian*. They were Bishops in *France*, but it is not well known of what City (*a*), but it is very probable, that they were Bishops in the Province of the *Alps*, bordering upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, of which *Arbrun* was the Metropolis. They wrote with *Ceretus* a Letter to *S. Leo*, to thank him for sending them a Copy of his Letter written to *Flavian*. Their Letter is found among *S. Leo's* Letters. *Veranus* wrote also to this Pope in defence of the Rights of *Ingenius* Arch-Bishop of * *Arbrun*, and received an Answer from *Hilary*, *S. Leo's* Successor. *Salonius* was present at the Council of *Orange* held in 441, and *Veranus* was Commissioned by Pope *Hilary* to put *S. Leo's* Orders in execution, touching the Uniting the Cattle of *Nyssa* to the Church of *Cemele*. We have under the Name of *Salonius* an Explication of the Proverbs of *Solomon* in the form of a Dialogue between himself and his Brother *Veranus*, which clears by Question and Answer the Text of this Book of *Salomon*. He hath also a Mythical Exposition [of the Book of *Ecclesiastes*] composed in the same way. The Style of these Dialogues is plain, and near, the greatest part of his Explications are inclining to Morality. [They are extant in *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. 6.]

(a) It is not well known, &c.] There is no doubt but that they were Bishops, *Salonius* says, That after they had been his Scholars they became Masters of the Church. *Gemnadius* also says, That they were Bishops, and the Letter written to *S. Leo*, as well as the Answer of Pope *Hilarius* are Authentick Testimonies of their Dignity, but none of the Ancients have taken notice of what City they were Bishops. *Sidonius Apollinaris* in Letter 15, Lib. 7, directed to *Salonius*, tells us, That they inhabited a Country near *Vienna*, which makes some think, that *Salonius* was Bishop of *Vienna*, but he was not then Bishop when *Sidonius* wrote that Letter to him. *Ado*, who hath made a Catalogue of the Bishops of *Vienna*, doth not put *Salonius* among them. Others have believed *Salonius* and *Veranus* Bishops of *Lyons* successively, after their Father *S. Eucherius*. This Opinion is grounded upon the Catalogues of the Bishops of *Lyons*, which are manifestly faulty, for after *Eucherius*, his Sons *Salonius* and *Veranus* are placed, and after them *Desiderius* who was Bishop of *Vienna*, and not of *Lyons*. Besides, *Salonius* subscribed the Council of *Orange* in 441, as a Bishop, where *S. Eucherius* was present. Wherefore he was Bishop of some other City in his Fathers life-time. The 4th Letter of Pope *Hilary* informs us, That *Veranus* had written in favour of *Ingenius* Arch-Bishop of *Arbrun*, in the Province of the *Sea-Alps*, and that he was in Commission for the affairs that concerned the Bishopsricks of that Province, which gives reason to conjecture that he was a Bishop of that Province. This agrees also with an Ancient MS. of the Monastery of *Lerins*, where *Veranus*, who is entitled Bishop of *Vincium*, is reckoned among the Saints of that Monastery. This is the Judgment of *Bardais* in his Chronology of *Lerins*, where he attributes the same Bishoprick to *Veranus*. It is probable, that *Salonius* was Bishop of the same Province, as well as *Ceretus*, since they have all three written to *S. Leo* together, and they seem to have done it jointly from the other French Bishops, for fear only lest they should prejudice the Rights of their Metropolitans, and their Province, by joining with other Bishops, who would have them depend on them. It is likewise very probable, that *Salonius* was Bishop of *Geneva*, and 'tis of him that it is observed in *Euuardus's* Martyrology, on September the 25th, *Civitate Fanus Sancti Salonii Episcopi & Confessoris*. And in other Martyrologies, *Geneva Civitate depositio Sancti Salonii*. This Name hath been altered in *Bede's* Martyrology, and hath been made *Salomon*. Of *Salonius* is made *Salomus*, as we find in some Manuscripts, and *Salomus* hath been changed into *Salomon*, as it is in the Roman Martyrology. *Genas*, or *Fanus*, is taken for *Genes*, and that is *Geneva*. In the Subscriptions of the Council of *Lyons*, held in 579, under King *Guntiram*, we find *Episcopus Ecclesie Genevensis*. If that Subscription be true, there must have been Two Bishops of *Geneva* of the same Name. There was also at that time another *Salonius* Bishop of *Arbrun* famous for his Crimes.

PAULINUS PETROCORIUS.

THERE are many *Paulinus's* in this Age, for besides the Bishop of *Nola*, and *Paulinus* Scholar of *S. Ambrose*, Bishop of *Biterre*, who wrote a Letter, of which *Idacius* makes mention in his Chronicon upon the Year 420, there was also *Paulinus* Nephew of *Aufonius*, the Author of a Poem of Thanksgiving to *Aufonius*, and this *Paulinus* who hath made Six Books in Verse concerning the Life and Miracles of *S. Martin*. In the Manuscripts he is called *Peiricordius*, i. e. of *Perigueux* (as it is now called). *F. Sirmondus* affirms, that it is *Petrocorius*, and that *Petrocorius* signifies *Befineon*, and so thinks that this *Paulinus* is that Rhetorician who dwelt in that City, of whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* speaks, L. 28. Ep. 11. But this

this Conjecture is not well supported. This Poet hath nothing Elegant nor Sublime in it; the Terms are Harsh and Barbarous, and the Verses are pitiful, and Story very troublesome. [It is Published by *Juret* at *Paris* in 1755, under the Name of *Paulinus of Nola*, and in the *Biblioth. Patr.* Printed at *Paris*. In his own Name it hath been Printed at *Leipsick* in 1686, *Oravo*, and *Biblioth. Patr.* Tom. 6.]

MUSÆUS.

MUSÆUS, or **MUSSÆUS**, a Priest of *Moselle*, was a Man mighty in the Holy Scriptures, who by continual Exercise had accustomed himself to find out useful senses of it, and make very pertinent Applications. His Style was very Polite. At the desire of *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, he selected out of Scripture [They are extant in *Bern. Guido*] proper Lessons for all the Festivals of the Year, with *Responses* and *Psalms* suitable to the time, and to the Lessons. The Necessity of this Work is generally acknowledged by all Readers, because when they make use of it, it prevents confusion and delay, and is of great use in instructing the People, and rendering the Solemnization of the Feast more Venerable. He hath also composed and directed to *Eusebius* that Holy Man's Successor, a great and Elegant Treatise of the Sacraments, divided for convenience sake into many parts, according to the different Offices, Times, Lessons, and *Psalms*, which are sung in the Church, but which all along inclines us to Pray to God, and thank him for his Benefits.

This Work shews him to be a Man of great Sense, and very Polite Eloquence. 'Tis said also that he Preached some Homilies, [they are lost, *Dr. Cave*.] which are, as I understand, in some Pious Men's Hands, but I have never read them. He Died in the Reign of the Emperors *Leo* and *Majorian*, i. e. about the Year 460. This is what *Gennadius* tells us of this Author in *Ch. 79.* of his Book of *Ecclesiastical Writers*.

VINCENTIUS.

VINCENTIUS, a Priest of *France*, but distinct from *Vincent* the Monk of *Lerins*, was very well versed in Scripture, and had acquired an Ability of Reading and Writing in a very Elegant Style. He hath written a Commentary upon the *Psalms*; I have heard him read to *Cannarus* something of this Work in the presence of that Servant of God, and he promised us, that if God gave him Strength and Health, he would do the like upon the whole *Psalter*. We have taken all this from *Gennadius*. He places this Author immediately after *Museus*.

SYRUS.

SYRUS, or *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, a Physician by Profession. Of a Philosopher he became a Monk. He knew exactly how to Write well. He composed a Treatise against *Nestorius*, and confuted him with a great deal of Strength and Eloquence, but he was carried too far against him, and opposed him rather by Syllogisms, than by Testimonies of Scripture. He also declined to the Judgment of *Timotheus*, and thought himself not obliged to follow the Council of *Chalcedon*'s definition, which ties to believe, that there are Two Natures in Jesus Christ after the Incarnation. He flourished under the Emperor *Leo*. This is taken out of *Gennadius*, *Ch. 81.* for we have not the Treatise it self.

SAMUEL.

SAMUEL.

THE Relation which *Gennadius* gives of this Author, is this: He saith, That *Samuel*, a Priest of the Church of *Edessa*, wrote in the *Syrian* Tongue several Books against the Enemies of the Church, principally against the *Nestorians*, *Eutyrians*, and *Timotheans*; all different Hereticks, which he hath often described as a Beast with Three Heads; and distinguishes them by the Doctrine of the Church, and the Authority of Holy Scripture, debasing against the *Nestorians*, That the Word is God-Man, and not a mere Man born of the Virgin; against the *Eutyrians*, That God took real Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, that he had it not from Heaven, and that his Flesh was not formed out of condensed Air; and against the *Timotheans*; That the Word was made Flesh, but so, that he retain'd his Substience, as well as the Humanity, its Nature. He was made One Person by the Union, and by the mixture of the Two Natures. He is said to be yet at *Constantinople*, for it was in the beginning of the Empire of *Anthemus*, that I heard this news of him, and his Works. *Antibem.* He began his Reign in the Year of Christ 467.

CLAUDIUS MAMERTUS.

CLAUDIUS MAMERTUS, a Priest of the Church of *Vienne*, and Brother of the Bishop of that City, commended by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, hath composed Three Books Of the State, or Nature of the Soul, which are found in *Biblioth. Patr.* [Tom. 6.] *Gennadius* informs us, That he wrote some other Treatises, and that he is the Author of the Hymn upon the *Passion*, which begins with these Words, *Pange Lingua Gloriosa*, which others attribute to *Venantius Forsterius*; but besides that *Gennadius*, and the Ancient Scholiast, restore it to *Claudius Mamertus*, it likewise appears that this is that Hymn which *Sidonius* extolls in *Ep. 3. Lib. 4.*

The Books of the Nature of the Soul are a confutation of *Faustus Reizen*, who had made a little Book, in which he maintain'd, That God only is Incorporeal, and that all Creatures, and the Soul of Man it self, are Corporeal. To prove this, he brings the Authority of *S. Jerom.* and *Cassian*. Afterwards he makes use of several Reasons. The Soul, says he, is in a place, it hath its dimensions. It is therefore Corporeal. Its Thoughts and Fancy can extend themselves to things far distant, but its Substience is inclosed in the Body, for 'tis that which animates it, and gives it Life. So long as *Lazarus*'s Soul was in his Body, he Lived, but as soon as it was departed from it, he Died, and he received a new Life when Jesus Christ made his Soul return again to his Body. The same may be said of the Soul of Jesus Christ. In a word, how can it be said, That a Substience which is contained in the Flesh, which preserves the Life of it, and that Dies by the separation, is not in a place? If the Soul hath not a determinate place, how can it be said that the Souls of Sinners are in Hell, and of Just Men in Heaven? What is that Chaos that separates them? Why are not they also happy? Are not also the Angels in a determinate place? Are not they said to ascend, and descend? Lastly, If any Creature be not in a place, it must be said to be every where. Now nothing is in all places but God. These are the Reasonings, which *Faustus* of *Ries* uses in that little Book, which he Published without putting his Name to it, as *Mamertus* upbraids him in the beginning of his Confutation. He knew not whose it was, or at least doth not say he did. 'Tis from *Gennadius* that we learn that it was *Faustus*'s of *Ries*.

It is evident by *Mamertus*'s Answer, That we have not that Writing perfect, for in the first part he had asserted, That the Divinity suffered in Jesus Christ, not in its own Nature, but by a Compassionate Sense. This *Mamertus* confutes in the first place, shewing, That that Expression is false and new, because it cannot be said in any sense, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ hath endured Grief, altho' it may be asserted by reason of the Unity of the Two Natures in One Person, that God suffered. In the next place he proves, That the Soul is Incorporeal, because it was made in the Image of God. He confesses, that all things that are invisible, are not Spiritual, and gives for an Example of it, the Judgment of the Senses, which is invisible, but he asserts, That the Bodily Sense is of the same Nature with the Elements, whereas the Soul doth not depend upon them, nor was formed out of them, but enlightens the matter. To confute the Objections of the Book which he undertakes to Answer, he says, That every thing that is incorporeal is not uncreated; That the Angels have Bodies really, but they have also a Spirit and Soul. He maintains, That *S. Jerom.* and the Philosophers likewise, were of the same Opinion, when they held, That Men after the Resurrection would be exactly like the Angels, because they would have a Body as thin and subtle as theirs,

themselves from all Natural and Childish Prejudices, they found out the true Nature of the Soul, and the Adequate Idea of a Spiritual Substance. The only difference between them is, that *Mamertus* enlarges upon, proves, and thoroughly discusses those Principles, which this Modern Philosopher contents himself to propound as Truths well enough known. He doth not rely upon what he hath said in his First Book, but confirms his Arguments in the Second and Third Book. In the Second he examines more at large, what he had asserted in the First; That the Soul had neither Weight nor Measure according to Quantity, but according to Quality. He proves this to be the Opinion of the Heathen Philosophers, the greatest part of whom he maintains to have thought the Soul Incorporeal. He adds the Testimony of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and cites in particular *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Austin*, *S. Jerom*. He owns that *S. Hilarius Pictaviensis* did not favour his Opinion, because he hath written, that all Creatures were Corporeal, and believed that Jesus Christ had not suffered. Yet in his defence saith, That he did extinguish the Crime by the Virtue of Confession, and tho' these places of his Writings might be reprov'd, yet that did lessen his Worth. He Quotes *S. Eucherius* with Applause, and speaks Contemptibly of his Adversaries. Lastly, He proves the Soul to be an Immortal Spirit from Texts of Holy Scripture.

In the last Book he explains the other difficulties that still remained. It was Objected, That the Soul is contained in the Body, and consequently, is in a place. He demands how it can be, that the Soul should be in the Body, and yet penetrate all parts of the Body. Is it without, and not within? Or is it within, and not without? Or is it within, and without? It is harder to resolve, than to understand, how a Spirit can move a Body Locally, altho' it be not Locally in the Body. But how, may some say, can the Soul be in a place, and not be there Locally? I Ask you, Whether the World be in a place, or not? If you say, That it is in a place, you will be obliged to tell, what that place is. Is it in the World, or not? If it be out of the World, where is it? You are then obliged to hold, that the World is infinite, or say, that it is in no place. But how, say they, that the Soul of Jesus Christ departed from his Body after his Death, - if it were not in his Body as its place? If this be a good consequence, saith *Mamertus*, we must also assert, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ was also in his Body as in a place, because it was no longer united to the Body of Jesus Christ. The Angels have Bodies, by which they become Visible. The Devils have one, by which they suffer. These Bodies are not borrowed, but their own proper Bodies, yet they have also Spiritual Souls. Lastly, To resolve the last Objection, That the Souls of the Wicked are in Hell, and the Souls of the Just in Heaven, he says, If this ought to be understood of different places, how could *Abraham* and *Dives* hear and talk to one another? How could he see *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* Bosom? Hell and Paradise ought not to be thought different places, but different conditions. The Just and the Unjust may be Locally in the same place, but their state is not at all altered. The Soul sees things Incorporeal, which are not Locally present with it, yet discerns not things Corporeal, which are united to it, when it cannot make use of the Bodily Eyes to see them. Nothing is more nearly joined to the Soul, than the Heart, Bowels, or the Brain, and yet doth it see them?

But some may say, That the Soul is Corporeal in the Eyes of God, but Spiritual in its own Eyes. This is a false distinction, saith our Author, for either it is Spiritual, or Corporeal. If it be Spiritual, God knows it to be such; if it be Corporeal, it knows its self to be such, as it really is.

And what is the Conclusion of the whole? That Man is compounded of Two Substances, the one Spiritual, the other Corporeal; the one Immortal, the other Mortal, that is, a Soul and a Body. This is also the Conclusion of *Claudianus Mamertus*, who at the end of his Treatise had summed up all he hath said in these Ten Principles following.

I. God is Incorporeal; the Soul of Man is the Image of God, which it could not be, if it were not Spiritual.

II. Whatsoever is now in a place is Incorporeal: The Soul is the Life of the Body; this Life is equally in all, and every part of the Body. Therefore the Soul is in no place.

III. The Soul thinks, and its Nature is to think; thinking is an Incorporeal thing, and is in no place, *Ergo*, the Soul is Incorporeal.

IV. The Will is of the Substance of the Soul, all the Soul wills, it is all Will; the Will is not a Body, *Ergo*, the Soul is not a Body.

V. The Memory is not in a place, it is not extended; the great number of things which it remembers, doth not make it bigger, nor the small number lessen it; it remembers Corporeal things after an Incorporeal manner. The whole Soul remembers, 'tis all Memory, *Ergo*, it is not a Body.

VI. The Body cannot be smitten but in that place only that is affected; the Soul feels all at once, when any part of the Body is touched, *Ergo*, this Sensation is in no place, and by consequence is Spiritual as well as the Soul that feels.

VII. The Body neither draws near to, nor departs from God; it approaches to, or removes from other Bodies. Now the Soul draws near to, or departs from God; it comes not near, or goes far from Bodies Locally, *Ergo*, it is not a Body.

VIII. The Body moves in a place, and changes its place. The Soul moves not its self after that manner, *Ergo*, it is not a Body.

Having thus settled the Nature of the Soul of Man, he shews how it differs from the Soul of Beasts, and Plants. The main difference is this, That these last have no knowledge. The Beasts may have the Images of Bodies impressed on their Brain, but they know them not, nor know the things themselves; whereas the Soul of Man knows things Corporeal by the Body, and Spiritual without a Body; something it doth not apply it self to things which make an impression upon its Body. I read, another hears me, and understands what I read, but my self, if my Mind be elsewhere, know not what I have read. My Soul is present to make me perceive the Letters, but not to make me understand what I read.

But may some say, The Substance of the Soul is one thing, its Operation is another. You are mistaken in confounding the Thoughts of the Soul with the Substance of the Soul. The Soul is sometimes without Thoughts; Besides, when the Soul thinks, 'tis in the Body, and by the Body that it thinks. They are the Corporeal Images of Objects that make it think, and it would never remember any thing if these Images were not impressed upon the Brain. This is as far as the difficulty can be urged. But *Mamertus* gives such an Answer as leaves no intricacy behind it. The Soul, saith he, is not different from the Thoughts, altho' the things, upon which the Soul thinks, are different from the Soul itself. It is not true, that the Soul is at any time without thoughts; it can very easily change its thoughts, but to be without is impossible, and it is wholly there where its thoughts are fixed, because it is all thought. You are mistaken in distinguishing the powers of the Soul from the Soul it self; altho' it be accidental to it to think upon this or that Object, yet its Essence is, That it is a thinking Substance. The same is to be said of the Will, it is by accident that it chooses this or that, but its Substance is to Will. It is all Thought, all Will, all Love. It is said of God, that he is Love, but he is Essentially Love, Essentially Loving that which is God. The Soul is also Love, But such a Love as can incline it self to God, or the Creatures, to Good, or Evil. But upon whatsoever Object it is fixed, it is always truly said, that the Soul is all Love, no such thing can be found in the Body. Now to prove, That the Thoughts of the Soul do not depend on the Body, and are not Corporeal, our Author makes use of some Examples in Geometry. We conceive, saith he, what a Point, Line, Circle, and perfect Triangle is. Can the Corporeal Figures of these things be represented? They never have been, and never will be. Yet the Soul conceives them, and knows the properties of them. The Soul knows its Thoughts, its Desires, its Love. Is this done by any Corporeal Image? No certainly. It is the inward Truth, which speaks to it, which makes it understand, that the Thought is distinct from the Speech. Lastly, The Soul inquires after God, knows him, hath it any Image of the Divine Nature but its self?

These are the Principles which *Mamertus* hath laid down in his First Book concerning the Substance of the Soul. I have added nothing, but kept my self almost always to his Words, which I think fit to remark, because his Philosophy hath so great a resemblance to the Meditations of a Famous Modern Philosopher, that I may seem to have this rather from him, than *Mamertus*, or at least, that I have put some new Air upon it. But 'tis no such thing, 'tis the Truth it self, which causes this Agreement between Two Philosophers. They had both of them rational and exact Minds, they followed the same train of Thoughts, and having freed them-

Claudianus Mamertus

THEODULUS.

Theodulus
Dici.

Theodulus, a Priest in Calabria is said to have Written many Works. Gemadius tells us Chapter 91. That he had never seen but one of his Books, which he Compoled about the agreement of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament against those ancient Hereticks, who observing a difference between the Commands and Ceremonies, held; That the God of the Old Testament was not the God of the New. He shews, That it was by a Dispensation of Providence, that GOD had given to the Jews by *Moses*, a Law incumberd with Ceremonies and Judicial Statutes, and to us another by Jesus Christ, made up of Sacred Myteries and Promises of future Good things; but for all this we must not look upon them as distinct; that it was the same Spirit that dictated them, and the same Author that established them, and that the Old Law, which brings Death, being observed in the Literal Sense, bestows Life being understood Spiritually. This Author dy'd three Years since, under the Empire of *Zeno*. *Zeno* ended in 490. Gemadius wrote in 493. There is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, [Tom.8.] a Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles, which bears the Name of Theodulus, but it can't be his, because it speaks of *Acumenius* and *Photius*, who lived a long time after. It is an Abridgment of *Acumenius's Catena*.

EUGENIUS.

Eugenius
Dici.

Eugenius Bishop of Carthage and Confessor, being summoned by *Humericus* King of the *Vandalis* to explain the Faith of the Church, and the true signification of the Word, Confutatorial, made a Treatise of the Faith, approved by all the Bishops, and all the Orthodox Confessors of *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*, in which he confirms the true Faith, not only by the Authorities of the Scripture, but also by several passages of the Fathers. This Book was presented by his Fellow Bishop, when he was in Banishment, because he had so freely confided in the Faith as a Good Pastor. He left behind him some Letters to his Flock to strengthen them in the Faith, into which they were Baptized. He also sent in Writing the disputes, which he had had with the *Arian* Bishop by Proxy, and conveyed them to *Humericus* by the Steward of his Household. He also offered a Petition in form of an Apology to that Prince, endeavouring to obtain Peace for the Christians. He is said to be yet alive, and to continue his Service to the Church, by confirming the Faithful. The Treatise of *Eugenius* to *Humericus* is found in the third Book of the History of *Vittor Vitenfis*; [as also in *Tom.4.* of the Councils, and in *Biblioth. Patr. Tom.8.*] and Gregory in his second Book of his History of *France* recites one of his Letters written to the Church of Carthage.

CEREALIS.

Cerealis
Dici.
Epist.
pne Cassi-
lenfis. ruel.
Cassella
ripenfis. G.

Cerealis, an African * Bishop, being required by *Maximinian* a Bishop of the *Arians* in *Africa*, to explain and confirm the Catholick Faith by a few Texts of Holy Scripture, having implored the Divine Assistance, gave a Satisfactory Answer to his Demand, by propounding a clear proof of the Faith of the Church, not only in a few Texts of Scripture, as *Maximinian* had demanded of him, but also in a greater number, taken out of the Old and New Testament, and made one Book of them. This Writing is in the *Biblioth. Patr. Tom.8.* and in the *Heresiologia*, Printed at *Basl* in 1556.

SERVUS DEI.

Servus Dei
Dici.

The Bishop *Servus Dei* hath Written against those that say, That Jesus Christ did not see his Father in this Life with his bodily Eyes, until after his Resurrection from the Dead and Ascension, when he was translated into the Glory of his Father; and that that Vision was a Reward of his Sufferings. He shews, I say, against these Opinions as well by Testimonies of Holy Scripture, as by Rational Argument; That our Lord Jesus Christ did always see the Father and Holy Spirit with his bodily Eyes, from the very time of his Conception by the Holy Ghost, and Birth of

the Virgin; and that this Privilege was granted him upon the account of the intimate Union that there was between the Humane and Divine Nature. This is all *Gemadius* faith of this Author. *Servus Dei*. The Common Opinion of Divines is, That the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ did always enjoy a clear Vision of God, which they call the Beatific Vision; but they do not believe, that he saw his Father with his bodily Eyes. The Vision of God is Spiritual, in which the bodily Eyes have no share. *Quaestio* 10. whether they may not be able to do it, thro' the infinite power of God. If the Author believed, that Jesus Christ saw the Divine Nature with his bodily Eyes, he must be very gross in his conceptions. Saint *Augustin* had confuted him long before, but it may be he will say, as the Schoolmen do, and understand by the Bodily Eyes, the Humane intellectual faculty in Jesus Christ.

IDACIUS.

Idacius of *Antiochia* in *Gallacia*; Bishop of *Augusti-Lucus*; the Metropolis of the same Province, hath made a Chronicle, in which he continues St. *Jerome's* to his own time. It begins at the alias first Year of *Theodosius* the Great, and ends at the Eleventh Year of the Reign of *Leo*, and *Hidastius*. It contains the History, or rather a Chronicle of 86 Years, from the Year 381, to 467. To the Year 437 it is made up of the Writings and Histories of others, but from that time of his own observations. In this Chronicle he sets down the most considerable Events of the Empire, the Years, and Alterations of the Emperors; the Names and Years of the Popedom of the Bishop of *Rome*, and particularly the Ecclesiastical and Profane History of his own Country. He makes use of three *Epocals*; The first is of the Years of the World according to *Eusebius*; the Second is the Spanish *Epoca*, which begins 37 Years before the Nativity of Christ, and the last is of the Olympiads, which he brings lower than *Socrates*, who makes them to end in 440. We may fee there the Years of the Emperors. This Chronicle is in a rough and barbarous stile but easie enough to be understood. *Cassellius* and *Scaliger* had Printed some fragments of it, but *F. Sirmondus* hath Published it entire in 1619, [*Epoca ex Parr.*] out of a MS. in the Jesuits Library of the College of *Clermont*, which came from *Basl*. It had been already Printed at *Rome* before him, since 'tis inserted in *Eusebius's* Chronicle. *F. Sirmondus* found in the same MS a very exact Computation of Years by the Consuls, which begins with the Year 269, and ends at 423. It is thought to belong to the same *Idacius*, not only because it is in the same MS, but because they are very like to one another in style and Chronology. *Eusebius* hath also Published the same since, under the name of *Idacius*, but much enlarged; for they begin at the Consulship of *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, which was in the 245 Year from the building of *Rome*, and ends in the second Consulship of *Antimachus*, that is to say, at the Year 468, where also *Idacius's* Chronicle ends. [Both are extant in *Biblioth. Parr. Tom. VII.*]

[Of *Augusti-Lucus*.] He observes in the Preface, that he was born ex *Lemica Civitate*, and was Bishop of that City, for *Aquila Flavola*, is not a Bishopric but a Church subject to *Augusti-Lucus*. Saint *Leo* speaks of this Bishop in his Letter to *Turribius*, or rather to the Synod of *Gallicia*, heretofore the 93, now the 16th; and he gives him an Answer in the following Letter.

Church, which he had called *aqua Flavensis*, when *Augusti-Lucus* was pillaged, shews, that he was Bishop of that City, for *Aquila Flavola*, is not a Bishopric but a Church subject to *Augusti-Lucus*. Saint *Leo* speaks of this Bishop in his Letter to *Turribius*, or rather to the Synod of *Gallicia*, heretofore the 93, now the 16th; and he gives him an Answer in the following Letter.

VICTORIUS.

Victorius born at *Lemovicum* a City of *Aquidain*, an exact Chronologer, made in the Year 457 at the desire of *Hilary*, then Arch-deacon, and after Bishop of *Rome*, a New Paschal alias Cycle wonderfully curious. It was for 532 Years, because according to his Calculation, *Victorius* at the end of that time *Easter-day* ought to fall upon the same day of the Month, and of the Moon, on which it happened in the Year of the Death of Jesus Christ. *Bucherius* the Jesuit published this Cycle in 1634, [in *Fol. at Antwerp*.] Corrected it in many places, and Explained it by a learned Commentary. He hath put before it a Letter of *Hilary* to *Victorius*, and a Preface of his own. This Author was the first among the Christians, who made use of the space of 19 Years for the Cycle of the Moon. * His Cycle begins at the Year 73, which is the 28 of the Common account, and ends at the Year 559 of the same *Æra* inclusively. It contains 8 Columns. In the first are the names of the Cons. In the second are set down the Numbers of the Years of his Revolution. Golden in the third are observed the Leap-Years. The fourth shews upon what day of the Week the first *Number* day of every Year falls, which is instead of the Dominical Letter, that was not yet found out. The fifth notes how old the Moon was upon the same day, this is instead of the *Epact*. The sixth shews, on what day *Easter-day* falls. The seventh discovers the Age of the Moon on that day.

The left contains the Indictions. *Eusebius* hath added the Golden Number, and hath marked in another Table by the side of Years of the World, according to *Eusebius*, the Years of the Vulgar *Æra*, the Cycles of the Moon and Sun, the Years of the Epochs of the Building of *Rome* according to *Vero*, the true Order of the Consulars, and the Years of the Roman Emperors. This Cycle hath been very famous. The fourth Council of *Origen* held in 541. Decreed, That all Bishops should make use of it in ordering the Celebration of *Easter*. It is commended by *Gennadius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, *S. Hilary* of *Poitiers*, and many others. We know nothing particular of the Life of the Author of it.

GENNADIUS, Patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE.

Gennadius was Chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople* in the room of *Anastius*, in the Year 481. He Nominated one *Marcian*, who had been heretofore a *Monastic*, to be Receiver of the Church of *Constantinople*. This was that Receiver, if we may believe *Theodorus*, who asserted, That the Clergy of every Church, should distribute among themselves the Oblations made to their Church, whereas before they belonged to the Patriarchal Church. But it was not only the Receiver of *Gennadius*, that made this Reformation in the Church of *Constantinople*. This Patriarch also laboured much in it. He held in 459. a Synod; in which he revived the Decrees made against Simoniacal Persons. He made also a Law, that no Priest should be ordained who could not say the *Psalter* by Heart. 'Twas in his time, that *Stodius* built the Monastery of the *Acemete* at *Constantinople*, and Dedicated it to *S. John* [Baptist]. *Gennadius* dyed in the Year 471. He had been advertised of his Death sometime before by a Ghost, which appeared to him, while he was at *Prætorium* in the Church by Night, and foretold him the great trouble that should befall his Church after his Death. *Gennadius*, a Priest of *Marcellus* reckons this Patriarch among the Ecclesiastical Writers, and says, that he had an Elegant Style, and a brisk Wit, that he was grown very Learned by Reading the Ancients, that he had composed a Literal Comment upon *Daniel*, and that he had made some Homilies. We have none of his Works, but there are preserved only two fragments of this *Gennadius*, the one recited by *Facundus*, *Lib. 2. c. 4.* and the other by *Leontius* in his Treatise of Common places about the Original of Souls. We do not know out of what Book the first is taken. It is a Declaration against *St. Cyril*, which seems to be taken out of a Letter written against *St. Cyril's* Chapters. "Unhappy I, faith he, who live in a time, when the Church is afflicted with so great Evils? Alas! Alas! for from whence doth it proceed but from hence in the time, wherein we are? This is the Second. Can we sufficiently lament it, that he hath been corrupted himself, and that he hath corrupted others? He hath cast forth all manner of Blasphemies against the Holy Fathers, the Apostles, yea against *Jesus Christ* himself. He destroys the Humane Nature, that the Word abided from us, and for us, and would make that Nature subject to sufferings that is impossible. *Facundus* also recites the beginning of the Confutation of the first of *St. Cyril's* Chapters, wherein he shews as much passion. *Gennadius* must needs write this when he was very Young, in the time of those hot contests between *Saint Cyril*, and the Oriental Bishops.

The second Passage of *Gennadius* is taken out of the Second Book to *Parthenius*; it is cited by *Leontius* in his Common-places about the Original of the Soul. We do not here speak of the Letter against Simoniacal Persons, because it is a Synodical Letter, which shall be found among the Acts of the Councils.

ANTIPATER of BOSTRA.

This Author flourished about the end of the Fifth Age. He wrote a * Confutation of *Eusebius's* Apology for *Origen*, divided into several discourses. A Fragment of it is cited in the Acts of the second Council of *Nice*, Act. V. *Tom. 7.* Of the Councils, p. 367, where he owns, that *Eusebius* was very skillful to write History; but maintains, that he was not expert in handling Doctrinals. He blames him for defending the Opinion of *Origen*, concerning the Pre-existence of Souls, and the Subjection of the Son of God in respect of his Father, *Leo Allatus* mentions a Sermon of this Author's upon *Saint John Baptist*. *Distrib. de Simeon*. p. 89.

HIL

HILARUS or HILARIUS, Bishop of Rome.

Hilarus, or rather *Hilarius* * an Arch-Deacon of the Church of *Rome* in the Popedom of *St. Leo*, was one of the Legats, which this Pope sent into the East about the affair of *Eusebius*. He was present in that quality in the Sham-Council of *Ephesus*; and because he would not consent to the Condemnation of *Philostratus*, he made his escape into *Italy*. It was at this time, that he wrote his first Letter to *Pulcheria* the Empress, in which he lets her know, that the Pope, and all the Western Bishops disallowed all that was done in the Council. He remained in the Office of an Arch-Deacon till the Death of *St. Leo*. We have a Letter of his written in 457 to *Victorius*, in which he desires the resolution of such difficulties, as arose about *Easter-day*. This Letter, as we have said, is at the beginning of *Victorius's* Paschal Cycle.

Arch-Deacons having had a share in the Government of the Church, it hath been thought, that no other Person could be chosen to succeed the Bishop than they: Upon which account it is, that they have ordinarily been pitched upon. Hence it was, that after the Death of *Saint Leo*, *Hilarius* was chosen into his place. He was ordained November 17. in the year 461. We have a Letter of his to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*, dated Jan. 25. Anno 462, wherein he tells him of his Election, and desires him to let all the Bishops of his Countrey know it, that they may join their Prayers with his for the good of the Universal Church. This Letter is unfitly put in the 5th place, since it is dated before any that *Hilary* wrote, when he was Bishop. He therein put him in mind, that those who are observers of Tradition, are sensible what respect hath been given all along to *St. Peter* and his See, *Leontius*, to whom this Letter is written, before he received it, had written a Letter to *Pope Hilary*, which he sent by *Pappolus*, seeking the Popes favour, that he might procure his own Settlement in all his Rights, which *St. Leo* had attempted to take from the Bishop of *Arles*. *Hilary* returned him a very obliging Answer, telling him, That he had written to him already, doing thereby as the Ordinary Custom, and Mutual Charity required of him. He sent him likewise a Copy of the preceding Letter, to shew him, that he had not been defective in his Duty. He tells him, That he hoped to have a frequent Correspondence with him by Letter, and promises, that he will observe the Canons; and use his utmost power to cause others to observe them, and to procure the Peace and Agreement of all the Bishops. This Letter, which is the Fifth, is without date, but it seems to be written soon after the former.

Hilarius soon gave proof of his Care and Vigilance. A Person named *Hermes*, a Man Unworthy of the Priesthood, had procured himself to be ordained Bishop of *Biterre*, and being thrust out of that Bishoprick, he usurped the Diocese of *Narbon*. The Pope having intelligence of it, wrote first to *Leontius* to inform him of that affair; this appeareth by the 7th Letter, dated Nov. 3. 462. He soon after propounded it to a Council of *Rome* held in November in 462, at which *Fauslus*, and *Auxanius* two French Bishops were present. It was resolved in this Council, that the Usurpation of *Hermes* was disorderly, and therefore they deprived him of the Right of Ordaining Bishops of his Province, which was granted to the Bishop of *Uxetia* during his Life. *Pope Hilary* sent this Decree to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vienna*, *Lyon*, the two Provinces of *Narbon*, and the Province of the *Sea-Alps*, and at the same time exhorts them by the eighth Letter to hold Councils every Year, which should be Summoned by *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*. He adds also in that Letter, That no Bishop nor Clergyman, may go out of his Province without having the Letters of his Metropolitan; and in case he will not grant him them thro' hatred or enmity to him, He may address himself to the Bishop of *Arles*, who shall not give any leave but upon good reasons. He declares further, that upon the complaint of the Bishop of *Arles*, who had complained that his Predecessor had left the Churches subject to him to others, he had communicated that business to them, that they might examine it, in fine, he admonishes them not to suffer the goods of the Church to be alienated, if the alienation be not allowed of by a Council. This Letter bears date December 3. 462.

The Rights which *Pope Hilary* was about to restore, in favour of the Bishop of *Arles*, seemed to receive some Check by the attempt of *Marcian* Bishop of *Vienna*. There had been for a long time a Contest between the Bishops of *Vienna*, and *Arles*, about their Prerogative. The Popes had sometimes favoured the one, and sometimes the other. *Saint Leo*, who had at first very much opposed the pretensions of the Bishop of *Arles*, upon the account of his displeasure, which he had against *Hilary*, was at length reconciled to him; and had ordered by his 51. Letters, that the Arch-bishop of *Vienna* should content himself with having the Rights of a Metropolitan over four Cities, viz. *Vallentia*, *Tarentum*, *Genoa*, and *Gratiopolis*, and that all the other Cities should be subject to the Metropolis of *Arles*. *Saint Mamertus*, whether it was that he would not obey this order, or that he thought that *Leontius* would not take it ill, ordained a Bishop of *Dia*. *Pope Hilary* having heard of it by an Officer, wrote

* Or rather *Hilarius*.] He is commonly called *Hilarius*, and so his Name is found written in the ancient Marble Inscriptions. He is named in *St. Leo's* Letters, and in that of *Nicholas* first, to the Emperor, immediately

immediately

immediately to *Leontius*, blaming him for not giving him notice of this action, and commanded him to have the matter examined in a Synod; and give him a relation of it in a Synodal Letter. The Letter of *Hilary* to *Leontius* is the Ninth, and is dated Orob. 10. Anno. 463.

Leontius, and the Bishops assembled in his Synod, returned answer to Pope *Hilary*; that it was true, that *Mamertius* had ordained a Bishop of *Dis*. But it appears by the Popes answer, that they spoke of that action with much moderation, not shewing themselves troubled at all at it. The Pope did not take it in the same manner, but looked upon it as an Unpardonable crime. He accused *St. Mamertius* of Pride, Presumption, Treachery, and a Sinful attempt; and threatened to deprive him of all his Privileges, and put him of all the Right he had over his four Churches; if he did maintain what he had done as lawful, and persisted to do the like for the future. And as to the Bishop of *Dis*, whom he had ordained, he enjoined him to accept the Confirmation of *Donatus* Bishop of *Arles*, who ought regularly to have ordained him; and gave *St. Amatus* a Commission to deliver these Orders forthwith, and see that they began Execution. All this is contained in the fourth Letter of this Pope sent to *Leontius*, and the other Bishops of his Synod, which is dated Feb. 24. Anno. 464. He wrote also a little time after another Letter to the Bishop of the Provinces of *Vienna*, *Lyon*, *Narbonne*, the *Penine* Alps, in which he repeats and confirms what he had said in his former Letter, for the upholding the Rights of the Church of *Arles*, and orders the Bishops of those Provinces to come to the Synods, to which they shall be called by the Bishop of *Arles*.

In the Year 465, the Church of *Rome* had the Honour to be consulted by *Afcianus* Bishop of *Tarraco*, and other Bishops of his Province, who wrote two Letters to *Hilary*, about two important Matters which fell out in their Country. They speak in both of them with a great deal of Respect and Submission to his Holy See. In the first, having told him, that they referred to him as to the Successor of *St. Peter*, whose Primacy ought not to be feared, and loved by all Christians. *Capit. Vicarii principis, ficut omnes, et sequuntur omnes, et amantur*; to receive found Answers from a place, where things are not judged of arrogantly or with prejudice; but after a truly Episcopal Deliberation, I say, after this consultation, they tell him, that *Silvanus* Bishop of *Calaguri*, which is a City of their Province farthest distant from the Metropolis, had ventured to ordain a Bishop in a certain City against the Consent of the People, and to make a schism of another Bishop, and make him Bishop against his Will. That the Bishop of *Calaguri* had opposed these his undertakings, and had caused the Neighbouring Bishops to separate from him, but that he had not relented him, he continued in his Obstinacy, and Schism. Whereupon they desire the Pope to Command them, what he thought fit to be done by them upon this occasion, that being assisted by his Authority and Counsel, they might know how they ought to deal with the Bishop who ordained, and the Bishop who was ordained. The 2d Letter from the same Bishop is about another business; it begins also with a Compliment to the Pope, and goes on with a Request, which the Bishops made to him to confirm the Choice, which they had made of Bishop *Irenaeus*, to fill up the See of *Barcino*, which was vacant by the death of *Nundinarius*. They shew him that they followed the judgment of his Predecessor in so doing, who had named him for his Successor, and had also the approbation of the People and Clergy, and that they had considered the good of that Church. They added, that they had complained to him sometime since, of the attempts of *Sylvanus*, but had received no answer, and therefore desired him to give them an Answer of all together.

These Letters being delivered to him at the time, when he had assembled the Bishops at *Rome* for the Anniversary Solemnity of his Chair, he read them in a full Council, and the Bishops discovered by their Acclamation and Consent, that they condemned the actions of *Sylvanus*, and did not approve of the Ordination of *Irenaeus*, because it was performed contrary to the Rules of the Church. 1. Because it was never allowed any Bishop to choose his Successor. 2. Because *Irenaeus* being Bishop of another Church, could not be Translated to *Barcino*. This being decreed after this manner, the Pope wrote two Letters, one to *Afcianus*, and the Bishop of the Province of *Tarraco*, and the other particularly to *Afcianus*; in which he declares, pursuant to the Judgment of his Colleagues, and the determination of the Cardinals, that *Sylvanus* had offered in celebrating Ordinations without the Authority and consent of the Bishop of *Barcino*'s Metropolitan; that *Irenaeus* ought to relinquish the Church of *Barcino*, and that *Afcianus* ought to ordain some other Person, every way fully qualified for that See; That as to those Bishops that had been ordained without his Consent, he might let them alone, if they have not been twice Married, or have not Married a Widow; That he should take special Care, that there be not two Bishops in one and the same Church; That he ought not to ordain any ignorant or lame Person, no more than those that have done Penance; That he ought not to hearken so much to the Prayers of the People, as to depart from the Will of God, or the Laws of the Church to please them. Lastly, he shews that if *Irenaeus* will not quit the See of *Barcino*, he deserves to be wholly deprived of the Episcopal Dignity. This Council was held in the Month of November, Anno. 465; and the Popes Letters are written at the end of December in the same Year.

Ambrus. *Ingenius* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who was present at this Council of *Rome*, reminded Pope *Hilary*, that what he had ordained at the Request of *Themasius* in the Council held Anno. 462. and confirmed in another in 464. was prejudicial to the Metropolitan Right, which he claimed in the Province of the *Sea-Alpes*. The Pope respecting this his Remonstrance, wrote to *Leontius*, *Veranus*, and *Vitarius*, French Bishops to regulate this matter according to the Laws of the Church, and the Constitutions of his Predecessor, not having regard to those Declarations, which have been obtained of him fraudulently, when they are found opposite to the Holy Canons and Decrees of his Predecessors. Wherefore he confirmed the Metropolitan Right of the Bishop of *Ephesus*, and Ordained, that what had been Decreed by *St. Leo* touching the Bishops of *Cemele* and *Nice*, should be exactly observed. So that it was the Ambition of the Bishops that gave the Popes an Opportunity of Greatening their own Authority

every day, and making them subject to him, by favouring the Pretensions sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other. The Style of Pope *Hilary* is not so florid as *St. Leo*'s, but it is Eloquent, and easy to be understood. He was very knowing in the Laws and Discipline of the Church, and enlarged his Authority to make them observed. As we have not observed the Common Order of his Letters, but placed them according to time, it is convenient to compare Ours, with the Ancient, as in this Table.

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| I. The Letter to the Empress <i>Fulveria</i> , Written Anno. 451. In the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Part 1. Chap. 24. | |
| II. The Letter to <i>Victorius</i> , Written Anno. 456. At the beginning of <i>Victorius</i> 's Paschal Cycle. | |
| III. The Letter to <i>Leontius</i> Bishop of <i>Arles</i> , Written Jan. 25. Anno. 462. | V. |
| IV. Another Letter to the same Person, Written a little after. | VI. |
| V. A Third Letter to the same Person about the affair of <i>Hermes</i> , Written Nov. 3. Anno. 462. | VII. |
| VI. A Letter to the Bishops of the Provinces of <i>Vienna</i> , <i>Lyon</i> , both <i>Narbonnes</i> , and the <i>Penine</i> Alps upon the same Subject, Decem. 3. 462. | VIII. |
| VII. A Fourth Letter to <i>Leontius</i> about the business of <i>St. Mamertius</i> , Oct. 10. 463. | IX. |
| VIII. A Letter to the Bishops <i>Vitarius</i> , <i>Ingenius</i> , <i>Idatius</i> , &c. about the same business, February 24. 464. | XI. |
| IX. A Letter to the Bishops of the Provinces of <i>Vienna</i> , <i>Lyon</i> , both <i>Narbonnes</i> , and <i>Alpis</i> upon the same Subject, Written sometime after the former. | X. |
| X. A Letter to the Bishops of the Province of <i>Tarraco</i> , about the Ordination of <i>Irenaeus</i> , dated January 3. 465. | II. |
| XI. A Letter to <i>Afcianus</i> Bishop of <i>Tarraco</i> , upon the same Subject, Written at the same time. | III. |
| XII. A Letter to <i>Leontius</i> , <i>Veranus</i> , and <i>Vitarius</i> , about the business of <i>Ingenius</i> Bishop of <i>Ephesus</i> , Written in the same year. | IV. |

SIMPLICIUS, Bishop of Rome.

Simplicius was chosen Pope in September, Anno. 467, and governed the Church of *Rome* 15 Years and some Months. He was very full of business all the time of his Popedom; the Church, and Empire having been subject to great Revolutions; for on the one hand the Western Empire miserably Harassed, ended in the Person of *Augustulus*, and *Odoacer* an Arian Prince, King of the *Herauli*, possessed himself of that Empire. On the other hand *Zeno* the Eastern Emperor, was first dethroned by *Basilius*, who declared himself against the Council of *Chalcedon*; and *Zeno* being restored always privately favoured the *Eutychians*, and stirred up great troubles in the Church upon that Account. Nor were other Kingdoms better governed, the *Goths*, who were *Arians*, had made themselves Masters of *Spain*. *Gensericus* also, an *Arian* King of the *Vandals*, exercised his Tyranny over the People, and against the Church of *Africa*. The Churches of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, were become a Prey to the Ambitious. Lastly, The Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, began to disagree. But notwithstanding all these Troubles and Confusions, *Simplicius* did vigorously maintain the discipline of the Church in all places, and upheld his own Rights with Courage. His Letters are in Authentic proof of it.

The first is directed to *Zeno* Bishop of *Sevil* in *Spain*. He gives him the Title of Vicar of the Holy See, that he might have the greater Authority to hinder, that the Apostolick Laws and Decrees of the Holy Fathers be not any ways violated.

The Second is directed to *John* Bishop of *Ravenna*. He closely reproves this Bishop, because he had made one Named *Gregory* Bishop of a Church without his consent, and by force. He orders, That he shall be Bishop of *Modena*, and not be subject to the Bishop of *Ravenna*; and that if he had any business, he should bring it directly to the Holy See. He desires the grant of the possession of the Inheritance of a certain Sum in the Bishoprick of *Bononia*, during his Life, upon Condition, that the Property of it shall remain to the Church of *Ravenna*. He threatens *John*, to oblige him to the Execution of his Orders; he tells him, that he deserved to lose the Privilege he hath abused, and that he will handle him with great Severity, if he doth not Obey what he hath Commanded. Lastly, He reminds him, that if he shall dare to do the like hereafter, and Ordain either Bishop, or Priest, or Deacon against their Will, he will deprive him of the right of Ordaining in the Province of *Ravenna*, and *Emilia*. This Letter is dated June 29. Anno. 482.

Simplicius had already used *Gaudentius* Bishop of *Affium* very severely, because he had celebrated Ordinations contrary to the Rules, and entirely deprived him of the right of Ordaining; and had given the power of Ordaining in the Church of that Bishop to one of his Colleagues, called *Severus*. He also took from him the Administration of the Revenues, because he had made a bad use of them, leaving him no more than a fourth part, and expending the other three in Building, nourishing the Poor and Strangers, and for the maintenance of the Clergy, and ordering him to restore the three parts, which he had received during the three years past, and to oblige them to whom he had given the Church-goods, to quit them. The Letter which contains this Decree is dated Novem. 29. in 475. It is directed to *Florentinus*, *Equitius*, and *Severus*, and placed the third among *Simplicius*'s Letters.

...the Emperor *Zeno* not to suffer this Disorder; and to imitate the zeal of his Predecessors *Martin* and *Leo*, to maintain the Faith of the Incarnation, contained in the Letters of *St. Leo*, which had been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to reject all such Errors as have been condemned, to hinder that they be not revived, and certain Truths be not brought into dispute, to take care that an Orthodox Person be ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Timotheus* the Ring-leader of the Heretics be banished from *Constantinople*.

At the same time he wrote a Letter, to *Acacius*, which is his Fifth, in which he congratulates him, that he did not suffer *Timotheus Elurus* to be received into Communion at *Constantinople*, and desires him to oppose the Proposal of calling a New Council, because a Council ought not to be assembled, but only when some new Error springs up, and it is something difficult to find out the Truth. But this is not the Present Case, since the Question hath been judged, and determined clearly in the Council of *Chalcedon*, which hath been approved by all the World. *Simplicius* sent a Copy of this Letter to the Emperor, with a Copy of *St. Leo's* Letter to *Flavian*.

He repeats the same Admonitions in his sixth Letter to *Acacius*, and in another Letter directed to the same Bishop, which hath been published by *Hollstenius*. It is dated the same time. In it he particularly advises *Acacius* to request the Emperor to grant his Edict for the Banishment of those who shall be ordained by *Timotheus*, and implore him to include *Peter* and *Paul* in it, of whom one was Banished to *Ephesus*, the other to *Antioch*; as also *Anthony*, one of the Principals of the Party, and *John* who was ordained Bishop of *Apimæa*.

He commends in the 7th Letter, the Courage of the Clergy and Monks of *Constantinople*, who would not receive *Timotheus*, and shews them that they ought not to hearken to him, since he hath been several times condemned. All these Letters bear the same Date.

The Emperor *Zeno* was immediately put to flight by *Basiliscus*, who invaded his Throne. He declared himself openly for *Timotheus*, but his Kingdom was not of long duration. *Zeno* was re-established within ten Months after. As soon as *Simplicius* heard of it, he testified to him the Joy he had for his Restauration, and exhorts him to maintain the Faith of his Predecessors, and the Doctrine of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and to depose *Timotheus Elurus* from the See of *Alexandria*; and settle in it again a Lawful and an Orthodox Bishop. This Letter bears date Oct. 31. 477.

Zeno being moved by his admonitions went about to expell *Timotheus*, but his Death prevented that this Usurper did not suffer the punishment which he deserved. He poisoned himself, if we believe *Liberatus*. After his Death, *Petrus Mongus* endeavoured to make himself Bishop of that See: But *Timotheus Salabaciatus* an Orthodox Bishop was settled in it. This *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* informs *Simplicius* of by the Letter which goes before Letter 9. of this Pope.

In this *Simplicius* shews how much he rejoiced at the establishment of *Timotheus*, and prays him to take care to carry himself unblamably, because he had taken Notice of some failings in him, when he was obliged to rehearse the Name of *Discolus* at the Altar. This Letter is dated March 13. 478.

He wrote also the same time, the 10 Letter to the Emperor *Zeno*, in which he thanks him for settling *Timotheus*, and prays him to eject entirely *P. Mongus*.

In the next Letter to *Acacius*, he tells him, that *Timotheus* had excused himself for reciting the Name of *Discolus* at the Altar, and that he was satisfied by him as to that particular.

In the 12th, He also desires the Emperor *Zeno* to defend *Timotheus*; and Banish *Petrus Mongus*, and in the thirteenth Letter he Commands *Acacius* to contribute his Assistance in it. These Letters are dated Oct. 478.

The Church of *Antioch* was in no less disturbances, than that of *Alexandria*. *Petrus* Surnamed *Fulv*, having slain *Stephen*, who was the Lawful Bishop, got possession of it by force. The Emperor *Zeno* did not let this Crime go unpunished, but made those seditious Persons suffer the Punishment they deserved, and Banished *Petrus Fulv*. But because the Spirits of the People were extremely heated, he thought it would be hard to get a Bishop Ordained quietly in the City of *Antioch*; he resolved to have the Ordination performed at *Constantinople* by *Acacius*. Pope *Simplicius* believed, as indeed it might well enough be, that it was only Pretence, and that the Bishop of *Constantinople* would by this means enlarge his Jurisdiction over the East, though the Emperor wrote to him, that it should be so for this once only, and that for the future the Bishop of *Antioch* should be Ordained according to the Custom, by an Eastern Synod. The Pope makes Answer to him by Letter 14, dated June 22. 479, in which having commended his Justice, which he had Executed in punishing those who had Murdered the Bishop of *Antioch*, he tells him, That this Mischief would never have happened, if he had followed his Councils, and banished out of the Empire, as he had written to him, *Petrus Mongus*, and the other Enemies of the Faith, and disturbers of the Publick Peace. Lastly, He approves the Ordination of the Bishop of *Antioch* made by *Acacius*, but upon Condition that the Bishop of *Constantinople* shall not attempt the like for the future, and the Bishop of *Antioch* shall be Ordained by the Bishops of his own Country, according to the Ancient Custom. He says almost the same thing to *Acacius* in the next Letter.

He, whom *Acacius* had Ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, dyed in 482, in the third Year of his Pontificate; and *Calendion* was Ordained in his place. 'Twas *Acacius* himself who Ordained him if we may believe the Record of the Acts of the Condemnation of *Acacius*. However that be, it is evi-

...the Emperor *Zeno* not to suffer this Disorder; and to imitate the zeal of his Predecessors *Martin* and *Leo*, to maintain the Faith of the Incarnation, contained in the Letters of *St. Leo*, which had been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to reject all such Errors as have been condemned, to hinder that they be not revived, and certain Truths be not brought into dispute, to take care that an Orthodox Person be ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Timotheus* the Ring-leader of the Heretics be banished from *Constantinople*.

At the same time *Timotheus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, being dead, *John Talala* was chosen in his stead. *Simplicius* palace, and wrote to Pope *Simplicius*, under the Title of the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But the Emperor told him at the same time, That he was a perjurd Person, and unworthy of the Priesthood. This hindered the Pope for some time from acknowledging him; but when he understood, that he had designed to put in *P. Mongus* into that See, against whom he had written several Letters, he opposed him with all his force, and received *John Talala*, who escaped into the West. All these things were done with the Consent of *Acacius*, or at least without his Opposition. This made *Simplicius*, after he had written Letter 16. in favour of *Calendion*, to urge him earnestly in Letter 17. and 18. to oppose the attempts of *P. Mongus*, and to represent them to the Emperor, that he may not continue in the possession of the See of *Alexandria*. These Letters are dated Anno. 482. This was the Cause and beginning of the Discontent, which the Holy See had against *Acacius*, which broke out fully under *Felix* the Successor of *Simplicius*. [These Epistles are extant among the Councils, Tom. IV. p. 1067.]

F A U S T U S, Bishop of * Ries.

* Return Rhegium.

F *Ausius* an Englishman, or Britain, a Priest, and Monk of *Lerins*, was chosen Abbot of that Monastery, when *St. Maximus* removed to the Government of the Church of *Ries*. While *Faufus*, he was Abbot there, he had a Controverſie with *Theodorus* Bishop of *Frejus*, about the Bishop Exemption which was decreed in the Council of *Arles*, which is called the III. held in of *Ries*. 455, which Ordained, That the Bishop should perform all Ordinations, confirm Novices, if there be any in the Abby; and that no strange Clergy-men should be admitted but with his Consent, but that the Care of the Lay-men of the Monastery belongs to the Abbot; That the Bishop hath no Jurisdiction over them, and that he cannot Ordain any one without consent of the Abbot. After the Death of *Maximus*, *Faufus* was chosen to fill his place: So that he was his Successor twice, once in his Abbacy, and the second time in his Bishoprick. This gave occasion to *Sidonius* to address these Verses to him,

—Fuerit Quis Maximus ille
Orbem tu ejus, Monachosq; Anistes, & Abbas
Bis Successor agis.

He was present at the Council of *Rome*, held under Pope *Hilary* in 462. Being returned into France he composed several Books, Governed the Church unblameably, lived a very Holy Life, was Commended and Honoured by the Greatest Men of his time; and dyed at last in Peace, and in the Communion of the Church.

Gennadius gives us a Part of the Catalogue of this Author's Works: 'He hath Written (saith he) on the Occasion of Explaining the Creed, a Book concerning the Holy Spirit; wherein he proves agreeably to the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, that he is of the same Substance with the Father and the Son, and is as well Eternal as both the other Divine Persons in the Holy Trinity: He hath also Composed an Excellent Work about Saving Grace, in which he teacheth, that the Grace of God always allures, precedes, and assists our Will, and that all the reward which our Free-will obtains by its Labour, is not merited by it, but is the Gift of Grace. I have read also, (saith the same Person) a little Book of his written against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, in which he shews, That the three Persons of the Trinity are of the same Essence; and another Treatise against those, who say, That there are Incorporeal Creatures, in which he pretends to prove by Testimonies of Holy Scriptures, and by the Authority of the Holy Fathers, that we ought to believe Nothing Incorporeal but God only. There is one of his Letters written in form of a Book dedicated to a certain Deacon called *Gratus*, who having departed from the Orthodox Faith, went over to the Nestorian Heresie. He advertiseth him in that Letter, that we must not say, that the Virgin hath brought forth a Man into the World, who afterward became a God; but that she hath brought forth a true God in a true Man. There are other Works of his, which I do not speak of, because I have not read them. It is known, and his Discourses make it plain, that he was an able Preacher. He hath written since a Letter to *Felix*, the Praefectus-Pretorio, a Person defended of the *Patricii*, and Son of a Consul, in which he exhorts him to Piety. This Writing is very suitable for those who will fit themselves for sincere Penance.

* An Englishman, or Britain. *Ausius* in his 4th Letter, says, that he was ortu Britannus, habitations Riem. *Sidonius* Epist. 9. l. 9. writing to *Faufus* says Britainus tuus. *Gennadius* calls him a Frenchman in his Book 459. in the Nestorian, Rebus, &c.

respected the place he dwelt in. *F. Sirmundus* says, that he was of the Province of *Aremoric*. I am rather of *Usher's* judgment, who thinks him an Englishman.

*Faustus,
Bishop
of Riez.*

We have still some of those Works of which *Gennadius* makes mention, but he doth not speak of his Letter to *Lucidus* the Priest, who was the occasion of writing his two Books of Free-will and Grace. This Priest was a stiff defender of *St. Austin's* Doctrine about Grace and Predetermination, and did evidently carry his Principles too far, or at least delivered them in too harsh terms. The greatest part of French Bishops were then of a very contrary Judgment, and *Faustus* was one of the greatest Opposers of that Doctrine. Having had several Conferences with *Lucidus*, but not being able to make any Change in him, he sent this Letter, of which we are speaking, to him, to oblige him to change his Opinion. In the beginning he says, That Charity made him undertake to endeavour by the Assistance of God, to recover his Brother from the Error, into which he was unwarily fallen, rather than Excommunicate him as some Bishops designed to do. He then puts him in mind, that in speaking of Grace and Man's Obedience, we must be very Cautious, that we fall into neither of the Extremes; That we must not separate Grace and Humane Industry; That we must abhor *Pelagius*, and detest those that believe, that Man may be among the Number of the Elect without labouring for Salvation. He sets down some Anathemas which he would have him Pronounce. The first is against the Doctrine of *Pelagius*, who believes that Man is born without Sin; that he hath no need of the Assistance of Grace, but he may be saved by his own Works. The second Anathema is for all those who dare assert, that Man, who having been Baptized hath made Profession of Faith in Jesus Christ, falling into Sin is Damned upon the account of Original Sin. The third Anathema is to him, who affirms that the Preference of God is the Cause of Damnation. The fourth is to all those that say, that which Perishes, hath not received a sufficient strength and ability to save himself, which ought to be understood of Persons Baptized, or of an Heathen, who Lived at a time when he might have believed, and would not. The fifth is to all those, who hold that a Vessel of Dishonour, cannot be made a Vessel of Honour. The sixth and last, is to him that shall assert, that Jesus Christ is not Dead for all Men, and wills not that all Men should be saved. He adds, that he will bring Testimonies to prove these Orthodox Truths, and overthrow the Errors, whenever he pleases to come to him, or he shall be summoned before the Bishops. In sum, he assures him with confidence and truth, that he that Perishes by his fault, might be saved by Grace, if he had obeyed it by his Labour, which ought to follow Grace; and that he that is saved by Grace, may fall by his Negligence and Fault. So that to fix an exact Medium, he joys the Labour of a Voluntary Service to Grace, without which we are nothing; but he excludes Pride and Presumption, which may creep in upon the account of our Labours, knowing that it is our Duty to do what we can. He calls upon him to declare his Opinions thereupon, advertising him, that if he will not follow the true Doctrine, he will deserve to be banished from the Church, in whose bosom he hopes that he abides. Lastly, he adds, that he keeps a Copy of this Letter to make it appear, if it be necessary, in the Assembly of Bishops, which * must meet; and exhorts *Lucidus* to Subscribe it, or to abandon fairly and clearly in Writing, the Errors, which it condemns.

Although we find at the end of this Letter the Subscriptions of several Bishops; It is nevertheless true, as *St. Sirmundus* thinks, that it is no bodies but *Faustus's*; and that it is he only, that wrote it in his own Name: Alfo from the time of *Hincmarus*, it hath been Subscribed by none but him, as in the best MSS. and particularly in that which *Canisius* used.

It is then certain, that it is not the Letter of a Council, but he speaks of a Council to be held soon after, to which *Lucidus* was to be cited, if he persisted in his own Error; but this Good Priest being come to the Council, soon yielded to the Opinions of *Faustus* and his Colleagues, and did not faulsh himself to pronounce the Anathemas set down in his Letter; but he likewise added it against other Propositions, and directed his Letter, or rather Retraction, to *Leonius* Bishop of *Arles*, and Twenty four other Bishops, who had made up a Council, where they compelled *Lucidus* to Recant; for he faith, that he made that Retraction *juxta prædicandi recentis Status Concilii*; and he Condemns with these Bishops,

I. Him that asserts, That we must not joyn the Labour of Humane Obedience to the Grace of God.

II. Him that faith, That since the Sin of the First Man, the Free-will of Man is entirely lost.

III. Him that asserts, That Our Saviour Jesus Christ dyed not for all Men.

IV. Him that says, That the fore-knowledge of God forced Man, and Damns by Violence, and that those that are Damned, are so by the Will of God.

V. Those that say, That they that Sin after Baptism dye in Adam.

VI. Those that Teach, That some are Destined to Death, and others Predestined to Life. The Bishops of the Council of *Valentia* seem to have determined since the contrary to this Proposition in the third Canon; where they deliver, that they boldly own and assert a Predetermination of the Elect to Life, and of Sinners to Death.

VII. He condemns the Doctrine of those who teach, That from Adam to Jesus Christ, none among the Heathen hoping in the Coming of Jesus Christ, were saved by the First Grace, i. e. by the Law of Nature, because they have lost their Free-will in Adam.

VIII. Those who affirm, That the Patriarchs and Prophets, and the great Saints before the Redemption, have their habitation in Paradise.

He

He adds afterwards some Propositions, contrary to the foregoing. He faith then,

1. That he acknowledgeth the Grace of God; but after, such a manner as that he joyes Man's endeavour and Labour with it.

2. That he doth not say, That the Free-will is lost, but only that it is weakened and impaired; and that he that is Saved might have been Damned, and he that is Damned, might have been Saved.

3. That Our Saviour but of the Riches of his Goodness hath tasted Death for every Man.

4. That he detesteth not the Death of him that dyeth, but is rich unto all that call upon him.

5. He professes that Jesus Christ dyed for the Wicked, and for those, who have been Damned contrary to his Will.

6. He confesseth also, that according to the disposition and order of Ages, some have been saved by the Law of Moses, and others by the Law of Nature, which God hath written in the Hearts of all Men, by the hope of the coming of Jesus Christ.

It is very hard to judge this Proposition as well as the Condemnation in the Seventh, if we understand it properly, false; none but *Pelagius* hath dared to affirm, That Men have been saved by the Law of Moses, and by Nature. But *Faustus* and others understand it plainly in another sense, i. e. that the Law and Nature have contributed to their Salvation: And for this reason it is, that *Lucidus* adds, *homo*

Man can be purged from Original Sin, but by the Intercession of the blood of Jesus Christ. In the last place, He acknowledgeth Hell-Fire, and Upprobable Flames are prepared for those who have Committed heinous Crimes; because they continue in their Sin, they are justly condemned to Punishment, which they also deserve that do not believe these truths. The Letter concludes with these words, *Orate pro me, Sancti & Apostolici Patres, &c. O Holy and Apostolical Fathers, pray for me: I Lucidus the Priest, have Subscribed this Epistle with my own Hand; and I affirm, that it is directed in it, and condemn all that is condemned in it.*

The Bishops of the Council of *Arles* appointed *Faustus* Bishop of *Riez* to write upon this Subject, as he tells us in the Preface to his Treatise of Free-will and Grace, Dedicated to *Leonius* Bishop of *Arles*. There are his Words, *Tu habes done, O my Blessed Father, a great deal of good to do, the French Churches, in assembling a Council of Bishops to condemn the Error of Predetermination. But which you have not sufficiently provided for your reputation, in commanding me to go, in order, and to do in writing what was said in your Conference; for I am sensible of my unworthiness to perform it as it ought to be. The honorable judgment which your Charity hath passed upon my qualities, hath caused me to make a Choice of which you have Reason to repent. At the end of this Preface, that after this Work was finished, the Council of *Lyons* had ordered, something to be added to it.*

St. Sirmundus concludes from these Records, That the Council of *Arles* was held about the year 475, consisting of 30 French Bishops, against the Predeterminarians Herefie, which began in the time of *St. Austin*, and had its Original in the Monastery of *Adrametum*, from whence it passed into France, where it was opposed by *Hilary* and *Prosper*, and condemned by *Celestine*; That it was supported by *St. Austin's* Writings not rightly understood, as is observed in the Chronicon of *Tiro Prosper* and *St. Simeon*, opposed by the Author of the Book of Heresies, Entitled *Prædeterminatus*, and by *Arnobius* Junior; ranked among the Heresies by *Gennadius*, at the end of *St. Austin's* Book; revived in the Ninth Age by *Gottschalkus*, and continued at the same time by *Adrianus* and *Hincmarus*. That *Lucidus*, who was engaged in this Herefie, was summoned to the Council of *Arles*, where this Question was disputed; and he was ordered by this Council to make the Recantation of which we have already spoken. That *Faustus* in his Books of Grace, doth only deliver the Judgment of this Council; That his Work was afterward approved in another Council of *Lyons*; that this Bishop is of very Orthodox Sentiments, and is still honoured as a Saint; and that *St. Simeon*, *Maxentius*, and *Gottschalkus* do wrongfully enveigh too much against him. This is almost all that *St. Sirmundus* saith about this matter, in his History of the Predeterminarians.

But on the other side some able Divines maintain, that this Herefie is a mere Chimæra, and a Calumny which the Semi-Pelagians made use of to blacken the Scholars of *St. Austin*. That there were no Predeterminarians in the time of *St. Austin*; That the Monks of *Adrametum* who are made the first Authors of this Herefie, never thought of any such thing, but that all the contest, that was among them, proceeded from hence, that they were not rightly understood; That *Crespinus* and *Felix* had accused *Faustus* of denying Free-will, and the Judgment which God will render to every Man according to their Works, because they did not well understand his Sentiments, and that indeed *St. Austin*, who upon the relation of these two Monks, had believed that *Faustus* was in an Error, having heard him himself, found that he had not a false Opinion touching Grace, and that it was not he, that deserved reproach, but they, who did not understand him, when he explained his Judgment. That 49, 50 the Controversie, which arose among the French some time after; it is evident, that they are not the Predeterminarians, which *St. Prosper*, and *Hilary* oppose, but the Enemies of the Doctrine of *St. Austin*, who imputed to his Scholars the same Doctrines, which were attributed to the Predeterminarians. The Authors alledged for the justification of this Herefie are thought to be suspected. The first is *Tiro Prosper*, an Author of little Credit, who says, that this Herefie is not taken out of *St. Austin's* books, nor rightly understood, as *Sigibert* hath corrected it, but out of *St. Austin* himself, *que ab Augustino acceptis dicitur initium*, which proves, that he that inserted this place in *St. Prosper's* Chronicon was an Enemy to *St. Austin*. *Prædeterminatus* is an Author full of faults and Pelagian Errors. The same may be said of *Arnobius*, who doth not acknowledge

knowledge Original Sin, *Gennadius* was a learned man, but well known to be a favourer of the *Semi-Pelagian*. As for *Faustus*, it is certain he was their head; that *Gelasius* hath condemned his Books. That *St. Fulgentius* hath confuted them in 7 Books, approved by the Council of *Sardis*; that *Casarius* hath written against his Doctrines in a Book approved by Pope *Felix*; that Pope *Hormisdas* hath rejected them; that *Petrus Biscimus* hath pronounced Anathema against him; That the Head of a Sect so often condemned, ought not to be looked upon as a Saint; That there was in another very dangerous Error, maintaining, that all Creatures are Corporeal; That all that he says of the Council of *Arles*, and the approbation given to his Books by the Council of *Lyon*, is not true; or that the Authority of these Councils is of little consequence, since they were made of *Semi-Pelagian* Bishops. Lastly, that this Ancient Calumny against the Scholars of *St. Austin* being revived in the 9th Age, the Church of *Lyon* maintain'd that this Heresie of the *Predeterminians* were Chimeras; That there never was any such Hereticks, or to be sure, none in his time. If we now pass from Authority in Reason, and come to examine the Doctrines, the pretended Errors, which are ascribed upon the *Predeterminians*, are the very same, which the *Semi-Pelagians* upbraided the Scholars of *St. Austin* withal, as it is easie to see by comparing them with the Objections of *Vincentius* the French, and Priests of *Gemma*, which *Saint Prosper* hath fully answered.

This is the Sum of what is said on both sides on this Subject. 'Tis not for us to judge between us knowing Persons as *P. Sirmondus* and his Adversaries, in a matter of this Concernment. *Nos nostrum inter nos habet incomparabile*. We freely own, that both have reason on their side. *Est Veritas in dignis*, &c. But we take our selves obliged to say on the contrary, that neither of them have hit upon the right, and their prejudice hath made them judge of things not as they are, but as they thought they ought to be. Now that which seems to us to be most probable in this business, is this. The Books which *St. Austin* wrote against the *Pelagians*, being published made different Impressions upon the minds of the Orthodox. They confest all, that he had reason to maintain Original Sin, and the Necessity of Grace, in order to Salvation; but after that for the confutation of the *Pelagians*, he had rais'd subtle and nice Questions, spoken in a way different from the greatest part of the Fathers, that went before him, and laid down Principles about the way in which Grace is given, and operates in the heart of Man, about Predestination, and the Calling of the Elect, so uncommon before his time, as he himself owns, and which he was himself ignorant before he was wholly engaged in this dispute. These Matters being extremely abstract and difficult, put those to a great deal of pains, who lived in his time. And from that time they were the Original of Quarrels, Division, and Hatred among the Orthodox, and have been to ever since, as often as they have been revived. *Cassian*, the Priests of *Marville*, *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, *Vincentius* *Levinensis*, and the greatest part of the French could not entirely approve the Doctrine of *St. Austin*, being perswaded that it was too rigorous, and that bad consequences might be drawn from it. This appears by the Letters of *St. Prosper* and *St. Hilary*, written to *St. Austin* about that Matter. It is probable, that some unskillful Persons, who had not Wit enough to understand thoroughly the true Sentiments of *St. Austin*, nor Sagacity enough to find out the agreement between them and that which we ought to believe, concerning the freedom of Man and the Necessity of good Works, have given an occasion of drawing these pernicious Consequences; either because they came very near them, or because they were not interpreted right. And indeed we must own it, and *St. Austin* himself confest as much, that it is necessary to use great circumspection in explaining Vocation and Predestination, according to his Principles, in such a manner as may incline us neither to negligence nor despair. This was it which rais'd the Dispute in the Monastery of *Adrumetum*. *Florus* having brought thither from *Ozel* the Writings of *St. Austin* concerning Grace, and explaining his Doctrine in a very coarse manner, had given the Monks ground to believe that he denied Free-will, and that Justice by which God must render to every Man according to his Works. *Valerianus* the President of that Monastery was forced to permit two of the Monks, named *Crispinius* and *Felix*, to go to *St. Austin*, and propound their Scruples to him, which they did. They perswaded him that there were some Monks, in their Monastery which denied Free-will. Wherefore he wrote the

224th Letter to free them from that Error, and shew them how his Principles are made to accord with Man's Free-will. Afterward having spoken to *Florus*, he declares that this Monk had not interpreted him aright, or did not well understand him; wherefore he made a Book on purpose to reconcile Grace and Free-will together. But his Explication not yet satisfying these Monks, he wrote his Book of Correction and Grace; to Answer their Principal Objection. We know not what effect this Book wrought among the Monks of *Adrumetum*; but it did not content the Priests of *Marville*, but on the contrary their doubts were encreased by the reading of it. *Saint Prosper* and *Hilarius* sent *St. Austin* word of it, and wrote him what were the Principles of these Persons. We have related them in making the extract of their Epistles, which are 225, 226, among *St. Austin's*. This Saint endeavour'd to explain these Opinions in his Books of the Predestination of Saints, and of the gift of Perseverance; but the more he explained himself, the less his Principles pleased the French; and the more they were perswaded, that he denied Free-will and introduced a Fatal Necessity. This was the Rumour that was current among the French about the Subject of these Books. They also made an abundance of Objections against his Doctrine. These Objections consisted in Erroneous Opinions, which they imputed to him, in pernicious Consequences, which they pretended to follow from his Doctrine, and in odious Interpretations

Interpretations of some of his Opinions. His Death did not put an end to this Controversie, but on the contrary augmented it. *Saint Prosper*, who had declared for his Doctrine, defended it by publick Writings, and answered the Objections, which were proposed against it. On the other side, his Adversaries extolled those Priests, who opposed *St. Austin's* Doctrine, and accused his Scholars of Error; in such that *St. Prosper* and *Hilary*, being badly used among the French were forced to appeal to *Saint Celestine*, who wrote to the French Bishops to enjoy those Priests Silence, and not endure them to disgrace the Memory of *St. Austin*. Nevertheless this did not appease the Disputes; they still continued, and were managed with more heat and passion. Although of them were separated from the Church; yet they began to use each other cruelly. *Saint Prosper* accuses his Adversaries of reviving the Errors of the *Pelagians* about Grace, and calls them Ingrateful and Presumptuous. And these on the contrary called their Adversaries *Predeterminians*, upon the Account of the Errors which they imputed to them, and which some maintained, perhaps for want of rightly understanding things, or of well explaining themselves. The strongest party among the French was that, which was not of *St. Austin's* Opinion. *Faustus* was not the only Enemy, which those which they call'd *Predeterminians*, had; the greatest Part of the French Bishops were, as we have said, of the same Sentiments. We must not wonder then, if they held a Council at *Arles* in 475, against these pretended *Predeterminians*; if they made *Lucidus* to Retract, charged *Faustus* to write against this Error; and if they approved his Book afterward in another Council. These are Matters of Fact, too well confirmed to be called in question; but this doth not really prove, that there was an Heresie of *Predeterminians* at that time, no more than that these Bishops were Hereticks; it only proves that there were then disputes about Grace; that as is usual in the heat of Dispute, both parties carried things too high, and that as those, who held the Doctrine of *St. Austin*, not explaining themselves well, gave occasion to others to impute Errors to them; so these on their side afforded them a cause against them, by condemning *St. Austin's* Opinions. It is true, that both of them accused each other of Heresie and Error; but we must not trust to such sort of Accusations, propounded by Persons suspected on both sides. For all the Authors who speak of the Heresie of the *Predeterminians*, are much to be suspected as a sufficient proof, because they are on the contrary Party; And they that accuse *Faustus* of Heresie, and those of his Party, do it only because they opposed some of *St. Austin's* Principles, not regarding that at the time, when he wrote, he might do it without being accounted an Heretic; and that several Fathers before and after *St. Austin* have spoken and thought as he did, without being accused for Hereticks for it. His two Books of Grace and Free-will are written with a great deal of Moderation and Caution; He rejects most plainly and sincerely the Errors of *Pelagius*; He acknowledges Original Sin, and the necessity of Grace to do well, and obtain Salvation; He owns, that the Free-will is much weakened since the Sin of *Adam*; but he maintains, that there remains some slender knowledge of good, some seeds of Virtue; that we can know, and desire to do good with the assistance of Grace, and cannot do it without it, but that God denies his Grace to no Man; That the Labour of Man accompanies this Grace, and that he must obey his motions; That God knows from all Eternity the Good and Evil, which all Men shall do; that he foresees all their Actions, and the end they will have, but he Predestines no Man to Salvation or Damnation. He thereupon sets down all the Texts which are alleged for Predestination and Grace, and expounds them according to his own Opinions. These are the Contents of these two Books, which are to say truly, an Explication of those Propositions only, which are delivered in his Letter to *Lucidus*. Many Orthodox Authors have written and spoken thus, and there is nothing in them but may be defended; but altho there were something to be reproved, he ought not for all that to be used as an Heretic, much less be made the Ring-leader of Heresie, since there hath not been any thing designed thereupon. I will not pursue this History further, because we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of the Renovation of these Disputes, which were never managed without Noise and Heat. And indeed two Reasons seem to make it unavoidable. 1. The Subtlety and Depth of these Questions, wherein Humane Understanding is easily lost. 2. The Consequences which each draw from the Principles of their Adversaries, of which some seem to inspire Men with Pride and Presumption, and the other to cast them into Negligence and Despair. But if we would consult our own Reason a little, we shall see on both sides so many Depths, Precipices, and Rocks, as would make us tremble. So that it were better and more advantageous to the Church of God, and every Christian, to live in Peace and Silence, and not desire to dive into such impeneable Secrets, to hold that for a certain Maxim, that we ought to beg the Divine Assistance continually; but at the same time to work out our own Salvation with fear and trembling. But 'tis time to return to *Faustus's* Works. We have also a Letter to *Gratus*, wherein he confutes the Errors of *Nestorius*, and lays down the manner, how the Orthodox should speak concerning the Person of Jesus Christ. We have also a small Treatise, wherein he Explains, how that Son, who is begotten of the Father, is of the Substance with the Father, and Co-Eternal. To this he adds an Explication of what he had said in his Letter to *Gratus*, that God did not suffer by the Senses, but only by a kind of Compassion. The last Question which he treats of in this Writing, is of the Nature of the Soul, he maintains, that it, and all Creatures are Corporeal. *Gennadius* hath divided this Treatise into two Parts, and speaks of the last as a distinct Treatise. This is that, which *Mamertus* endeavours the Confutation of.

The Letters of *Ruricius* which are now printed, but we have not the Treatise of the City of *Caesarea* which has been printed, nor another Treatise Composed by him of the same City, which has been printed. But we have two distinct Treatises to the Bishops, one of them among the Second, which bears the Name of *Ruricius*, and a Letter to one named *Paulinus*, in which the learned Father Questions which he had proposed to him. The first is concerning the Penance of those who are at the point of Death. *Ruricius* answers, that it is very uncertain: The second is, Whether the Faith in the Trinity be sufficient for Salvation. *Ruricius* answers, that it is sufficient, unless it be accompanied with Good Works; and also that they have been Baptized, yet if they commit one of the three Deadly Sins, Sacrilege, Murder, and Adultery, they shall be Damned Eternally, if they do not make an Attainment by Penance. The last is about the Warfare of the Soul, and Punishments after Death. *Ruricius* holds the Soul to be immortal, altho' it be Corporeal; and Eternal Punishments, but more or less severe according to the greatness of Sin. He hath also five Letters to *Paulinus*, but they contain nothing remarkable in them.

The Style of *Ruricius* is plain, easy, and clear, full of Antitheses and Rhymes. His Notions and Arguments are very rational and apposite. He is full of Spiritual Maxims, and Moral Precepts. One part of his Works, which we have already spoken of in the Old Bibliotheca Patrum, *Cassian* hath published the Rest. They are all in the last Biblioth. Patrum. [Tom. 8. p. 523.] Printed at Lyons.

RURICIUS, DESIDERIUS, and some Others.

Ruricius,
Desiderius,
and, &c.

WE have a Collection of 64 Letters of *Ruricius* Bishop of *Removicum*, who lived about the end of this Age, and dyed at the beginning of the Next; of 14 Letters of *Desiderius* Bishop of *Caduracum*, and some other Letters Written to these two Bishops by some of their Colleagues; but they are Ordinary Letters pleasantly Written, which contain nothing remarkable in them. We may find them in *Cassian*, and in the last Bibliotheca Patrum, Printed at Lyons.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS, Bishop of Clermont.

Ap. Sidonius,
Bishop of
Clermont.

Sollus Ap. *Sidonius*, descended of an Illustrious Family, whose Father and Grand-Father had been *Præfetti Prætorii* among the French, was born at Lyons about the Year 439. He was brought up with Care, performed his Studies under the most excellent Masters of that time, and became very skilful in all parts of Learning, but especially in Poetry. He Married *Pepianilla*, the Daughter of *Aovin*, who from a French *Præfetti* was raised to the Imperial Throne after the Death of *Maximus*. But *Maximianus*, whom *Leo* had taken to be a Partner with him in the Empire, forced him to lay down his Crown, and came to besiege the City of Lyons, where *Sidonius* had shut up himself. The City being taken, he fell into the hands of his Enemy, but the reputation of his Learning made him his Friend; so that he received all the Favours from him, which he could desire, or hope for; and as a grateful acknowledgment of them he made a Panegyrick in his Honour, which was so well taken, that he Erected *Sidonius*'s Statue in the City of *Rome*. The Emperor *Anthemius* did more honorably requite the Panegyrick, which *Sidonius* made in his Honour; by making him Governor of the City of *Rome*, and afterward raised him to the Dignity of a *Patrician*; but he soon quitted his Secular employments to follow the Calling of God, who called him to the Government of the Church. The See of *Clermont* being Vacant in 472, by the Death of *Eparchius*, *Sidonius* who was no more than a Layman as yet, was chosen to take his Place without competition. Immediately he applied himself to those Studies, which were most agreeable to his Ministry, of which he performed all the Offices with all the Care and Prudence possible. The reputation of his Wisdom was so much confirmed, that being Summoned to the City of *Bourges*, whose See was Vacant, all the Bishops that were there, did with one consent refer the Election of the Bishop to him. He appointed *Simplicius*, and his Choice was approved, and followed by all the World. He had a truly Pastoral Charity for all the Poor of his Diocese; He distributed all his Estate to them, and sold also all his Plate for their Relief; which being done without the knowledge of his Wife, he was forced to redeem it. He maintained at his own Charge, with the help of his Wife's Brother *Eodicius*, more than 4000 Burgundians, who were banished out of their own Country. He

often

often went his Visitations in his Diocese, and was one of the first of the French Bishops, who introduced into his Church the use of Rogations, which were then newly appointed by *Mamertus* Bishop of *Vienna*.

Clermont being besieged by the *Goths*, he encouraged the People to stand upon their defence, and would never consent to the Surrender of the City; inasmuch, that when it was delivered up, he was forced to fly out of it, but was soon restored, and continued to govern his Church, as he did before. Some time after he was assaulted by two Priests, who deprived him of the Government of his Church; but one of them coming to a Miserable end, *Sidonius* was again settled with Honour at the end of the Year. He dyed in Peace, Aug. 21. Anno * 487. * 488. after he had been Bishop 15 years, and had lived 66 Years. His Festival is kept upon the same day in the Church of *Clermont*, where his Memory is in great veneration. Before his Death he Nominated *Aprunculus* for his Successor, who having been heretofore Bishop of *Langres* was forced to retreat.

Of all the Writers of that time there was none more Learned, or that wrote more Elegantly either in Prose or Verse, than *Sidonius*; from whence it is, that *Cl. Mamertus* calls him the most Eminent of the Eloquent, the most skilful of all the Learned Men of his Age, and the Restorer of the Ancient Eloquence. His Writings confirm this honourable Censure, for they are full of ingenuity and vigour; His Notions are curious, grateful, and well handled; He hath such plenty and variety of Subjects, as is very Surprising and Charming; He uses proper, significant, and extraordinary Words, and sometimes mixes some that are not true Latin; He hath many flights of Wit; His Discourses are truly Epistolary, i. e. Concise, Pleasant, full of Points, and diverting Fancies; He is excellent in his Descriptions and Draughts, which are the principal Ornaments of his Writings: Nevertheless his Style is too lofty and subtle for his Sense, and he offends, as I may say, in being too Witty. This great sublety, together with his profound Learning makes him sometimes obscure, and hard to be understood. He ventures at some Expressions, Metaphors, and Comparisons, which not many in the World can relish. He had a very Poetical Wit, and ready faculty of making Verses, of which he composed many *Extempore*; but he never bestowed the pains to polish and perfect them. He wrote several small Treatises in Prose and Verse; but he preserved them only that he thought fittest to be left to Posterity. He Collected himself Nine Books of Letters; He had began an History of *Atilia*'s Wars, but he left it unfinished, and therefore would not have it Published; His principal Poems are three *Panegyrics* upon three Emperors, *Avitus*, *Majorianus*, and *Anthemius*: The other are a Collection of Poems upon particular Subjects directed to his Friends.

His Letters are full of infinite points of Learning, and Profane History. There are very few of them, wherein he speaks of Religion; yet there are some from which we may draw observations of the Discipline then in use. So in Letter 24. l. 4. he describes the Bishop of *Tholouse* called *Maximus*, to whom he went to desire him to give a Friend of his a longer time for the payment of a Sum, which his Friends Father had borrowed of *Maximus* before he was Bishop. He says, that having known him heretofore, he found him wholly changed, that his Cloathing, Countenance, and Discourse favoured of nothing but Modesty and Piety; that he had short Hair and a long Beard; that his Household-stuff was plain; that he hath nothing but Wooden Benches, Stuff Curtains, a Bed without Feathers, and a Table without a Carpet, and that the ordinary food of his Family was Pulse more than Flesh. *Sidonius* being surprized to see so great an Alteration in him, asked him of what profession he was, whether he were a Monk, a Clerk, or a Penitent; and he answered him, That lately he had been made a Bishop against his Will. This teaches us, that the Life, Habit, and Household-stuff of a Bishop ought to be like a Monks, and a Penitents. He ought to do that out of Humility, which others are obliged to do by their Profession and Condition. This Bishop forgave the Interest, which amounted to as much again at the Principal, and gave his Debtor time to pay him, joining Mercy with Humility.

Sidonius teaches us in Lett. 14. Lib. 5. and Lett. 1. L. 6. that the Rogations were instituted by *Mamertus* Bishop of *Vienna*. 'Tis to no purpose to say, that they were appointed before, and that he only restored them; for *Sidonius* says positively, that it was *St. Mamertus, qui primus invenit, instituit, invexit*. Processions indeed were used before, but there was no determinate time for them, and they were performed indeviously, seldom, and very negligently. They were intermingled with Feasting, and never performed but to procure Rain or Fair Weather, *Vage, repente, insequensque atq; ut ita dicam, oscitabunda supplicatione, qua sepe interpellantur prandiorum diebus hebentur*. But *St. Mamertus* fixed the time, and manner of them, and commanded them to joyn Fasting, Prayers, singing of Psalms and Lamentations with them. According to the example of *St. Mamertus* the Church of *Clermont*, and several others took up the same Custom, which in a short time spread into all the Churches of the World.

He observes in Lett. 17. Lib. 5. That the Annual Festivals of the Saints were kept with very great Solemnity; That the People flocked to the Church in throngs before Day; that they light up a great many Tapers; that the Monks and Clerks sung the Vigils in two Quires; and that about Noon they Celebrated the Mass.

The Discourse which he made at the Election of the Bishop of *Bourges*, recited afterward in Lett. 9. Lib. 7. demonstrates, how weighty an affair it is to have the choice of a Bishop devolved on him; and how hard it is to Content all the World. 'If I nominate a Monk, faith he, it will

be

be said that he is fit to make an Abbot, and not a Bishop; If I choose an humble Person, they will fear, lest he should be contemptible. On the contrary, if I take a Courageous and Reli-
 gious Person, they will accuse him of being Proud; if I pitch upon a Learned Man, they will
 say immediately, that he will be Arrogant; if he be a Person of mean Learning, they will de-
 ride his Ignorance; if I name a severe Man, they will look upon him as a Cruel Man; if he
 be Mild, they will blame his easiness, &c. If I choose a Clergy Man, they that are above him,
 will despise him, and they that are inferior to him, will envy him. Age and Antiquity among
 the Clergy are the only things almost that are considered at present; as if the number of years
 that they have been in the Clergy, did confer worth upon those that have none, and as if it
 were a sufficient qualification for the Priesthood to have lived long, though they have not lived
 well. There are Ecclesiastical Persons, who having been all their lives careless of the discharge
 of their Ministerial Function, ready to answer, accustomed to make idle Discourses, heads of
 Parties and Factions, defective in Charity, always wavering, always envious, yet contend for a
 Bishoprick at the end of their lives, and desire to Govern others at an age wherein they have need
 to be Governed themselves. But since this discourse might displease the Clergy of the Church
 to whom he spoke, he cunningly appeased them, by saying, that his design was not to blame
 many for the ambition of a few. but by naming no Man particularly, those, who took offence
 at what he said, would discover their disposition; That there were several in that Church that
 deserved to be Bishops, but all that were worthy of it, could not be. Having thus disposed
 their minds to approve his Choice, which he was about to make, he swore by the Name of the
 Holy Spirit, that he was not swayed by any Humane Consideration, by Money or Favour to pro-
 ceed in it, and then declared, that he had fixed his Eyes upon *Simplicius*, who was the Clerk of
 that Church, whom he Commended: And since they had all sworn, that they would submit to
 his Judgment in the Election, he pronounced in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of
 the Holy Ghost, that it was *Simplicius*, who ought to be Bishop of *Bouges*, and Metropolitan of
 his Province. This is all that is observable in *Sidonius*'s Letters concerning the Discipline of the
 Church. They also discover to us the Names of many Bishops of that time, to whom these Let-
 ters are directed, and which are all called Popes, according to the Custom of that time.

The Learned *Savaron* published the Works of this Author in the last year of the former Age,*
 cleared from a great number of Faults, and enriched with many very Learned Notes, which
 make the Text very plain, and Contain in them several very Useful and Curious Remarks. To
 undertake a New Edition after so Learned a Man, as no body seemed to desire it, so it might
 be looked upon as a thing needless and inconsiderate. Yet this did not much discourage *F. Sir-*
mondus, who had taken much pains upon this Author, before the Work of *Savaron* appeared,
 from putting out his Labours, by causing *Sidonius*'s Works to be Printed [at Paris] in 1614 [8vo],
 which have given an ample proof of the excellency of his Understanding, and depth of his Learn-
 ing; for altho there seemed nothing to have escaped the exact observation of *Savaron*, yet *F. Sir-*
mondus hath found many things fit to be taken notice of and explained, which *Savaron* had
 passed over; and hath made such Rational, Learned, Curious, and well-chosen Notes, that they
 far excell *Savaron*'s in Judgment of all the World almost. Nevertheless 'tis good to have both
 the Editions and it were to be wished, that one were put out with the Notes of both these Learned
 Men. Since the Death of *Sirmondus* his *Sidonius* hath been Reprinted with some augmentations.
 This Edition was by *Cramoisy* in 4to, in the Year 1652. There is also found at the end of it a
 Catalogue of *Sirmondus*'s Works. [Besides the forementioned Editions of *Sidonius*'s Works, we
 have also others viz. at Basil in 1542, 4to, with the Commentary of *Joan. Bapt. Pius*, which
 being Revived by *Elias Vietus* was Printed at Lyons in 1552, 8vo. They are also Printed in the
Bibliotheca Patrum. Tom. VI. p. 1075.]

JOANNES

JOANNES TALAIA, or TALAIDA

Joannes Talaia, or *Talaida*, a Monk of *Teberma*, was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria* in 481.
 Immediately after his Ordination he wrote Letters of Communion to *Simplicius* Bishop of *J. Talaia*
Rome, and *Calcedon*; but he omitted to write to *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Acacius*
 being offended at these proceedings, stirred up the Emperor *Zeno* against him, accusing
 him as guilty of Perjury, and a Favourer of *Hellus*; inasmuch, that he was forced to fly into
 Italy a little after his Election. Since he could not return to his own Bishoprick, the Church of
Nola was committed to his Care and Government. *Photius* mentions an Apology, which he wrote
 to *Celestius* Bishop of *Rome*; in which he condemns not only the Heresie of *Pelagius*, but also *Pe-*
lagius Celestius, and *Julian*, who succeeded them in that Sect. We have not this Work. It was
 composed about the Year 492.

JOHN, a Priest of Antioch.

John, who of a Grammarian was made a Priest of *Antioch*, hath written, saith *Gennadius*, a-
 gainst those that maintain, that we ought to Worship Jesus Christ, as having only one Na-
 ture, and that acknowledge but one Nature in his Person. In it he opposes some Propo-
 sitions of *St. Cyril*. He says, that he spake them inconsiderately against the *Nestorians*; but
 they confirm, and help to uphold the Error of the *Timotheans*, which he himself says impertinently,
 and groundlessly, according to the Testimony of *Gennadius*: He was alive when *Gennadius* wrote
 this. He made Sermons *Ex tempore*, and without any Preparation. We have not any thing of
 his Writing remaining.

JOANNES ÆGEATES.

Joannes Ægeates * a Nestorian Priest hath composed a Church-History, which begins at the
 Empire of *Theodosius* the younger, when *Nestorius* divulged his Heresie, and was deposed; and
 ends with the Empire of *Zeno*, and the Deposition of *Petrus Fullo*. The style of this
 Author was Noble and Florid. He relates the 3d general Council held at *Ephesus*, and
 that of the other Council held at the same place under *Dioscorus*, to which they give the name of an
 Assembly of Thieves, but yet this Author makes it an Holy Synod; and *Dioscorus* and his Com-
 panions Saints. He also made the History of the Council of *Chalcedon*, but it was full of Abuses
 and Calumnies. The same *John Ægeates* hath also written a Book on purpose against the Council
 of *Chalcedon*, he had promised 10 Books, but *Photius*, from whom we have taken all this, had
 never seen but five; which begin, as we have said, with *Nestorius*, and ended at the Deposition
 of *P. Fullo*. We have nothing of them, but only some Fragments recited in the Second Council
 of *Nice*, Tom. 7. of the Councils, p. 369. and in the Collections of *Theodorus*, L. 2. p. 563.

* 2

VICTOR

VICTOR VITENSIS.

Vitor
Vicensis.

Victor Bishop of *Vita*, a City of *Balearum*, rather than of *Utica*, * a City of the Procon-
sular Province, hath written an History of the Persecution of the Orthodox of *Africa*
under *Genfericus* and *Hunericus*, Kings of the *Vandals*. This Persecution began in the
Year 427, when *Genfericus* went into *Africa* with Twenty four thousand Persons, as
well Men, as Women and Children. He made strange Devastations in that Country, and laid
it all waste by Murders, Plunders, and Plagues. He chiefly fell upon the Churches and Ma-
nasteries, which he destroyed with Fire and Sword. He drew a great number of Bishops and
Clergy-men; after he had put them to a thousand Tortures, that he might force them to ab-
jure the Treasure of the Church. Having made himself Master of all the Provinces of *Africa* in
a short time, He befieged *Carthage*, and having taken it, he banished the Bishops and Clergy,
possessed himself of their Churches. He banished also the greatest part of the Bishops of other
Churches. He passed from thence into *Italy*; took and sack'd the City of *Rome* in 455. Being
returned into *Africa*, grown Proud and Insolent, with the thoughts of his Victory, he continued
to afflict the Churches of that Country; and to Persecute the Orthodox with greater Cruelty
than ever: This Persecution continued 37 Years. After his Death his Son *Hunericus* did at first
use them with more lenity, having granted at the request of the Emperor *Zeno*, and the Empress
Placidia, that they should ordain an Orthodox Bishop at *Carthage*, upon condition that the Arian
Bishops should have liberty of using their Worship in the City of the Empire. This Condition was
never performed, but yet they ordain'd *Eugenius* Bishop of *Carthage*. But the Arians soon rais'd
a cruel Persecution against the Catholics, and sent them an Edict, in which it was commanded,
That *Eugenius*, and the Orthodox Bishops should come to *Carthage* to confer with the Bishops of
the Vandals, about their Doctrine. This order being shew'd *Eugenius*, he made Answer, That
the Bishops of other Provinces ought to be cited to this Conference, because it being the common
concern of all the Orthodox Church, it was reasonable that the Bishops of the whole World should
be present at it; and especially the Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, who was the Head of other
Churches. Nevertheless, being constrain'd to appear, he did so, and after some contests, he rest-
ed the Confession of Faith, which he had already prepared. But this conference was but a Pre-
text, which they made use of to Persecute the Orthodox. King *Hunericus* published an Edict
against them, which contained the same punishments against the Orthodox, which the Orthodox
Emperors had decreed by their Edicts against the Arians. He shut up the Churches of the Or-
thodox, which he gave to the Arians; and banished the Orthodox Bishops to the Isles of *Cosica*. They
were in Number 466, of which 83 dyed at *Carthage*, and the rest were conveyed to the Isle *Cosica*.
This was followed by an horrible Persecution against the Orthodox, upon whom they laid in-
finite Torments. Such was the deplorable estate of the African Churches at that time, which had
been heretofore most flourishing and glorious. *Vitor* of *Vita*, who was a sharer in this Persecu-
tion hath described it in five Books, in a very plain and affecting Style. This Work hath been
Printed in several Collections, and Published at *Dijon* in 1664. by *F. Chiffletius*, with the Works
of *Vigilius Tapsensis*, [at *Colen*, in 1535, at *Paris* in 1547, by the care of *B. Rhenanus*, at *Paris*
in 1569, 8vo. at the end of *Optatus Milevianus*, with *Baldwin's* Notes, as also in the *Bibliotheca*
Patrum. Tom. 8. p. 675.]

* Rather than of *Utica*. The ordinary Editions
give him the Title of Bishop of *Utica*, but it is
through an Error, because *Utica* is better known
than *Vita*, for in the best MSS. he is named *Viten-
sis*. In an ancient Edition put out by the care of
Rhenanus in 1547, he is also called *Vitensis*, as well
as in another, which is at the end of an Old Book

of *Rufinus's* Church History, and in the Epistle Di-
dicatory of the Collection of *St. Aspin's* Sermons,
Printed at *Lewonia* in 1709. He could not have
been Bishop of *Utica*; for when the Bishops were
banished *Africa*, *Elmirtius* was Bishop of that
City, as appears.

VIGILIUS TAPSENSIS.

Vigilius
Tapsensis.

Vigilius Bishop of *Tapsus*, a City in the Province of *Balearum* in *Africa*, was one of those
who was banished *Africa* by King *Hunericus* *. As he lived in a time, when *Africa*
was under the Government of the Arians, and the East infected with the Errors of the

* Under King *Hunericus*. He is cited by *Theodul-* is found in the Catalogue of the African Bishops,
phus as a Bishop of *Africa*, and in an Ancient MS. compiled at that very time. He is the last, and
of the Work against *Eutyches*. The City of *Tapsus* is by consequence the youngest of the Bishops of the
named for the Place of his Bishoprick. His Name Province of *Byzacenum*.

Nestorian,

Nestorian and *Eutychian*; he applied himself diligently to oppose these three Heresies, but he
did it ordinarily under the Name of those Fathers of the Church, who had lived before him, ei-
ther because by suppressing his own Name he might avoid Persecution, or because his Works would
be of great weight, and have a better effect, being put out under the Name of such illustrious
Persons. Wherefore he published under the Name of *St. Athanasius* twelve Books upon the Tri-
nity, by way of Dialogue; a Treatise against an Arian called *Varimadus*, under the Name of
Idacius Clarus; a Book against *Felicitianus* the Arian under the Name of *St. Austin*. He hath al-
so made two Conferences, in which he brings in *Athanasius* disputing against *Arius* before a Judge,
whom he calls *Probus*, who gives Sentence for *Athanasius*. There are two Editions of these Con-
ferences. The first, which is the most ordinary, is divided into two Books, wherein all the Dis-
pute is managed between *Athanasius* and *Arius*; but he brings into it * in the Second Edition,
which is larger than the First, and divided into three Parts, I say, he brings in *Sabellius* and *Pho-*
tinus. It cannot be doubted, but that this Last Work belongs to *Vigilius Tapsensis* since he cites it
in his five Books against *Eutyches*, which are the only Work he hath published under his own
Name. In this Work he confutes the Eutychian Doctrine, by Scripture, and the Testimony of
the Fathers of the Church. He defends *St. Leo's* Letter, and the Definition of the Council of
Chalcedon, against the Objections of those Heretics. He observes by the by, that the Custom of Uni-
versal and Orthodox Councils, is to make new Decisions against New Heresies, without meddling
with what hath been determined in former Councils, which remains in full force and vigour:
There is also a place in the third Book worthy our Notice, wherein he says, that the Christians
have received by Jesus Christ, the abundance of Corn, Wine, and Oyl, promised to the Pos-
terity of *Isaiah*; having been Consecrated by the Mystery of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,
and by the Holy Chrisme. *Corporis, & Sanguinis Christi & Chrsimatis ejus Mysterio consecratum.*
This Author wrote well enough for his time; His Discourse is plain, and Natural, without
being bafe and childish, He unfolds the Mysteries of our Religion with much Elegancy; He
proves them very solidly; He discovers the Opinions of the Heretics with great Sagacity, and
confutes them very subtly, forcing them out of their strong holds. He had read the Writings of
the Fathers, but knew little of the Ecclesiastical History; and therefore for want of an exact
knowledge of it he hath committed several mistakes.

The five Books against *Eutyches* bearing the Name of *Vigilius*, have always been Printed under
his Name both in the Collections, which have been made of those who have opposed the Here-
tics, and in the Orthodoxographers, and *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but they are very unjustly attribu-
ted to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Trent*. They have also been printed by themselves at *Basil*, in 1539.
Cassander hath caused them to be Printed since at *Colen* [in 1575, 8vo.] with the Dialogues a-
gainst *Arius*; which he restored first of all to this Author; And lastly, *Jesias Simlerus* had them
Printed again [at *Basil*, in 1571.] with some other Treatises against the Eutychians.

The twelve Books of the Trinity have been Printed among the Works of *St. Athanasius*, whose
Name they bear [at *Heidelberg*, in 1601.*] but they were soon known to belong to a Latin Au-
thor. *F. Sirmundus* having found them in a MS. of the Abbey of *St. Flaurii* (which is now in the
Library of the Jesuits Colledge) after the five Books of *Vigilius* against *Eutyches*, and his Dispute
against *Arius*, as being the same Authors, hath observed in his Notes upon *Theodulphus*, [Printed
with that Author at *Paris* in 1646, 8vo.] that this Author, and *Himerianus* have been quoted un-
der the Name of *Athanasius*. Yet they were *Vigilius's* of *Tapsus*. His Judgment hath been fol-
lowed by all the Learned, and is confirmed by the Authority of several MSS. where they are
joyned with the Conference against *Arius*, and by the Testimony of the Preface of the Books a-
gainst *Varimadus*, where the Author alludes to these two Books. *F. Chiffletius* hath also restored
the Treatise of the Trinity against *Felicitianus*, attributed to *St. Austin* to him, because he found
them in the MSS. with the Works of *Vigilius*, and they are of the same style. The three Books
against *Varimadus* bear the name of *Idacius*; but *Vigilius* discovers himself to be the Author of it
in the second Book of his Conferences against *Arius*.

Lastly, *F. Chiffletius* attributes to him a Treatise of *F. against Palladius*, which is Printed in
St. Ambrose, and among the Works of *St. Gregory Nazianzen's*; but he doth not sufficiently prove,
that this Work is *Vigilius's* of *Tapsus*.

The same Author is of Opinion, That the Acts of the Council of *Aquileia* are also the inven-
tion of *Vigilius* of *Tapsus*; but in that he is mistaken, as we have already shewn. Yet the Creed
which is attributed to *Athanasius*, may with much more Reason be attributed to *Vigilius*. [The
above-mentioned Works of *Vigilius* of *Tapsus* have been Collected into one Volume, by *F. Chif-
fletius*, and Printed with his Notes at *Dijon*, in 1664. 4to, and have been since put into the *Bi-
bliotheca Patrum*. Tom. 8. p. 722.]

FELIX III. Bishop of Rome.

Felix III
Bishop of
Rome.

* An Or-
der of
Monks.

CAlisus Felix was ordained Bishop of Rome in the beginning of the Year 483. A little time after his Ordination he held a Council at Rome, in which *Jolin Talia*, who being banished from Alexandria, by the Authority of *Acacius* Bishop of Constantinople, was fled into the West, presented a Petition to him, in which were contained several heads of accusation against *Acacius*. This obliged Felix to send to the Emperor, *Vitalis* Bishop of Treves, and *Misenus* Bishop of Comus to request him to cause the Council of Chalcedon to be confirmed, to banish *Petrus*, the Heretic from the See of Alexandria, and compel *Acacius* to condemn *Peter*, and to answer to the things of which he was accused. Felix gave two Letters to his Legats, the one directed to *Acacius*, the other to the Emperor. In both of them he is very urgent to have *Peter* expelled from Alexandria. In the Letter to *Acacius*, he earnestly exhorts that Bishop to free himself from the suspicions which might be had against him; and to use his Interest with the Emperor to bring them to an end, and upbraids him for want of Zeal in this Affair, and his dissimulation or allowance given to this Heretic. In the Letter to the Emperor, he boldly tells him, that he ought not to suffer an Heretic condemned a long time since, and banished by his own Edicts, to remain in possession of the See of Alexandria. *Vitalis*, and *Misenus* parted with these Letters and Instructions. While they were in their Voyage, *Cyril* Abbot of the * *Acemeta* wrote to Felix, that there were daily Innovations against the Orthodox Faith; and that he ought to be so much the quicker in providing some remedy against them. Felix having received this News wrote to his Legats, that they should do nothing without the advice and approbation of this *Cyril*, and sent them a Letter Subscribed to the Emperor, wherein he tells him of the Authority of the Council of Chalcedon, and writes to him about the Persecution of the Orthodox in Africa. We have neither of the Letters, which *Evagrius* mentions. The Legats being arrived at *Abydos* were seized by the Guards, who took away their Papers, and put them into Prison. They had orders not to communicate with the Adherents of *Petrus Mongus*, nor *Acacius*, who was joyned with him: But the Emperor first made use of threatenings to force them to it, but not prevailing that way, he tried them by Kindness and Promises, and gained their Consent to communicate with *Petrus Mongus* and *Acacius*, upon Condition nevertheless, that it should be no prejudice to the Merits of the Cause, which they entirely referred to the Judgment of Holy See. Upon this Promise they received the Sacrament with *Acacius*, and with the Deputies of *P. Mongus*. The more Zealous of the Orthodox immediately made Protestations against the Action; One they fastened upon the Cloaths of the Legats with an Hook, the other they sent them in a Book; and a third in a Basket of Herbs. *Vitalis* and *Misenus* having sped so ill, departed to go again into Italy. But they had with them an Advocate of Rome named Felix, who was forced to stay behind, being taken Sick at Constantinople. This Man, because he would not conform to the Example of the Legats, was cruelly handled by *Acacius*. *Vitalis* and *Misenus* being returned to Rome, found, that the *Acemeta* Monks had already given a Relation of what had passed, and had likewise sent one of their Monks called *Simeon*, to give the Pope an Account of it. Felix called a Council of Sixty Seven Bishops, where they appeared to give an account of their Embassy; and brought the Letters of *Zeno* and *Acacius* full of Invektives against *Jolin Talia*, and the Praises of *Peter*. They laboured to excuse themselves, by saying, that they had forced them and surprized them, and they knew not that they had Communicated with *Peter* Bishop of Alexandria. But *Simeon* proved it to their Faces, that they knew what they did, and that they never would harken to the Orthodox, which came to them. *Silvanus*, who had been at Constantinople with them, confirmed the Deposition of *Simeon*; Inasmuch, that *Vitalis* and *Misenus* being Convicted of acting contrary to the Orders they had received, were Deposed and Excommunicated. They next Examined the Conduct of *Acacius*, and Condemned him with *Petrus Mongus*. This Judgment was passed July 28. Anno. 484.

Felix gave Notice of this Sentence to *Acacius*, by his 6th Letter, wherein he tells him, that being found guilty of divers Crimes, of breaking the Canons of the Council of Nice, of Uprising the Jurisdiction of those Provinces that were not subject to him, of having not only received into his Communion, but also preferred to the Episcopal Dignity, Heretics, whom he had heretofore condemned, such as that *Jolin*, whom he made Bishop of Tyre, although he was not received at *Apamea* by the Orthodox, and has been since expelled out of *Antioch*; such was also the Deacon *Numerius*, who was Deposed, whom yet he raised to the dignity of the Priesthood. Besides this, he stood Convicted of having placed *Petrus Mongus* upon the Throne of St. Mark, and received him into his Communion; of having corrupted *Vitalis* and *Misenus* to gain their consent to what he desired, instead of obeying and following the Commands, which they had been

* *Abylos*.] *Anastastus Bibliothecarius* says, that they [that it was at *Abydos*.] were seized at *Heraclea*; but *Theophanes* assures us,

Felix III
Bishop of
Rome.

injoyed on the part of the Holy See; and by refusing to answer to the heads of the accusation, which *Jolin* had drawn up against him, he seemed to acknowledge them; That he had since condemned the Deacon *Felix*, and Communicated with the Heretics, and that he did persist in it; so that he did not deserve to be ranked among those that he received to his Communion, and that by this Sentence he declared him to be deprived of his Priesthood, and the Communion of the Catholic Church, slain from the Rights of the Priestly Office, Condemned by the Judgment of Holy Spirit and his Apostolick Authority, and bound for ever with Cords of an *Anathema*. *Nongumq; Anathemati Vinculis eorumdus*. Besides this Letter, there is a kind of a short Declaration against *Acacius*, in which Felix declares him deprived of his Priesthood, for having not obeyed the Admonitions of the Holy See, and Imprisoned his Legats; and forbids all Men whatsoever communicating with him, under the Penalty of an *Anathema*.

He wrote also to the Emperor *Zeno* the Ninth Letter, in which having complained of the ill Usage that his Legats had met with, he tells him that he had Deposed them, and Deprived them of Communion, for having consented to what *Acacius* had desired of them. He assures him, that he will never Communicate with *Peter*, and that he gives him the Liberty to choose the Communion of St. Peter, or *Peter* Bishop of Alexandria; That he hath also condemned *Acacius* for being in Communion with Heretics, and he hoped that the Piety of the Emperor will incline him to suffer the Laws of the Church to be Executed; That he ought to hold this for a certainty, that as God hath entrusted the Sovereignty of things Temporal to Princes, so he hath made the Ministers of the Church Ministers of Spiritual things; and that when the Cause of God is in hand, the Will of Kings ought to submit to the Ministers of Jesus Christ; that they ought to learn Holy things of them, and not to meddle with the Office of Teaching others, to follow the Decisions of the Church, and not take upon him to prescribe Laws. This Letter is dated Aug. 1. Anno. 484. Lastly, He lets us know by his 10th Letter to the Clergy, and People of Constantinople, the Judgment passed against *Acacius*, that they may not too own him for their Bishop, but separate themselves from his Communion.

Thus the Advocate of the Church of Rome was commanded to carry the Sentence against *Acacius*, and to declare it to him. He discharged his Commission by fastening it to his Priestly Habit, when he was Celebrating the Holy Myteries, and by publishing the Declaration made against him; but afterward suffering himself to be corrupted by *Marcus*, he Communicated with *Acacius*, Felix having convicted him of it by his own Letter, he put him out of his Advocates Office, and declared him Excommunicated. He signifies it to the Monks of Constantinople by his Eleventh Letter, and advises them to sever from their Communities those who would Communicate with *Acacius*; permitting them notwithstanding to receive those, who had been constrained to do it by Violence, and did testify their sorrow for it.

But notwithstanding all the endeavours that Felix used, his Sentence remained without Execution, nor did he write again to the Emperor so long as *Acacius* Lived; but after his Death he thought he had gotten a favourable Opportunity to have his Sentence Executed. *Flavins*, who was ordain'd in his place, hoping to be united to the Holy See, wrote to Felix a Letter, wherein he much extolls the dignity of the See of Rome, and made profession of the Orthodox Faith. The first thing that the Pope did, before he received them to his Communion, was to demand of them whether they Condemned *Acacius* and *Peter*. Since they refused to do it, he declared to them, that he would not receive them to Communion, unless they would promise him never to recite the Names of *Acacius* and *Petrus* in the Holy Myteries. The Deputies of *Flavins* having answered, That they had no order about that, the Pope resolved to write to *Zeno* and *Flavins*, to obtain of them to grant them what he demanded. The Letters are the 12th and 13th. He did all he could to defend himself against the reproaches, which might be cast on him, by acting in this matter with Authority, Rigour, and Resolution. He assures them, that he carried himself so only to perform his Duty, and do nothing against his own Conscience; He tells them that he desired nothing so much as a Re-union with the Church of Constantinople, and that the two Romes should be at a perfect agreement, but Union could never be obtained by violating the Laws of the Church; That the Council of Chalcedon having condemned *Eusebys* and *Discorus*, he could not, without contempt of its Authority, receive *Timotheus* and *Petrus*, who were of the same Opinions; and that *Acacius* having received *Peter* into his Communion after he had himself Condemned him, had shewed himself so great a Disssembler, that he deserved the same Punishment; That *Peter* had manifested no signs of Conversion, but thó he had done it, he ought not to be acknowledged as a Bishop, but only received as a Mere Laick. These are the principal Matters which Felix wrote in these two Letters, which are the most Eloquent that ever were Written by any Pope. He had commanded them a little before by his 14th Letter written during the Vacancy of the See of Constantinople, to *Thalassius* Abbot of the Monks called *Acemeta* at Constantinople, who were entirely Devoted to the Holy See, not to receive the Bishop of Constantinople, nor any other into their Communion, that were not received by the Holy See. 'Twas also certainly in the same Vacancy, that he wrote the 15th Letter to Bishop *Vetranio*, in which after he hath spoken of the Division of the Church of Constantinople and Rome; and shewed that it was only in Obedience to the Council of Chalcedon, that he hath condemned *Acacius*, that he might not seem to joyn with the Heretics as he had done; He desires him to use his utmost interest with the Emperor, to gain his consent, that the Names of *Acacius* and *Petrus* might be blotted out.

of the Catalogue of Bishops, and by this means the Churches of *Constantinople* may be re-united. These four Letters are dated in the Year 490.

We have not spoken of the three Letters in Greek and Latin, written about the Affair of *Petrus Fullo*, who usurped the See of the Church of *Antioch*, of which two were sent to that pretended Bishop, and the other to the Emperor; being of the Opinion of the Learned *M. Valesius*, that these three Letters were forged by some Greek, as well as the other Letters written to *Petrus Fullo* under the Name of several Bishops, and produced, as some pretend, at the Council of *Rome* held under *Felix* in 483, recited in the fourth Tome of the Councils, pag. 1098, &c. For, 1. All these Letters were written Originally in Greek, and since translated into Latin, as it appears by the Style, which is Barbarous, as well as because there are two different Versions of them. 2. All these Letters are in the same Style, although they were written in the Name of the Bishop of different Countries. 3. They are written in a way unworthy of the Bishops of that time. Those that are attributed to *Felix*, differ much from the Letters of that Pope. The Sentence which he pronounces against *Petrus Fullo*, is ridiculous. 4. The Names of the greatest part of the Bishops which write to *Petrus Fullo*, are unknown; for who ever heard of *Fauslus* of *Apollonia*, of *Pamphilus* of *Alydes*, of *Alepiades* of *Tralle*, of *Antibem* of *Asinot*, of *Quintianus* of *Ascalon*, and *Justin* of *Sicily*? Why should these Bishops, of private and inconsiderable Churches, undertake to write to *Petrus Fullo*? Have we any Examples like it? 5. 'Tis not true, that *Petrus Fullo* was condemned in a Synod of *Constantinople*, and another at *Rome* in 483. He had been under Pope *Simplicius*, but since we have nothing spoken of him. He did not begin to re-establish himself again till 484, when *Calendion* was deposed; and therefore 'tis not likely that they would condemn him without Necessity.

I believe also, That the two Forms of Citation to summon *Acacius*, which are supposed to have been given to *Vitalis* and *Misemus* in the Council of *Rome* held in 483, are a Forgery; for it appears by the first Letter of *Felix* to *Acacius*, that when he sent *Vitalis* and *Misemus*, he had no design of calling *Acacius* to *Rome*, and of proceeding against him: He expected only, that he should free himself from the Accusations drawn up against him, by Letter; and he required nothing else but that he would do what he could with the Emperor to make him deprive *Petrus Mongus*, not knowing that he had received him to his Communion.

Lastly, I am perswaded, that the Letter supposed to have been written by the Council of *Rome* against *Acacius* to the Clergy, and Monks of *Bithynia*, is also a supposititious Piece. It hath given occasion to *M. Valesius* to maintain, That there was in that Year two Councils held at *Rome* against *Acacius*, and two Excommunications pronounced against that Bishop, the one in a Council of 67 Bishops held July the 28th, and the other in a Synod of 42 Bishops held August the first following. 'Tis true, that so much is intimated in that Letter, but this is the thing that makes it suspected, because these two Condemnations are spoken of in no place else. Nevertheless, if this second Condemnation were true, *Felix* would certainly have mentioned it in those Letters that he wrote afterward against *Acacius* both in his Life-time, and after his Death: He that with so much Diligence sought out all the Reasons which could be brought against *Acacius*, would he have forgotten the Authority of the second Synod? Would he have passed over this second Condemnation? 'Tis so much the less credible, because it is founded upon a new fault, for having, say they, deposed *Calendion*, and put *Petrus Fullo* in his place. Would *Felix* have neglected to have urged this Reason for the Condemnation of *Acacius*, being so very plausible an one? Yet he seeks nothing of it in all these Letters. The same Day on which this Council is supposed to be held, *Felix* wrote the Sentence, which he would have to be signified to *Acacius*, wherein he exactly relates all the Reasons of his Condemnation, but speaks nothing at all of this, which would have been one of the principal and strongest. There is therefore no Reason to believe that he was condemned upon that account. Besides, what likelihood is there, that there should be two Councils held at *Rome* in so little a time? Let them not say, that they are two different Sessions of the same Council, for they are under two different Bishops. Lastly, The Ancient Record concerning the Affair of *Acacius*, which relates exactly all the Circumstances of his Condemnation, speaks of only one, which went before the attempt which he made of putting *Petrus Fullo* into the See of *Constantinople*.

We cannot then maintain this Letter written in the Name of the Synod of *Rome* to the Monks and Clergy of *Bithynia*, at least as to the second Part; for it is to be taken Notice of, that it hath two Parts. The first is a Relation of the Condemnation of *Acacius*, as we have already said, which is authorized by *Felix's* Letters. The second contains the other Condemnation of *Acacius*, for having restored *Petrus Fullo*, which doth not all agree with the History. Nor are either of the Parts in the Style of Pope *Felix*, but more especially the last, which is written after an impertinent manner, and contains the sordid Praises of Pope *Felix*, calling him *Caput nostrum*, *Papa* & *Archiepiscopus*; Our Head, Pope, and Archbishop; Terms, which were never used in that Age. In an ancient MS. this Letter is dated *Ob. 485*. This date is evidently false, for 'tis said, That he sent this Sentence by *Tutus* the Advocate. Now the Voyage of *Tutus* was in 484. He had not that Title in 485. I spare to mention a great number of places in that Letter, which are such pitiful stuff, that it is impossible to believe that it is a Work written at that time.

But the like cannot be said of *Felix's* seventh Letter, concerning those who have been Re-baptized by the *Arians*. In the ordinary Inscriptions it is directed to all Bishops: But I believe that

that we ought to follow the MS. of *Justellus*, where it is directed to the Bishops of *Sicily*. In this Letter, he orders when the Renance of those Persons shall be, who have suffered themselves to be Re-baptized by the *Arians*. 1. He observes, that there is a great deal of difference between such Bishops, who were forced to do it, and those that have done it voluntarily. 2. He asserts, That all those who have been Baptized, ought to do Penance, and submit themselves to Fasting, Tears, and other Acts of Penance. 3. That the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who have been Re-baptized, ought to undergo Penance as long as they live, be debarred the Ecclesiastical Assemblies; and be excluded the Prayers even of the Catechumens themselves; and that all the favour that can be granted them, is to receive them into Lay-Communion at the point of Death. 4. He imposes upon the other Clergy, Monks, and Virgins devoted to God, who have also suffered themselves to be Re-baptized, twelve Years Penance, three among the Hearers, seven among the Penitents, and two among the Confessors; upon Condition nevertheless, that if they happen to be in danger of Death, they shall be relieved either by the Bishop, who imposed the Penance, or by some other Bishop, or by a Priest. 5. He ordains, That as to those young Children, whom their Age may excuse, it shall suffice to keep them some time subject to the Imposition of Hands without enjoying them Penance. 6. He ordains no more than a three Years Penance for the Clergy, Monks and Lay-Men, who have been Re-baptized by force or subtilty, notwithstanding consented to it. But he lays it down as a General Rule, That none of those who have been Baptized, or Re-baptized by Heretics, should be admitted to Sacred Orders. Lastly, He forbids the Bishops and Priests to receive to Communion the Clergy, or mere Laicks of another Diocese, or Parish, unless they have the Testimonial Letters from their Bishop or Priest. This Letter is dated *March 15, Anno 488*. We have nothing to observe about the eighth Letter to *Zeno* Bishop of *Sicily*, which is nothing but a Recommendation of a certain Person called *Tovinianus*, who had told him of the Welfare of that Bishop. The Letters of this Pope are written in a noble, cogent, and pleasant Style.

The Author of the Memoir concerning the Affair of ACACIUS.

THIS Memoir was composed two Years after the Condemnation of *Acacius* by *Felix*; that is to say, in 486. It contains an Abridgment of what passed in the Cause of *Acacius*, from his Condemnation to *Acacius's*. The things related in it are done very thoroughly, exactly, and in few Words. It discovers a great number of particular Circumstances, the Memory of which we can find no where else. We may there see the Troubles with which the Church was vexed moir, for 40 Years together, and the frequent Revolutions which happened to the great Sees of the Eastern Churches, and many other accidents, which it would have been hard to have picked up, if we had not an Author of that time, who hath related them distinctly. It is not certainly known, who composed this Memoir. *F. Simonet* found it in a MS. with *S. Leo's* Letters. It was without all doubt composed by the Order of this Pope.

GELASIUS I.

Gelasius† was Ordained Bishop of *Rome* in the *beginning of the Year 492, and Governed that Church four Years, eight Months, and some Days. Some time after his Ordination, *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* wrote a Letter to him, in which he complains that he had not sent him a Letter of Communion according to the Ancient Custom: And having assured him, That he held the Orthodox Faith, he prayed him to conform himself to the Eastern Churches. *Gelasius* returned this Answer thereupon, That it was true, that it was the ancient Custom of the Holy See, that as soon as any Person was Ordained Bishop of *Rome*, he imparted his Election to his Colleagues by Letters of Communion; but he dare not give that Mark of Union to such Persons, as preferred Communion with Heretics before that of the Holy See. That the Letter which he now writes to him, ought not to be taken as a Mark of Communion, but only as an Effect of that general Charity, which Christianity obliges us to have for all the World. As to the Conformity, which he desires of him, he could not yield to it, without departing from the Truth. That as for those who have been Baptized, and Ordained by *Acacius*, he allows them to act in that manner, which *Euphemius* hath prescribed in his Letter, but he cannot consent to their putting *Acacius's* Name among those, who are in Communion with the Church. That though that Bishop never espoused any Heretical Opinions, yet he hath rendered himself blame-worthy by

by receiving Heretics into his Communion: That *Eusebius*, having been condemned by the Council of *Chalcidon*, *Timotheus*, and *Petrus*, who were of the same Judgment with that Heretic, ought to be looked upon as subject to the same Condemnation; as all those that are united with them, *Epiphanius* not sufficient for *Eusebius* to condemn *Eusebius*, and to declare himself Orthodox, unless he condemn them; who are of the same Sentiments, or communicate with them: That without this he can never come to a firm Reconciliation with him. *Epiphanius* had told him in his Letter, That he was very ready to satisfy him in this Matter, but he could not do it without offending the People of *Constantinople*; and therefore desired him to send such Persons as he thought best. Whereupon *Gelasius* answers him, That it is the Peoples Duty to follow their Pastor, and the Pastor to Govern his People; and if his Flock hears not his Voice, it will give leave to another Pastor, whom it suspects. Lastly, He cites him before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ, where he says it will be known, whether he be in the fault, or no, in so acting: This is the Sum of *Gelasius*'s first Letter.

The second is a Circular Letter to the Bishop of *Myria*, which contains a Profession, or Declaration of his Doctrine, wherein he condemns the Errors of the *Eusebians*, and establisheth the Distinction of the two Natures. He also tells them; How joyful he was to see them follow the Sentence passed against *Acacius* by his Predecessor, and pronounce *Anathemas* against that Bishop. The third is another Circular Letter to the Bishop of *Dardania*, in which he exhorts them to condemn the *Eusebians*, and all that communicate with them. They satisfy him in their answer, which goes before this Letter.

In the fourth Letter directed to *Eustasius*, the Ambassador of *Theodoricus* at *Constantinople*, he complains of the Obstinacy of the *Greeks* in the business of *Acacius*; and because they desired him to pardon him, he says, That he could not pardon a Man who died out of the Communion of the Church; nor absolve him from his Excommunication after his Death, because he had no Precedent for such an Absolution. And whereas *Epiphanius* had said, That *Acacius* could not be condemned by the Bishop of *Rome* only; he answers, That having been condemned by the Authority of the Council of *Chalcidon*, and his Predecessor having done no more but put the Decree of that Council in Execution, he could not disallow of his Condemnation, because it was not only permitted to the Bishop of the Holy Apostolic See, but also to all Bishops, to withdraw themselves from their Communion, who embrace an Heretic condemned by the Church: That it is to no purpose to object the Canons, since the very Canons themselves refer the Examinations of the Appeals of all Churches to the Holy See, so that there can be no Appeal from his Judgment: That *Timotheus*, *Peter* of *Antioch*, *Paul*, and several other Bishops, had been condemned by the Authority of the Holy See only, with the Approbation of *Acacius* himself, who executed the Sentences against them. Lastly, He accuses the *Greeks*, who alleged the Canons in defence of their Carriage of breaking the Canons; and maintains, That *Acacius* hath transgressed them in many Particulars.

The fifth Letter to *Honoriatus* a Bishop in *Dalmatia*, was written by *Gelasius*, about the Years which he had heard, That the Heretic of *Pelagius* was sprung up again in *Dalmatia*. He exhorts that Bishop to oppose it vigorously. This Admonition much surprized him, and he could not but discover it to the Pope, who answers him in his sixth Letter, That he ought not to find fault with his Pastoral Care and Vigilance.

The seventh Letter is directed to the Bishop of *Picenum*. *Gelasius* wrote it against an * Old Man, who revived the Errors of *Pelagius*, by teaching, That there was no Original Sin: That Children that die Unbaptized, are not damned: And that Man may be happy, avoid Sin, and do good without Grace, which is bestowed on him for his Merits sake. *Gelasius* having confuted these Errors at large, accuseth this Priest also for permitting the Monks to dwell with the Consecrated Virgins, and much condemns him for it. For, saith he, if the Mind of those, who have no converse with Women, is often troubled with unclean thoughts, what a deep Impression will the presence of Women make upon the Minds of them, who see them continually? Wherefore he forbids this abuse, and threatens to punish those, who shall hereafter tolerate it. This Letter is dated Nov. 1. 493.

The eighth Letter of *Gelasius* is addressed to the Emperor * *Anastasius*. After he hath excused himself for not writing to him before, and declared what Zeal and Affection he hath to serve him, he exhorts him to follow the Judgment of the Holy See, by causing the Memory of *Acacius* to be condemned. In this Letter there are many other things remarkable, but nothing more than what he says concerning the Distinction between the Priesthood and the Royal Authority. There are two sorts of Power, saith he, which exercise a Sovereignty over all the World, the Sacred Authority of the Bishops, and the Authority of Kings. The Charge of Bishops is so much the greater, because they must give an Account at the Day of Judgment of the Actions of Kings. You know, Sir, that although you are Supreme, and your Dignity exceeds all others; yet you are obliged to submit your selves to the Authority of those that Minister about Holy Things: That you require of them the Principles of your Salvation, and ought to follow the Rules, which they prescribe for the receiving of the Sacraments, and differing Ecclesiastical Matters. For if the Bishops being persuaded, that God hath given you a Sovereign Power over Things Temporal, yield Obedience to your Civil Laws, without opposing your Power in Temporal Matters; with how great Reverence ought you to be subject in Spiritual Things to those, who are set apart for the Distribution of the Holy Sacraments? And if all the Faithful ought to submit themselves in general to all the Bishops, which discharge their Office well; with how much greater Reason ought they to yield to the Bishop of the Holy See, whom God hath made the * First among the Bishops, and the Church hath always acknowledged him for such? The

* Seneca, Senex delirus.

* Who succeeded Zeno.

* First in Order of Dignity, not in Power or Sovereignty.

The ninth Letter to the Bishop of *Lycania*, *Samuel*, and *Stichus*, contains many secondary Rules for the Ministers of the Church. The Wars and Troubles of *Italy* had brought the Churches of that Country to such a miserable Condition, that many of them had no Ministers, in so much that they were forced to pass by the ordinary Forms, and dispense with the strict Observation of the Canons: But lest they should abuse this Indulgence, *Gelasius* gives them the following Rules:

I. He orders them to observe the Ancient Canons, unless some urgent necessity obliges the Churches to dispense with them. He allows them to confer Holy Orders upon the Monks, provided there be no Canonical Impediment in themselves. That they have not heretofore been guilty of any Enormous Crimes: Have not been twice Married, nor have Married a Widow: That they have no bodily defects: Be not Stranded or engaged in any publick or private Cause, if they have some Learning, without which they cannot obtain the degree of a Parson. And if any of the Monks have all these Qualifications, they may be immediately made a Reader, Noury, or Acolyte; and three Months after an *Acolyte*, especially if he be of full Age; After the end of six Months he may be Ordain'd a Sub-Deacon; and if he behaves himself well, and prudently, and leads a good Life, he shall be made a Deacon at the end of nine Months, and a Priest at the end of the Year.

II. *Gelasius* tells them, That if they admit a Lay-Man into the Clergy, they must examine him so much the more in the above-mentioned Particulars; and more especially concerning his Life and Manners; lest under the pretence of the Necessity, which they have of Ministers, they fill the Clergy with vicious Persons. To be the better assured of their Carriage, he requires them to wait six Months after the Year is out, before they be Ordain'd Priests. But because this space of 18 Months was not sufficient, according to the ancient Canons, *Gelasius* declines, That he shorten the time for the sake of those Churches that wanted Ministers; but in others, and in these very Churches, when a sufficient Number of Clerks shall be again established, such Examinations shall be observed in the greatest strictness.

III. He forbids the Bishop to Consecrate Churches new-built without necessary Abilities, and not to meddle with the Clergy of their Collegues.

IV. He forbids them to exact any thing for Baptism, or Confirmation, or to demand any thing of such as are newly Baptized.

V. He commands the Priests not to raise themselves above their Order, nor to undertake to make the Chrism, nor Confirm, nor Bless, nor perform any other Sacred Office in the Presence of the Bishop, nor to sit down by him, nor to Officiate before him without his permission: He puts them in mind; That they have no Power to Ordain a Sub-Deacon, or an *Acolyte*, without a Bishop.

VI. He enjoins the Deacons to keep themselves within the Bounds of their Ministry, forbidding them to perform any Offices that belong to the Priests, or to Baptize, unless in case of necessity, without a Priest, or Bishop. He adds in the

VII Rule; That they ought not to rank themselves with the Priests, nor distribute the Body of Jesus Christ in the Presence of the Bishops or Priests.

Having thus recommended the exact Observation of the Canons, he forbids them Baptizing at any other time but at *Easter* and *Pentecost*, unless the Person to be Baptized be in danger of Death. He also forbids them to Ordain any, unless in the *Ember-Week*, *Mid-Lent*, *Holy Saturday* in the Evening; and he thinks, that no case can oblige them to Ordain a Priest or Deacon at any other times. As to the Virgins he says, That they ought not to be Consecrated, and Vailed, but on the *Epiphany*, *Easter*, or on the Feast of the Apostles. He forbids them Consecrating a Widow. He will not allow them to Ordain, or admit into their Monasteries a Slave, or any Person that lives in a servile Condition. He forbids Clergymen to follow Trades, or use any scandalous Employments. Afterwards he repeats the ancient Canons concerning the Qualifications of such Persons, as they ought to Ordain. They ought to be Learned, have no bodily defects, nor be Eunuchs, nor guilty of any Crimes; to be of a sound Mind, to be but once Married. He sentences them who have been Ordain'd for Money to be put out of the Clergy. He orders them to endure Penance all their Lives, who have corrupted a consecrated Virgin; and only allows them to receive Absolution at the point of Death, if they have done Penance. He threatens those Clergymen who go from one Church to another. As for those Widows, who marry after they have vowed a single Life, he doth not impose publick Penance upon them, but he thinks it sufficient to admonish them of the fault that they have committed. He complains of them, who have consecrated Churches without the allowance of the Holy See, and have given them the Name of such Persons as died not in the Faith. Lastly, He is much displeased that Women Ministred at the Altar in some places.

Having spoken after this manner of the Degrees of the Clergy, and of their Duties, he treats of the Revenues of the Church. He will have them divided into four parts; whereof one is for the Bishop; the other for the Clergy; the third for the Poor; and the fourth for the Buildings, and that the Bishop ought to employ that part faithfully, which is set apart for the Buildings of the Church without converting it to his own Advantage; but he must make it appear,

thence, that they ought always to be preserved, for all Superstitions could not be abolished at once, but by little and little. Lastly, He tells them, that a Baptized Christian cannot, nor ought to do it. And altho his Predecessors did tolerate it, they had some reasons which hindered them from abolishing them, but yet he doubts not but that they did endeavour it.

The third Treatise was composed * against this Doctrine of the *Pelagians*, that Men may pass their Life without Sin. He proves the contrary by several Reasons grounded upon the Testimonies of Holy Scripture. In it also he explains, in what sense St. Paul says, That the Children of the Faithful are Holy, and the believing Wives sanctified by the unbelieving Husband.

But the most eminent Treatise of *Gelasius* is his Treatise against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius* [concerning the two Natures in Jesus Christ.] The Critics at first doubted whether it belonged to this Pope, and * *Barnanius* affirms it with greater Confidence than any, that it is not his, but *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, and *Bellarmino* followeth his Judgment. The Conjectures which they bring, seem to have some resemblance of truth, if we consider them alone. They are as follows. 1. The Author of this Treatise quotes the Greek Fathers only, and never mentions the Latins; now what probability is there, that Pope *Gelasius* would not allege St. *Jerom*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Leo*. 2. He numbers *Eusebius Casariensis* among the Orthodox Doctors. Now *Gelasius* thought him an *Arian*, and puts his Books among the Apocryphal. 3. The Treatise of *Gelasius* against *Eutyches* was a large Work, according to the testimony of *Gennadius*; in that we have is a small Tract. These Reasons seem to prove, that 'tis not probable, that it is Pope *Gelasius*'s.

On the other hand, there are no Objections against *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, all things concur to attribute it to him, for the time and name agree; there is no other *Gelasius* to whom it can be attributed, the Style of this Book is very like that of the History of the Council of *Nice*, written by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*. Lastly, The Author of that History says, in the Preface, that he hath written against the *Eutychians*, and commends *Eusebius* in the Body of his Work. All this makes it sufficiently evident, that this Work belongs to *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, rather than *Gelasius Bishop of Rome*. Nevertheless there want not convincing proofs, to evince, that it is really the Work of this Latter. For first, it is found in the MSS. joined with the Letters of this Pope. Second, St. *Fulgentius*, who is a Witness beyond exception, cites it as Pope *Gelasius*'s [Lib. de 5. *quest. apud Ferrand. Dic. c. 18.*] and *John II* uses the Testimony of this Author, as Pope *Gelasius*'s [in *Epist. ad Avinnum*]. Thirdly, *Gennadius* * assures us, that this Pope made a large Treatise against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*. This agrees to this Book, which bears the same Title, and is very considerable; for do it be not a great Work in it self, 'tis a great Volume in *Gennadius*'s sense. We ought not to wonder, that he doth not quote the Latin Authors, being engaged with the Greeks, against whom he might very well use the Authority of *Eusebius Casariensis*. Lastly, The Style of this Treatise demonstrates plainly, that it is Pope *Gelasius*'s. In it he shews, that there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, united in one Person, and that these two Natures have retain'd their Properties. This truth is proved in the first part by the Authority of Holy Scripture, and in the second by the Testimonies of the Greek Fathers. About the end of the first part we meet with a passage about the Eucharist, exactly like *Theodore*'s. [This Treatise hath been Printed at *Basil* in 1523, in *Antidoto adversus Hereses*, and at *Tigur*. 1571. 'Tis also extant in *Biblioth. Pat. Tom. 8. p. 699.*]

This Pope had made also some other Treatises upon different subjects, and some Hymns in imitation of St. *Ambrose*, of which *Gennadius* makes mention; but we have no more of his than the Works above-mentioned.

Besides these Works, which are his alone, the Decree concerning the Apocryphal and Canonical Books composed, or rather approved by a Council of 70 Bishops, held at *Rome* in 494, may also be attributed to him, for indeed * 'tis the Work of *Gelasius*. This Decree contains first of all a Catalogue of such Books, as the Church of *Rome* acknowledges to be Canonical both in the O. and N. Testament, like to the Decree of the Council of *Treves*, save that he reckons but one Book of the *Maccabees*. Next he establisheth the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, and its Primacy, which according to him was not before confirmed by any Synodical Decree, but only by the words of Jesus Christ to Saint Peter, to whom St. Paul was joyned, and with whom he suffered Martyrdom under *Nero*; in sum, that these two Apostles have consecrated the Church of *Rome*, and by their Presence and Martyrdom given it a pre-eminence above all other Churches. So that the first See of the Churches of the World is *Rome*, and the second *Alexandria*, the third *Antioch*, where St. Peter abode before he came to *Rome*.

After this Declaration comes a Catalogue of the Councils, and the Books which are received by the Church of *Rome*, viz. The four first General Councils, and other Synods received, and authorized in the Church. The Works of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Basil*, St. *Athanasius*, St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *John of Constantinople*, St. *Theophilus of Alexandria*, St. *Austin*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Prosper*, the Letter of St. *Leo* to *Flavian*, and the Decretals of the Popes. As for the Acts of the Martyrs he observes, that although he did not doubt of the truth of them, nevertheless the Church of *Rome* doth not read them, because the Authors of them are not known, and there are some of them forged by the ignorant Men and Infidels,

Infidels, and others full of falshood, such as are the Acts of St. *Quirinus*, St. *Fulgentius*, St. *George*, and several others. Nevertheless it receives the lives of St. *Paul*, St. *Armenius*, St. *Hilarion*, and other Holy Men; but it is only because they are written by St. *Jerom*. The Acts of St. *Silvester* are read in some Churches, altho the Author be not known. The Stories of the finding of the Cross, and of *John Baptist*'s Head, are Modern Relations which some Christians read, but when such sort of Works fall into our hands, we must then follow the Apostles direction, who teaches us to try all things, and make use only of that which is good. He commends some works of *Rufinus* and *Origen*, although he will not leave the Judgment which St. *Jerom* gives of them, nor approve what he hath condemned in them; He doth not wholly reject the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius Casariensis*, because it relates many Important matters, although he condemns the Praises, which he gives of *Origen*. He commends the History of *Orosius*, *Sedulius*'s Pastoral Work, and the Poem of *Juvenius*.

Lastly, He sets down a Catalogue of some of those Apocryphal Works, which the Church rejected. After the Acts of the Council of *Ariminum*, he places the false Gospels, and other Apocryphal Books of Holy Scripture, the Works of Hereticks, and of some Orthodox Authors, who have departed from the Doctrines of the Church in some things, such as *Eusebius Tertullian*, *Laetantius*, *Africanus*, *Commodianus*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, *Tibonius*, *Cassianus*, *Victorinus Petavienensis*, and *Faustus Reienfis*.

In the next year this Pope held another Council, [of 55 Bishops at *Rome*], where *Misimus* the Legat of his Predecessor, who had been Excommunicated for Communicating with *Aecacius*, was absolved, having humbly begged Pardon for his fault.

This is all we have been able to Collect of Pope *Gelasius*. He was a subtle and intelligent Man who much enlarged his Authority. He Wrote well, but obscurely. He is guilty of much false Reasoning, and often supposes those things for certain, which never were done. He was very skilful and knowing in the Customs and Usages of the Church of *Rome*. He loved Order and Discipline, and joyned Prudence and Courage with them both. He gave an ample demonstration of it in the business of *Aecacius*, which he maintained against all opposition, and would not remit any thing for Peace sake, which he might easily have procured, if he had not so feverently insisted upon the Condemnation of *Aecacius*. By which it appears, that the Popes were sometimes a little too stiff and resolute; for although *Aecacius* had been more blame-worthy, than indeed he was, yet the Pope ought to have more mildly dealt with him for Peace sake, and not to have persecuted with so much rigour the Memory of a Bishop, whose Sentiments were Orthodox, and whose Fault seems to have been nothing but this, that he was not careful to please the Bishop of *Rome*, and to be too submissive to the Will of his Prince. [He is also thought to be the Author of the *Codex Sacramentarius*, which is a Collection of such Forms of publick Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, as were in use in the Church of *Rome* in his time, which he digested into one Volume, putting them into a good Order, and adding much of his own. This Book lay hid for many Ages, but at last falling into the hands of *Paulus Petavius*, it was published at *Rome*, in 1680, 4to. And not long after it was Reprinted with some other ancient Liturgies at *Paris* in 1685, 4to, by the Care of F. *Mabilion*.]

ANASTASIUS II.

Anastasis II. Succeeded Pope *Gelasius*, and was Ordained Bishop of *Rome*, * Nov. 28. * Sept. 15. Anno. 496. The first thing he did was to write to the † Emperor, to endeavour the Re-union of the Church. He exhorts him therefore in the first * Letter, and earnestly intreats him to hinder that the Name of *Aecacius*, which gave so much offence, should not be recited in the Church, and by that means procure the Churches Peace. At the same time he adverteth him, that this would not derogate from the validity of the Ordinations, which *Aecacius* hath conferred, or Baptisms, which he hath administered, because the Holy Spirit works by evil Ministers; and Sinners, who administer the Sacraments, hurt none but themselves, 1278. * *Germanus* sent two Legats to *Constantinople* to Negotiate the Peace, and at the same time *Nicetas* a Senator of *Rome* went about some publick affairs. There was also then at *Constantinople* shop of a Priest and another Clergy-man, Deputies for the Church of *Alexandria*, who being desirous of Capua, a Re-union with the Church of *Rome*, presented a † Memoir to the Pope's Legats and *Festus*, and *Cresc.* while they deliver themselves to this Effect; That the Churches of *Rome* founded by St. Peter, conius, and of *Alexandria* planted by St. Mark, have always had the same Faith and Doctrine, and Bishop of were so firmly united, that when any Councils were held in the East, the Bishop of *Rome* made choice of the Bishop of *Alexandria* to act in his stead, and hold his place in them; but there began a Division between these two Churches in the time of St. Leo, because his Letter against the *Tom. 4. p. 1283.* *Impio* is Heretick *Eutyches* being falsified by *Theodore*, and some other Bishops of the Nestorian Party, who Translated it into Greek, and by the Authority of that Corrupt Translation, had the Cause maintained etc.

II.

maintained the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, had given the Church of *Alexandria* occasion to think, that the Church of *Rome* was of that Opinion, and upon that account, to separate from her Communion; On the other side the Bishops of *Rome* being persuaded that the Egyptians opposed the Doctrine, which they had received from the Apostles, had also separated them from his Communion; That they had sent Deputies to *Rome* to justify, that their Church had no other Sentiments than those of the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*; but there was then at *Rome* a certain Man of their Country, and Enemy to the truth, by whose means they were denied Reception and Audience; In consequence that they returned without effecting any thing, but they understood since by *Pelagius* a Bishop of the Church of *Jerusalem*, who was sent by his Bishop to Pope *Anastasius*, that this Pope did not approve of the Additions and Alterations, which had been made in the Version of St. *Luke's* Letter; That the Legate of this Pope, sent to *Constantinople*, having assured them of the same thing, they implored them to receive their Confession of Faith; that if it were found agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, these two Churches might be Re-united. In this Confession of Faith, having asserted with most serious Projections, that they did receive the Doctrine of the three first General Councils, and the *Anathema's* of St. *Cyril*, without mentioning the fourth Council; They confess, that Jesus Christ is consubstantial with the Father according to the Divine Nature, and with us according to the Humane; that there is but one Son; that the Actions and Sufferings of Jesus Christ are proper to one Son only. They condemn those that divide or confound the Natures, or introduce a mere Phantom, because in the Incarnation there is no multiplication of Sons, and the Trinity of the Persons in the Godhead still remains, although one of the Divine Persons be Incarnate. They pronounce an *Anathema* against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. But they declare, that the Doctrine of *Bisephorin*, *Timotheus*, and *Isidorus*, their Patriarchs was such, as that they do still follow it, and are ready to justify it. Lastly, They conjure the Popes Legats to present this Confession of Faith to him, that he may approve it, and receive them into his Communion. *Jesus* also was Commended by the Emperor to negotiate the Re-union of the Church of *Constantinople*; and he promised to sway *Anastasius* the Pope to subscribe *Zeno's* Hereticism. But when he came to *Rome* *Anastasius* was dead, having been in the See of the Church of *Rome* but two years, wanting six days.

There is another Letter of *Anastasius* to *Lewis* the French King, wherein he congratulates his Conversion to Christianity. Lastly, *M. Beluzius* in Tom. 1. of his new Collections of Councils hath published some fragments of a Letter of *Anastasius* to *Ursinus* upon the Incarnation. *Plinius* says, that he wrote some Books *De Trinitate*, *De Libero arbitrio*, *de Regulis Fidei adversus Pelagianam Heresim*, and many Sermons, but we know not upon what grounds. The Letters of this Pope are full of Moral Observations and Applications of Texts of Holy Scripture.

* It is extant in Tom. 4. Council. p. 1278.

PASCHASIUS, a Deacon of the Church of Rome.

Paschasius, a Deacon of Rome. Against Macedonians.

THIS Deacon flourished in the Popedom of *Anastasius*, and *Symachus*, under this last he favoured the Party of *Laurentius* the Anti-Pope; and some hold, that he was put into Purgatory upon that Account, where *Germanus* Bishop of *Genoa* saw his Soul, if we may believe the Relation, which St. *Gregory* gives us in his Dialogues. He made two Books concerning the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, recommended by St. *Gregory*, in which he hath not omitted any Material proof, which the Holy Scripture affords us, to prove the Godhead of the Holy Spirit. This Treatise is written in a very good Method, and with much Elegancy. It hath been Printed at *Colen* in 1539 (8vo. and at *Amsterdam* in 1613.) and put into the *Biblioth. Patr.* [Tom. 8. p. 806.] Some think, that it is to this *Paschasius*, that *Engippius* hath dedicated the Life of St. *Severinus*.

JULIANUS

JULIANUS POMERIUS.

Julianus Pomerius, a Native of *Mauritania*, and Ordained a Priest in *France*, lived about the end of the fifth Age. He composed a Treatise by way of Dialogue between *Julian* a Bishop, and *Vetus* a Priest, * about the Nature and Qualities of the Soul, divided into eight Books. In the first he tells us, what the Soul is, and in what sense it is said to be made in the Image of God. In the second he examines whether it be Corporeal, or Incorporeal. In the third, he enquires how the Soul of the first Man was made. In the fourth, he discusses this Question, Whether the Soul, which is about to be infused into the Body, be created anew, and without Sin, or whether it be generated by the Soul of the Parent? And whether being to be fired by Propagation from the Soul of the first Man, it draws Original Sin from him? The sixth contains a short repetition of the Matters treated on in the fourth, with some Questions and Distinctions, such as this, Whether the Faculty, or Power of the Soul depends only on the Will; The sixth, inquires, From whence proceeds the Opposition between the Flesh and the Spirit, spoken of by St. *Paul*. The seventh is about the difference between the Life, and Death, and resurrection of the Flesh and Soul. The eighth, explains the Prophecies concerning such things as shall happen at the end of the World, and contains an Explication of some Questions propounded about the Resurrection. This Treatise is very Logical and Metaphysical, it teaches us, as *Tertullian* had done before, That the Soul is Corporeal.

This Author hath written another Treatise, dedicated to a Person named *Principius*, about the contempt of Worldly Things; as also a Book of Instructions for Virgins: Three Books * of the contemplative, and active Life; and another Treatise of Virtues and Vices. This is all that is spoken of this Author by *Gennadius* and *Isidore* in their Catalogues of Ecclesiastical Writers.

We have none of these Works but his three Books of the Contemplative Life, which have been printed among S. *Prosper's* Works, under whose Name they have been commonly quoted for above 800 Years, but the disagreement of Style proves that they are not his, and the Testimonies of the two Catalogues above-mentioned oblige us to attribute them to *Julianus Pomerius*, under whose Name they are found in several MSS. We have long since cited an ancient MS. of M. De *Montcal* Archbishop of *Toulouse*.

F. *Quessel* hath added another MS. in the Abby of *Trappe*; and we have heard, that there is a very ancient one in the Library of the Chapter-House of *Beauvais*; where these three Books of a Contemplative Life bear the Name of *Julian Pomerius*, the true Author of them. In the first Book, having described the Happiness of the Saints, who enjoy the full Contemplation of the Godhead in Heaven, which the most Holy Men never have had in this Life, and shewed the difference between a Contemplative and Active Life, he exhorts the Bishops and Priests to betake themselves to a Contemplative Life, sequestering themselves from the Affairs, and Business of the World, and applying themselves wholly to the Study of Holy Scripture. This gives him an Occasion to write against those Bishops, whose greatest care it was to increase their Estates and Dignities; Who placed their only Felicity in the enjoyment of Worldly Pleasures; Who seek their own Glory more than Jesus Christ; Who have greater care of their Honour, than Conscience; and who place nothing of their Happiness in the hopes of the good things of another Life. He exclaims himself here, that he undertakes to publish the Irregularities of his Superiors, but still goes on speaking smartly against ignorant and vicious Bishops, who neglected the Care of their Flock; Who are not at all troubled at the Crimes which they see committed by Sinners, nor pleased with the good Actions done in their Dioceses; Who are very little affected with the sense of good or evil; Who are filled with the love of the World, living in Pleasures and Debaucheries, transported with Ambition, full of Injustice; dare not preach up contempt of the World, Temperance, a solitary Life, Meekness, Charity, Justice, nor other Christian Virtues, which they themselves do not practise. In the next place he shews, that it is not allowable for a Bishop to leave his Church to acquire his own Ease, or to live at Liberty; that he ought to reform his Life, and become an Example to his Flock, instructing them as well by his Manners as his Words; that he is obliged to reprove Sinners severely. Lastly, he gives a Description of a good and wicked Bishop and Preacher.

He describes a wicked Bishop in this manner: 'He is One that seeks after Honours, Preferments, and Riches, not that he may put them to a good use, but that he may live more at his Ease, be more honoured, feared and respected; Who chiefly aims to gratify his Passions, confirm his Authority, enrich himself, and enjoy his Pleasures; Who avoids the laborious and despicable parts of his Office, but is rejoiced at the pleasant and honourable; Who tolerates Vice, and Honours Sinners with his Friendship; yea, applauds their Crimes for fear of offending them. To these Bishops he applies the words of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Chap. 34. *Wo to the Shepherds of Israel*, &c. He directs, I say, these terrible words of the Prophet to these Bishops, who have no care of their Flock; who think upon nothing but how to get the Milk, and the Wool; that is to say,

* De vita contemplativa.

De virtute contemplatione.

De actuali

De vita contemplativa.

De virtute contemplatione.

De actuali

De vita contemplativa.

De virtute contemplatione.

De actuali

De vita contemplativa.

De virtute contemplatione.

De actuali

De vita contemplativa.

Julianus
Pomerius.

lay, the Oblations and Tythes, with which they enrich themselves; Who do not cure the Sick, nor strengthen the Weak, nor bring back the stray Sheep into the Ways of Salvation; Who seek not those that are lost, as good Shepherds ought to do, nor comfort those that despair of the Pardon of their Sins; Who never shew their Authority justly in domineering tyrannically over their People, &c.

On the contrary, he draws the Character of such good Bishops, as the Doctrine of the Apostles requires them to be; thus: They are such as present Sinners to God by their Preaching and Example; Are very humble, and free from Pride and Insuperbity; Who treat all the Members of their Flock with the same Love and Kindness; Who heal the Wounds of their Sick People with mild, but effectual Remedies; Who hear with the Incomprehensible Patience of Who in their Preaching seek not their own Glory, but the Glory of Jesus Christ; Who employ some of their Disciples and Actions to obtain Pardon, or Remission of Men, but who give God all the Honour; that they bestow on them, because it is by their Lives, and preaches in the Bishops; Who avoid Praises and Commendations; Who comfort the Afflicted, nourish the Poor, clothe the Naked, redeem Captives, lodge Strangers; Who bring those that err into the way of Truth; Promise Salvation to those that despair; Quicken the Zeal of those who are going in the right way; Hasten those that linger; And who, lastly, discharge well all the Functions of their Ministry. These are the true Successors of the Apostles, the true Ministers of Jesus Christ and his Church, the Oracles of the Holy Spirit; Such Factors as these appease the Anger of God against his People, and instruct the People in the Knowledge of God. They defend the Faith of the Church by their Writings, and are ready to seal it with their Blood. Lastly, They hold themselves fast to God only, in whom alone they put their trust.

The difference between a good and a bad Preacher he thus lays down: 'The Life of a Preacher of Jesus Christ ought to be answerable to his Doctrine; He ought to Preach as well by his Manners as Words. He ought not to raise his own Esteem by an Affectation of Eloquence, or placing his chiefest care in the Elegancy of his Expressions. He must not seek to please the People, nor gain himself Applauses from them, but his main aim is to affect them, and convert them. He must weep himself if he will make his Auditors to weep. A plain, grave, and easy Discourse will work better effect than the most studied and curious pieces of Eloquence. There is a great deal of difference between a Declaimer and a Preacher: A Declaimer useth the utmost strength of his Eloquence to gain Reputation; The Preacher seeks the Glory of Jesus Christ by explaining his Doctrine in a familiar Discourse. The Declaimer handles trifling Matters with choice and curious Words; The Preacher on the contrary elevates the plainness of his Discourse by the Nobleness and Grandeur of the Sense. The Declaimer endeavours to hide the Deformity of his Invention by the Fineness of his Discourse; but the Preacher mollifies and sweetens the harshness of his Words by the Beauty of his Notions: The one places all his Honour in the applause of the People, and the other in their Virtue. The Declaimer speaks plausibly, but his Speech is fruitless: The Preacher makes use of an ordinary Discourse, but he instructs those that will attend to it, because he corrupts not his Reason with the affectation of seeming Eloquence.

The second Book is about the Duties of an Active Life. The Author therein explains, how we must reprove, and bear with Sinners. He affirms that the most Holy Bishops are sometimes forced to tolerate Sinners, either because they foresee that Reproofs and Chastisements will but harden them, or because their Sins are hid. As to those, who come to confess their Sins to your Pastors, as Sick-Men come to shew their Wounds to the Physicians, they should labour to cure them immediately, and apply fit Remedies to them without flattering them, or assuring them that they are cured, when they are not. As to those whose Crimes are manifest before Confession, if we cannot heal them by gentle Medicines, we must apply to them the Fire of Reproof; and if that effect nothing, but they continue in their irregular Lives, they must be separated by the Sword of Excommunication as purged Members, lest they corrupt others by their evil example: But as to those, whose Sins are altogether secret, being neither discovered by the Confession of the Sinners themselves, nor the Testimony of others, if they do not amend, as they have God for a Witness, so also they shall have God for their Avenger. For though they may escape the Judgment of Men, yet since they continue in their Sin, they shall be condemned to Eternal Torments, at least if they do not judge themselves, and revenge their Sin upon themselves by a very severe Punishment, for so they may change Eternal into Temporal Punishments, and by the Tears which flow from a wounded Heart, extinguish the burning of Eternal Flames. Lastly, As to those who are in the Ecclesiastical State, they are mistaken, if they imagine that they may remain in the Communion of the Church, and in their Ministry, because they deceive Men by concealing their Sins, because unless they be such small Sins as we cannot avoid, and for which we daily beg of God in the Lords Prayer, that he would forgive us our Debts, they ought to be free from all such Crimes as being committed render Men obnoxious to Civil Justice: That as to those that have committed them, but dare not confess them for fear of being Excommunicated, they are guilty of a great fault in Communicating, because they feign themselves innocent before Men, and through an intolerable contempt of the Judgments of God, are ashamed to withdraw themselves from the Altar. On the contrary, they, who not being convicted of Sin, do acknowledge and confess it, or at least, not discovering it to any Man, keep themselves from the Sacrament, and withdraw themselves from

Julianus
Pomerius.

from the Altar, at which they Ministred, nor out of Courage, but Duty, bewailing their Sin in secret, they may reconcile themselves to God by Repentance, appease his Anger, and render themselves worthy of the Heavenly City, and of Eternal Happiness.

In the next place, the Author goes on to shew how loose Bishops ought to be from the desires of Worldly Riches. He maintains, that those that enter into the Clergy, ought to renounce their Estates, all all, and give to the Poor, contenting themselves with the Revenues of the Church, which they ought not to possess as their own, being only properly the Managers of them; That they ought to think the Revenues of the Church to be the Vows of the Faithful, the atonement for Sins, and the Patrimony of the Poor. So that they ought not to appropriate them to themselves, as properly belonging to them, but to distribute them to the Poor, as a Trust belonging to them; That the Ministers of the Church have no right to them, but under the title of Poverty, and if they are Rich otherwise, and yet live of the Revenues of the Church, they rob the Poor; That they, who suppose, that these Revenues of the Church are a reward for their Service, deceive themselves by expecting Temporal Rewards for that, which deserves Eternal; That those, who have an Estate, ought to be so far from living at the Charge of the Church, that they ought to impart their Incomes to the Church, without being in the least proud of it. These Precepts, saith our Author, may appear hard. And I own it, but 'tis to them that have no mind to observe them, for to those that are willing to keep them, nothing is more easy, for practice will soon make them so: for what difficulty is there in contenting themselves with the Revenues of the Church, when they have enough to maintain them, or to forsake their own Estates, when the Church allows them a sufficient maintenance? These are indeed good Rules, but very rarely put in practice. Julian Pomerius confirms them, by shewing how all Christians, but principally Clergy-men, ought to despise Riches.

The last part of this Book is concerning the Abstinence and Temperance of the Clergy. He shews how necessary this Virtue is, and how dangerous the contrary Vice. He makes Temperance consist in two things, viz. in neither Eating, nor Drinking more than is necessary, and in not seeking out exquisite Dainties and Liquors. He tells us at the end, that we must break our fast for our Hosts sake.

The last Book treats of Virtues and Vices in particular. He therein discovers the pernicious effects of Pride, Covetousness, Envy, and Boasting. He speaks very largely of Charity, of the four Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. This Book is full of definitions, and divisions of Virtues and Vices, Natural descriptions of them, and very profitable Maxims.

The Discourse of this Author is not excellent for the Elegancy of the Expressions, but for the sweetness and neatness of the Notions.

GENNADIUS.

Gennadius, a Priest of Marseille, did himself make a Catalogue of his own Works, at the end of his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers. 'I have Written, saith he, eight Books against the Heresies, six Books against Nestorius, three Books against Pelagius. A Treatise concerning the Millennium, and St. John's Revelation. * A Book of the Ecclesiastical Writers; and a Treatise of the Doctrine I hold, and believe, sent to Pope Gelasius. We have nothing of his but the two last. It is needless to speak of the first here, because we have Copied it out wholly in this Volume. The last, which bears this Title at present, *Of the Doctrines of the Church*, hath gone a long time under the Name of St. Austin, although the Authors of this Age have told us, that it is Gennadius's, and it carries his Name in some ancient MSS.

See what we have already said, when we spoke of the Additions to the 8th Tome of St. Austin's Works. It is Computed in the form of a Confession of Faith; but in delivering the Orthodox truths he rejects the Contrary Errors, and Names the Maintainers of them. The five first Articles are about the Trinity, and Incarnation; the four following upon the Resurrection. In these last, he rejects the fabulous Opinion of the Millennaries, and the Errors of Origen and Diocorus, and proves that there shall be but one Resurrection of the Flesh, which shall be real, though incorruptible. He thinks, that it may be said, that those, who shall be found alive at the day of Judgment, shall not die, but shall only be Changed, but it can't be asserted without an Error, that the Torments of the Devils or Wicked Men shall one day have an end. He is of Opinion, that none but God is Spiritual; that all Creatures are Corporal, although Intellectual Creatures are Immortal. He rejects the Opinion of Origen about the Pre-existence of Souls, as also of those that hold that they are produced by generation. He says, that God Creates, and at the same time infuses them into the Body. He asserts, that only the Soul of Man exists separately from the Body; that Man is made up of a Soul and Body, but there is no difference of Substance in him. He holds,

* It is a continuation of St. Jerom's Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers from 392; where St. Jerom left off to 495, and therefore has been Printed with it at Basil, in 1538, 4to; at Colen, in 1580; at Helmstadt, in 1612, 4to; and at Antwerp 1639.

Gen-
dine

holds that Man was Created free, but by Sin he hath lost the strength of that liberty; but yet he has absolutely lost the power of choosing Good, and refusing Evil, and to seek after his own Salvation, because God exhorts him, *thus* him up, and encourages him to do it. So that the beginning of Man's Salvation proceeds from his Free-will strengthened by Grace, because he can freely yield to his Inspiration, but it is the Gift of God to be able to attain the end we desire; that it depends upon our Labour, and the assistance of God, that we do not fall from the state of Grace, and when we do fall, we ought to impute it to our own negligence, and the viciousness of the Will.

He passes next to the Sacraments, and affirms, That there is but one Baptism, and that we must not Baptize them again, who have been Baptized by Hereticks, with the Invocation of the Name of the Trinity; but they, who have not been Baptized in the Name of the Trinity, ought to be Re-baptized, because such a Baptism is not true. He neither condemns nor blames the practice of those, who received the Sacrament every day. But he exhorts and requires them to receive the Sacrament every Sunday, provided they are not linked to any Sin; for those who are accounted to any Sin, are rather laden by the guilt, than purged from it by the Sacrament; but yet he that finds himself averse from Sin, may receive the Sacrament, although he hath Sin'd, which he understands, as himself says, of him, who hath not committed any grievous, or heinous Sins; for whose ever hath committed any of these sort of Sins after Baptism, he exhorts him to testify his sorrow for them, by performing publick Penance, and to be restored to the Communion of the Church by the Absolution of the Priest, if he will not subject himself to Condemnation by receiving of the Sacrament. Nor that I deny, that Heinous Sins can be remitted by a Private Repentance; but then it must be done by an entire change of the Custom of Living, by a continual sorrow for them, and not receiving the Sacrament, till they had made a thorough Reformation, and live altogether other-wise than they have done.

True Repentance, is not to be guilty again of that which we have Repented of, and real satisfaction consists in eradicating Sin, and never more exposing our selves to Temptations.

In the 25th Article he affirms, That we ought not to expect any thing Earthly in our Happiness, and that the Millenary Reign of Christ is a mere *Chimera*.

The other Articles are nothing but Explications of the precedent, or concern the Discipline of the Church. He speaks also of Grace and Free-will in Art. 26, where he says, that no Man tends to Salvation, unless he be called to it, and that none that are called, can it obtain but by the help of God; that none obtains this assistance but he that prays for it; that God will not that any should Perish; that he only permits it, that he may not injure Man's Freedom. He adds in Art. 27, and those that follow, that God did not create Sin; that Men commit it by their Freedom; That this proves that only God is immutable; That the Angels have voluntary persevered in goodness; That Marriage is good, when it is used for the procreation of Children, or to advantage State, and Virginity is also most excellent; That it is Lawful to eat of all sorts of Meats, but it is convenient to abstain from some and preserve Temperance; That it is credible that Mary the Mother of God did always remain a Virgin; That we ought not to believe, that at the Day of Judgment, the Elements shall be destroyed, but only changed; That the Resurrection shall not quite take away the difference of Sexes; That the Souls of the Righteous go to Heaven as soon as they depart from their Bodies, and then expect perfect Happiness; but the Souls of Sinners are kept in Hell where they wait their Punishment; That the Flesh of Man is not Naturally Evil; That the Devil doth not know the Secret Thoughts of Man, but guesses at them only by the Motions of the Body; That he is not always the Author of Evil Thoughts; though God be always of Good ones; That he never enters the Soul, but is united and joined to it; That the Miracles and Wonders which Wicked Men do, doth not make them more Holy or better Men; That there is no Righteous Man that Sins not, but for all that he continues Righteous; That no Unbaptized Person can be saved, and therefore Catechumens obtain not Eternal Life, unless they have suffered Martyrdom, because all the Mysteries of Baptism are accomplished by Martyrdom; for he that is Baptized, professes his Faith in Jesus Christ before his Bishop; He that suffers Martyrdom, doth it before his Persecutors. After this Confession the Catechumens are either plunged in, or sprinkled with the Water; the Martyr is either sprinkled with his own Blood, or cast into the Fire. The Person Baptized receives the Holy Spirit by the imposition of the Bishop's Hands, the Martyr is an Instrument of the Holy Spirit, which moves, and speaks in him. The Person Baptized partakes of, and remembers the Death of Christ, by receiving the Sacrament; the Martyr dies with Jesus Christ. The Baptized person renounces the World, the Martyr abandons Life. All Sins are pardoned by Baptism, and blotted out by Martyrdom; This comparison we have thought fit to recite at large for the excellency of it. Let us now return to the other Articles of *Gennadius*, not yet spoken of. They almost all concern Discipline or Morality; That Repentance can procure Pardon of Sins, yea even for those who defer it, till they are at the point of Death; That the Sacrament ought not to be administered with Water only, but with Wine mingled with Water; That it is good to Honour the Reliques of Saints, and to go to the Churches which bear their Names, as to places appointed for Prayer to God; That Persons twice Married ought not to be Ordained; nor such as have kept a Concubine; nor such as have Married a Widow, or a Lewd Woman, nor the Lame, nor Usurers,

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* D. Cave
is of Opin-
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some other
hand af-
ter *Genna-
dius's*
Death.

or Stage-Players; nor those who have done Publick Penance; nor Fools, nor Démoniacs, nor Simoniacs. That the Clergy may keep their Estates, if they do it, that they may distribute the Yearly Revenues to the Poor, but it is better to give it them all together; That *Easter* may not be kept till the *Vernal Equinox* be past, and the full Moon be over.

These are all the Articles contain'd in * this Treatise of *Gennadius*. There is more Learning than Judgment in this Work; for in it *Gennadius* delivers many Erroneous Doctrines, propounds mere Opinions, as Articles of Faith, and condemns many Orthodox Truths. This Treatise of *Gennadius*, and his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, do evidently prove, that he was not of Saint *Austin's* Judgment concerning Grace and Free-will, but of *Faustus of Riez*, and that he approved of his Opinion, concerning the Nature of the Soul, and of all Creatures. His style is plain, clear, elegant and clean. I forgot to observe, that he hath added to Saint *Austin's* Treatises of Heresies, four new Heresies, viz. The *Predestinarian*, *Nicetian*, *Eutychian*, and *Timothean*. This Addition is found under *Gennadius's* Name, in a MS. of St. *Victor's* Library, at the end of St. *Austin's* Book, and *Hincmarus* cites it under the Name of this Author.

* This Book hath been Printed by it self with the Learned Notes of *Elmenhorstius* at Hamburg, 1614, 4to.

NEMESIUS, ÆNEAS GAZÆUS.

Nemesius,
Æneas
Gazæus.

IT is probable, that these * two Christian Philosophers lived about the end of the fifth Age. The first is *Nemesius*, who is commonly reputed Bishop of *Emesa*. He hath made a Treatise of the Nature of Man, divided into 43 Chapters, which some attribute to St. *Gregory the Nyssene*. In it he consults the *Manichees*, *Apollinarians*, and *Eunomians*; but he confirms the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-existence of Souls. This Treatise is full of general and Metaphysical Propositions and Divisions, which are of little use to discover the Nature of Man particularly. He maintains, that Angels are Spiritual, and that the Humane Nature is absolutely free. This Treatise was first Translated by *Vala*, whose Version was Printed in 1535, and since by *Ellebedius*: The same Version was Printed with the Greek by *Plantin* [at Antwerp] in 1565, and inserted in the *Biblioth. Patr.* [Printed at Paris] in 1624; and in the following Editions, [more correct, with useful Notes at Oxford in 1671, 8vo.]

The Work of *Æneas Gazæus* concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection, is not so abstract as *Nemesius's*. It is a Dialogue, wherein he treats of the Immortality of the Soul * Entitled of Man, and the Resurrection of the Body; but he mixes his discourse, that it may be more pleasing, with many enquiries into the Opinions of the Philosophers, and with an abundance of Curious Stories. He believes that God creates Souls to infuse them into Bodies, and that the number of them, though fixed and certain, yet is known to none but God; that Souls are sensible of nothing without Bodies; that Man is very free; that the Bodies shall rise in the same form that they had in this World; that Devils assume the form of Dead-men to trouble the Living; That the Reliques of the Martyrs make the Devil to fly; That there are many Miracles done by the Prayers of Good Men; That Dead Men have been raised, &c. This Author wrote about the end of the Fifth Age; for about the end of his Treatise he speaks of the Persecution of the Vandals against the Orthodox, as a thing that lately happened. His Treatise was Translated by *Ambrose Cramadulensis* [and Printed at Basil in 1516], and put into the *Biblioth. Patr.* [at Paris in 1624], and Printed since in Greek and Latin, [by *Wolffius* at Basil in 1560.] Translated by *Cap. Barbius*, and Printed at *Lipswich* [in 1658, 4to.] with *Zacharias* Bishop of *Mitylene*, who was another Christian Philosopher, but more Modern, [for he flourished about 536.]

GELASIUS CYZICENUS.

Gelasius
Cyzicenus

THE Preface of the History of the Council of *Nice*, which bears *Gelasius's* Name, discovers to us, that this Author was of *Cyzicum*, and that he lived toward the end of the fifth Age; for he says, That his Father was a Priest of that Church, and that the Persecution of the Emperor * *Bagras* against the Orthodox gave him an occasion of writing this Work. He thought at first that all his business had been to Copy out the Ancient Acts of the Council of *Nice*, which heretofore had belonged to *Dalmatius*, Bishop of *Cyzicum*, and which were fallen into his Fathers Hands: But not finding them perfect, he was forced to add several things to them related by several Authors, but chiefly by *Eusebius Cesariensis* and *Rufinus*, whom he makes a Roman Priest, and whom he says falsely to have been present at that Council. And indeed this History is nothing almost but a Collection of Treatises, and pieces taken out of *Eusebius's* *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*. That which is not taken out of these Authors, is either said the

* B b 2

dubious, Orthodox.

*Galatius
Cyzicus*

dubious, or manifestly false, as all that is related from Chap. 11. to Chap. 24. of the second Book about the Disputes of the Philosophers upon the Trinity, and the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. It is manifest, that these Disputes are a mere Fiction; and 'tis certain, that the Question concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was not moved in the Council of Nice. There are many other faults in his History. There is neither Order in his Relation, nor Exactness in his Observations, nor Elegancy in his Expressions, nor Judgment in the choice of Things, nor good Sense in his Sentences. So that this Historian must be accounted a bad Compiler, who hath collected without any Judgment whatsoever he found concerning the Council of Nice, whether bad or good, not examining whether it were true or false. Which being so, 'tis no wonder that he hath said, That *Hosius* supplid the place of the Bishop of Rome in the Council of Nice, and that it was he that called that Council, though both are contrary to the Testimonies of the Letters of the Council it self, and of the Authors that lived at that time. This Work is divided into three Books; the two first contain the History of the Council, the third is made up of three Letters of the Emperor *Constantine*. It hath been published in Greek and Latin by *Robert Balforeus*, [a Scotch-Man, with his own Notes] and printed at *Paris* by *Morrell*, with some Works of *Theodorus* a Priest of *Railin* in the Year 1595. [1599. Ca.] and in 1604. by *Commelinus*. Since it hath been put into the Councils of Rome, in *Binius*'s second Edition, as also in *Lowrie*'s, and the last Editions. It would be better to leave it wholly out in the first Edition of the Councils, that shall be hereafter published

The Authors of the Books attributed to S. Dionysius the Areopagite.

The Author of the Books Attributed to S. DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

**Dallée;
Opinion concerning our Authors; but Dr. Cave and the Learned Bishop of Chester Dr. Pearson, place him somewhere, viz. about the Year 364.*

THIS is a fit time to speak of the Books attributed to S. *Dionysius the Areopagite*: For * since they first appeared in the beginning of the sixth Age, it is very probable that they were compiled at the end of the fifth. We will not repeat here, what we have said in the first Part of this History, but content our selves to observe whatever is most useful in them.

The Book of the *Cœlestial Hierarchy* is full of Metaphysical Remarks about the Number and Distinction of Angels. He divides them into three Hierarchies, and nine Orders, to which he appropriates different Names and Offices. But in all that he says upon this Subject, there is nothing either solid, or profitable.

His Book of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is more useful, because they teach us after what manner the Sacraments were administered in the Church in the time of this Author. Let us begin with Baptism. The Bishop having preached, and instructed the Catechumen, he sends for him into the Congregation of the Faithful, where he recites with all the Church an Hymn taken out of Holy Scripture; and having kissed the Holy Table, he goes to the Catechumen, and demands of him, Why he is come thither? He having answered him, *Because he loves God, and believes the Truths which he hath heard of him*; The Bishop gives him a Description of the Christian Life, and then asks him, If he will live after this manner? After he hath promised it, he lays his Hands on him, and orders the Priests to write down the Name of this Man, and of the Person that hath answered for him. When this is done, he goes on to rehearse some sacred Prayers; when they are finished, he causes him to be stripped by his Deacons, and having caused him to turn, and stretch forth his Hands toward the West, he commands him to breathe three times against Satan, and to make the ordinary Renunciations (*viz.* of the World, Flesh and Devil) three times. Then he turns him to the East, and causing him to lift up his Hands towards Heaven, he enjoys him to profess, that he believes all that Jesus Christ hath taught, and whatsoever is contained in the Holy Scriptures. This being done, he causes him to rehearse the Confession of Faith three times: Then he makes some Prayers, blesses him, and lays his Hands on him. Then the Deacons strip him quite, and the Priests bring the Oyl of the Holy Unction, and the Bishop having begun to anoint him, by making the Sign of the Cross thrice upon him, he leaves it to the Priests to anoint his whole Body. From thence he brings him to the Sacred Font, and having sanctified the Water by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and having consecrated it by putting in Oyl in the form of a Cross three times, while they recite some Prophecies, he commands them to bring him to the place where he is to be Baptized. The Priests call him, and his Godfather by their Names: They bring him to the Bishop, who takes him by the Hand, and the Priests having read his Name, he dips him three times in the Water, and invokes the Name of the Holy Trinity every time as he goes into, and come out of the Water. When this is done, the Priests carry him away, and lead him to his Godfather. After he has put on his Cloaths, they conduct him again to the Bishop, who having anointed him with that Oyl, which renders Men Holy, he commands him to receive the Sacrament, which hath a particular Power to perfect Holiness.

Thus

Thus this Author describes the Ceremonies of Baptism; and then makes some Mystical Observations upon them, which we shall pass over, that we may come to what he says about the Eucharist, which he calls the *most perfect of all the Sacraments*. He says, That we have Reason to give it the Name of Communion, by way of Eminence, because this is the Sacrament which unites us particularly; and that it is for this Reason that it is not permitted to execute any Function in the hierarchy, unless it be consecrated by the Communion. After this Reflexion he returns to the manner of the Ceremony, and says, That the Bishop being returned to the Altar, sings some *Prayers*, and all the Clergy sing with him. Then the Deacons read the Holy Scriptures; and when they have done reading, they put out the Catechumens, * *Emurgenti*, and Penitents, and leave none in the Church, but such as are worthy to behold the Holy Mysteries, and Communicate: That some of the Deacons remain at the Doors of the Church, which are fast shut, and others are employed in the Church; That the chief, and most eminent Deacons, carry the Bread and Cup to the Altar with the Priests, after all the Clergy have sang Praises to God: That the Bishop prays with them, and pronounces Peace to all the Faithful, who kiss each other. Then they recite the Hymn called the *Trisagion*. After the Priests and Bishops have washed their Hands, the Bishop comes alone to the middle of the Altar, having about him the Priests, and some of the Deacons; and having praised the Works of God, they consummate these most Divine Mysteries, and place before their Eyes the things which they have praised, when they set the Signs upon the Altar. Having then shewn these Holy and Divine Gifts, he Communicates, and invites all the rest to participate with him. The Communion is concluded with Hymns of Praise and Thanksgiving.

The † Sacrament of Unction comes next the Holy Eucharist; and as they put out the several † Holy Ranks of the less-perfect during the Consecration of the Eucharist, so also, when the Bishop consecrates the Oyl, the Temple is perfumed with the Odours, and with the Incense: And after they have rehearsed the Psalms, and read the Scriptures, the Bishop takes the Oyl, and puts it under the Altar; and while they sing the Prophetical Hymns, he finishes the Ceremonies of its Consecration. He afterward makes use of it almost in all the Episcopical Functions.

From the Sacraments he comes to the Ordination of the several Degrees of the Clergy. The Bishop is the first, and chief, it belongs to him alone to Ordain and Consecrate the Oyl. The Priests are subject to the Bishop, but partake of the Priestly Functions, and have their particular Offices. They shew the Effects of their Power in the Holy Signs and Sacraments, which they shew to those, that draw near to them, and then make them Partakers of the Holy Mysteries, and Sacred Communion. The Order of Deacons is to prepare, and single out such Persons as may be allowed to approach the Holy Mysteries.

The Ceremonies used in the Ordination of these several Orders, are these. The Bishop presents himself upon his Knees before the Altar, bearing the Holy Bible upon his Head, and another Bishop layeth his Hands on him, and Consecrates him by Prayer. When a Priest is Consecrated, he also kneels upon both his Knees before the Altar, and the Bishop lays his Right Hand upon him, making Prayers. The Deacons bend but one Knee before the Altar, and in the mean time the Bishop puts his Hands upon them, and Consecrates them also with the ordinary Prayers. He also gives every one of them with the Cross, gives them some Instructions, and concludes by giving them the Kiss of Peace, which they receive not only of the Bishop, but of all the Clergy. So that the Bishops, Priests and Deacons have this in common in their Ordination, to present themselves before the Altar, kneel and receive the Imposition of the Bishops Hands, the Sign of the Cross, Instruction, and a Kiss. The Bishops have this peculiar to them, that the Holy Bible is laid upon their Head, and the Deacons bend but one Knee.

As there are several Orders of the Clergy, so there are also several Degrees among the Laity. He distinguishes them into three sorts: 1. Catechumens, which are not as yet cleansed. 2. Penitents, who having lost their Innocency, have need of Purifying. The Deacons are employed to perfect, and pursue these two Ranks of Christians, that they may make them fit to behold, and partake of the Sacraments from which they are excluded. The 3d is, Harmless and Chaste People, who are admitted to the Holy Communion.

But the most excellent Estate among the Laicks is the Holy Monks, which our Ancestors called *Ascetes*, or Monks, because of their solitary and contemplative Life, which unites them to God. Upon this account another sort of Consecration is honoured, which is not indeed performed by the Bishop, but by the Holy Priests after this manner. The Priest standing before the Altar rehearseth those Prayers, which use to be said at the Consecration of a Monk. The Person to be Consecrated is standing behind him, for he neither kneels, nor has the Bible put on his Head, but he is only near the Priest, who recites the Prayer. When that is finished, he goes to him that is initiated, and asks him, Whether he forsakes not only a Worldly Life, but also all Hankerings after the World? He tells him, what a perfect Life he embraces, and assures him, that he must excel the Life of all ordinary Christians. And when he hath promised to do all that he requires

The Author of the Books attributed to S. Dionysius the Areopagite.

* *Lunaticks. Persons at certain seasons vexed with unclean spirits. These were kept from the Sacrament, though Baptized, ob mentis inconstantiam, for the levity and inconstancy of their Minds.*

† *The use of this Hymn in the Sacrament, proves the Author to have lived after 445; when it was first appointed by the Synod of Vasio to be universally used. Hosp. ex P. Diacono, &c. Durandus makes Sixtus I. the Inceptor of it. Du Rat.*

The Author of this Book is attributed to St. Dion. the Areopagite.

of him, the Priest having made the Sign of the Cross upon him, cuts off his Hair, invoking the Holy Trinity, gives him another Habit; and having embraced him, and caused all the Pious Persons there present to embrace him, he gives him the Communion.

Lastly, As to the State of the Dead, they, who have lived well, being come to the end of their Race, they know more clearly after their Death, and see nearer at hand that Eternal Happiness, which they are sure one Day to be possessed of; the very thoughts of which fills them with inexpressible Joy. The Relations of the Dead share in this Joy, praising and giving Thanks to God in their Prayers, because he died a Conqueror of this World, they carry his Body to the Bishop, who receives it, and performs the usual Ceremonies about it in this manner: Having assembled the Clergy, if the Dead Person were in Orders, he places his Body before the Altar, and begins to pray to God, and give Thanks unto him: But if he were a Monk, or Lay-Man, they place him at the Door of the Church, and makes a solemn Prayer about him. Then the Deacons having recited the Promises of the Resurrection delivered to us in Holy Scripture, they sing those Psalms, which have relation to it. The chief Deacon then dismisses the Catechumens, and then commends those, who have died a Religious Death, among whom he puts the Name of the Person lately deceased, and exhorts all the Faithful to beg of God an Happy End. The Bishop then drawing near to him, makes some very pious Prayers over him; which being done, he embraceth him, and all that are present do the same: Then he anoints him with Oyl; and having prayed for all present, they carry his Body into a Sacred Place, and there Intert it among the Bodies of the other Saints. One of the Prayers, which the Bishop makes to God, is this: *That God would forgive the Dead Person those Sins, which he hath committed through Human frailty, and enstate him in the Light of the Living: That he would conduct him into the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the place where there is neither Grief, nor Tears, nor Sorrow.* These were Ceremonies of the Church used at that time at the Intermment of the Dead. Our Author in his Reflections puts this Objection: *If every Man be rewarded according to his Deserts, what need is there of Prayer for the Dead? Of what use are they to the Wicked? And why do we pray for the Just?* He answers, That it is certain, that Prayers are useful to those only who die well: But as in this Life, when we have good Desires and Intentions, we may be helped, and assisted by the Prayers of the Righteous, and this is an ordinary means of obtaining Grace, without which we often come short of it; even so the Bishop, who is the Interpreter of the Divine Oracles, and the Angel of the Lord of Hosts, who knows that the Justice of God weighs all things in an equal Balance, and pardons those faults, which Men commit through frailty, and so much the more, because no Man is free from them, prays to God that it may be so; Not that he doubts at all of the Goodness of God, and that he begs this favour with the greater confidence, because he is assured, that it shall not be denied him. And for this reason it is, that he doth not pray for those, who have not been Baptized, nor for Sinners, not only because tis not lawful to do it, and because he being only an Interpreter of the Divine Will, he cannot without great rashness beg that which God will not grant, but rather an Interpretation of the Divine Will, a Declaration of his Goodness, a Promise and Assurance of what shall happen to the Deceased, rather than a Petition for a thing uncertain. After the same manner the Bishops Excommunicating Sinners are Interpreters of the Will of God, and do only separate them from the Communion, whom God hath already condemned: For we ought to believe, that if they do it unjustly, or through Passion, the Justice of God prosecutes their Actions.

This Treatise concludes with a Remark upon Infant-Baptism. The Author observes, That many Persons, Strangers to our Religion, derided and ridiculed that Custom of making others to pleasingly, and shewn first, That there are several things, for which we know not the reason, altho' there are some, and those known to the Angels; but some are known to none but God himself: That in Baptizing Infants we do no more, than what we have learned, and received by Tradition from our Fore-fathers: That Children being well Educated, becoming Righteous and Holy Men, the Church hath thought fit to Baptize them, committing them to some Baptized Person to Educate and Instruct them, who ought to take care of him, as his Father in Jesus Christ, this Person, *if he renounces, &c.* that by that act he may oblige him to persevere this Infant, and to renounce by him. Lastly, The Bishop gives the Holy Sacrament to Infants, that they may be brought up Christianly, and may live a Life conformable to the Holiness of the Sacraments which they have received.

This is all that is most useful in this Author. I will not stay to make an Extract of his Treatises of the Divine Names, and Of Mystick Theology, nor of his Letters; because these Works being full of Metaphysical and Platonick Notions, it would be hard to draw any thing that is pleasing, or useful out of them.

[The several Editions of this Author's Books are set down in Vol. I. of this History under *Dionys. Areop.*] to which the Reader is referred.

THE

The History of the COUNCILS. Held from the Year 430, to the End of the Fifth Age.

Of the I. Council of Ephesus.

And of the other Assemblies of Bishops touching the Affair
of Nestorius, which were precedent to, or followed
after this Council.

The first
Council of
Ephesus.

About the end of the Year 428, Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople, having permitted his Priest Anastasius, and Donathus a Bishop to Preach arrogantly, That the Virgin Mary ought not to be called the Mother of God, and having himself maintained the same Opinion in several of his Sermons, brought a great deal of trouble into his Church. The People being much offended at this Doctrine rose against their Bishop; Eusebius afterward Bishop of Dorylaeum, and some others of the Clergy published a Protestation against him, wherein they declared him an Heretic, and accused him of reviving the Error of Paulus Samosatenus; the Priests also taught the Contrary Doctrine. Proclus Bishop of Cyzicum Preach'd against Nestorius's Opinions, but without naming him. Lastly, The Clergy, the Monks, and People combined against Nestorius; but on the other-side Nestorius and his party stoutly maintained what they had asserted, and still preach'd the same Doctrine; and being upheld by the Authority of the Prince, they cruelly handled those that opposed their Desires.

This Dispute soon spread it self into Egypt, whither Nestorius's Party had sent a Collection of his Sermons. The Monks of Egypt were the first that moved these subtle questions and debated them among themselves. St. Cyril Bishop of Alexandria, who was of the Contrary Judgment, perceiving that several of them defended the Party of Nestorius, wrote a large Letter to these Monks, in which having admonished them, that it were much better not to meddle with such abstracted Questions, which cannot be of any advantage; he declares himself against the Doctrine of Nestorius without naming him, proving by several Reasons, that the Virgin Mary ought to be called the Mother of God. This Letter being seen at Constantinople anger'd Nestorius, who order'd a certain Person named Photius to answer it, and gave out a Report that St. Cyril governed his Church badly, that he affected a Tyrannical Power, stirred up Sedition against the Emperor's Officers, and was a Maintainer of the Manichees.

Nestorius's Letters were carried to Rome. St. Celestine, and the Bishops of Italy wrote to Saint Cyril, to know whether they were Nestorius's or not. Nestorius seeing, that St. Cyril declared himself openly against him, complained much of his Carriage, and resolv'd to have no Commerce with him for the future. St. Cyril to pacify him, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he tells that he was grieved to hear, that he was angry with him for the Letter, which he wrote to the Monks of Egypt; but he ought to consider, that it was not that Letter, that had rais'd such disturbances in the Church, but the Papers which went about under his Name, that had caus'd so great a Scandal; that some Persons would not call Jesus Christ God, but the Organ and Instrument of the Divinity; that it was this that obliged him to write; That he had been sent to Rome, to know, who was the Author of those Writings; that all the West was in an Uproar about them; that he might appease the disturbances by explaining himself, and retracting what was attributed to him; that he ought not to refuse to give the Virgin Mary the title of the Mother of God, because by this means he would restore the Churches Peace.

This Letter was carried to Nestorius by one of St. Cyril's Priests, who was very urgent with him for an answer to it. He gave him one, but without an Explication of his Doctrine, and telling St. Cyril, that though he had acted contrary to the Rules of Brotherly Charity, yet he would forget it, and did by this Letter give him the tokens of Union and Peace.

Saint

Saint Cyril having informed Nestorius, that his Writings were carried as far as Rome, and that the first they met with an unwelcome reception there, Nestorius thought it his Duty to write to St. Celestine of Istria about it. And to do it the more handsomely, he took an Occasion to write to him about four Epistles. Pagan Bishops, Julian, Flavian, Orosius, and Valens, who had fled to Constantinople, and had presented their Petitions to the Emperor, in which they complained of the ill usage they had received in the West. He assures the Pope, that he had answered them according to his Office and Duty, although he was not informed of their Case; but that he ought to make it clear, that they may have no Cause to importune the Emperor, and stir him up to have compassion on them; for if it be true, that they were condemned for endeavouring to shake a new Sect, they deserved no manner of Pity. He adds, that having found at Constantinople some Persons who corrupted the Orthodox Faith, he laboured to recover them by gentle means, although their Heresie came very near Arius and Apollinarius's, for they confounded and mixed the two Natures in Jesus Christ, making the Divine Nature to be born of Mary, and the Flesh of Jesus Christ to be changed into his Godhead; that upon this ground they gave the Virgin the Mother of Christ, the Title of the Mother of God; that this term, although it be improper, might be endured upon the account of the Union of the Word with the Manhood, if it be not understood of the Divine Nature, and if we do not suppose, that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of the Word of God, which is intolerable. He sent this Letter with the Copies of his Sermons by Antiochus.

Saint Cyril not being satisfied with Nestorius's answer, wrote another Letter to him, wherein he delivers to him his own and the Churches Doctrine. And to gain the greater Credit to his Explication, he grounded it upon the Creed made by the Nicene Council, where it is said, *That the only Son of God begotten of his Father from all Eternity, came down from Heaven, was made Man, suffered, rose again from the Dead, and is ascended into Heaven.* He says, that we ought to be contented with this Definition; and believe, that the Word of God was Incarnate, and was made Man; That he saith not, that the Nature of the Word was changed into Flesh, nor the Flesh into the Nature of the Word, but that the Word was United by an Hypostatic Union to the Manhood; inasmuch, that the same Jesus Christ is both the Son of God, and Son of Man, yet without any confusion of the Natures; That it may not be said, that the Virgin hath brought forth a Man into the World, into whom the Godhead is since descended; but that from the instant of his Conception the Godhead was United to the Manhood; inasmuch, that it may be said, that God is born according to the Flesh, and in the same sense that he hath suffered, and is dead, not as though the Word hath suffered in him; but because the Body, which he assumed, hath suffered, and was laid in the Sepulchre. In fine, that it is in this sense that we say, that the Virgin is the Mother of God; because she brought into the World the Body of Jesus Christ, to which the Godhead is Hypostatically United. Saint Cyril having thus explained himself, exhorts Nestorius to embrace these Sentiments, that he may preserve the Peace of the Church, and an uninterrupted Union among the Bishops.

This Letter raised the Dispute, Nestorius was highly offended, and in his answer to it accuses St. Cyril of putting a false interpretation upon the words of the Council of Nice, and breaching several Errors. He says, that he Explains the Council of Nice ill, because this Council doth not say, that the Word was born, suffered or is Dead, but it says this of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the only Son of God*, words which equally agree to the Humanity and Divinity. He commends St. Cyril for acknowledging the distinction of the two Natures in Jesus Christ; but he accuses him of destroying this truth consequentially, and making the Godhead passible and mortal. He owns the Union of the two Natures, but he holds, that upon the account of that Union we may not attribute to either of them the Qualities that belong to the other only; and he affirms, that as often as the Scripture speaks of the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ, it appropriates them to the Humane, and never to the Divine Nature. Lastly, He tells him, that he hath been surprized by the Clergy, infected with the Heresie of the Manichees, who were at Constantinople, and had been deplored in a Synod for it.

Upon this occasion it was, that the Adherents of Nestorius published the Book, which Photius wrote against St. Cyril's Letters to the Monks, with another Piece bearing this Title, *Against those, who upon the Account of the Union deny the Godhead of the Son by Deifying the Manhood.* These Writings were sent to St. Cyril by Buphus Marius a Deacon of Alexandria, and Saint Cyril's Agent at Constantinople.

Nevertheless Anastasius the Priest pretended not to disapprove wholly of St. Cyril's Letter to the Monks, and alleged this Reason, that he confessed in that Letter that no Council had mentioned the term of the *Mother of God*. Saint Cyril being afraid that those of his Party who were at Constantinople, should be enflamed by this Artifice, wrote a large Letter upon that subject, wherein he labours to prove that Nestorius and his party divided Jesus Christ into two Persons. He advises them to give this reply to those that accuse them of troubling the Church, and not submitting to their Bishop. That his Bishop that is the cause of this trouble and scandal, because he teaches strange Doctrine. In the next place he complains of his behaviour towards him, and of the Calumnies they made use of to defame him. He says, that he is ready to defend himself before any Judicature, but yet he was not against Peace, provided the Orthodox Faith be secured. Lastly, He tells them that he had sent them again the Petition, which they had sent to him, but he had changed and mollified the terms, lest Nestorius should say that he had accused him

him before the Emperor; That in that which he had framed, he had rejected Nestorius, as being his Enemy; He desires them to present this Petition if he need be, and says, that if Nestorius goes on still to persecute him, he will send some Wise and Prudent Persons to defend his own and the Churches cause, being resolved to suffer the utmost rather than abandon it. He wrote also at the same time two Letters to justify himself, that he had engaged in this affair against Nestorius, because he thought himself obliged to do it for the defence of the Faith. He says, that 'twas not he, but Nestorius that was the Cause of the trouble, and that 'twas not he, but Nestorius that had hindered, that Peace was not again restored to the Church.

Nestorius not receiving an Answer from Pope Celestine, wrote another Letter to him, in which he earnestly desires him to give him an answer about the Case of those Bishops, of whom he wrote to him. He speaks also of those pretended Heretics, who confounded the two Natures in Jesus Christ, and attributed to the Manhood that which agrees only to the Divine Nature, and to the Godhead that which belongs to the humane Nature only. This Letter was carried to Rome by Count Valerius.

Celestine had not returned an Answer to Nestorius's first Letter, because he thought it necessary to Translate and Examine the Sermons, which he sent him. It is probable, that this task was imposed upon Cassian, and indeed, the Books of this Author against Nestorius were made about this time. And are written as we have observed, against one of Nestorius's first Sermons. Saint Cyril suspecting that Nestorius might have written to Rome, sent Possidonium thither with a Letter, in which he relates all that had passed to that time in the business of Nestorius. About the end of the Letter, he tells S. Celestine, that he did wait for his Judgment to determine, whether he should receive Nestorius to Communion, which for that reason he had hitherto hitherto granted him, nor absolutely refused. Lastly, He exhorts him to let them know his Opinion in the East, that all the Churches might be United, and joy together in one and the same Doctrine.

With this Letter he sent some Papers, which contain'd the principal heads of Nestorius's Doctrine. Besides this he gave Possidonium a Paper of Instructions, which is published by M. Balarin, in which he lays down Nestorius's Doctrine after this manner. The Doctrine, or rather the Heresie of Nestorius is, to believe, That the Word of God foretelling, that the Person, who was to be Born of Mary, should be Holy and Great, did therefore make choice of him to make him to be born of a Virgin, and bestowed such Graces upon him, as that he was rightly called the Son of God, Our Lord, and Christ; that he made him Dye for us, and then raised him from the Dead; that this word was Incarnate, because he always was with the Man, as he also had been with the Prophets, but in a more special manner. That Nestorius confessed, that he was with him in the Womb of the Virgin, but he will not acknowledge that he was a God by Nature, but he was called so upon the account of the extraordinary favour which God had always shewed him, and that it was the Man that died and rose again. After this manner S. Cyril delivers Nestorius's Doctrine; which being done, he thus explains his own. We believe and confess, that the Word of God is Immortal, yet Life it self; but he became Flesh, and being united with a Body, animated with a Rational Soul, suffered in the Flesh, as the Scripture says, and because his Body suffered, we say, that he hath suffered, although he be of a Nature * incapable of sufferings; and because his Body is risen, we say, He is risen. But Nestorius is not of that Judgment, for he says, that it is the Man, who is raised, and that it is the body of the Man, which is offered to Us in the Holy Sacrament. We believe on the contrary, that it is the Flesh and Blood of the Word, that giveth life to all things. He says afterward, that Nestorius had suborned Celestine to accuse Philip of being a Manichee, but Celestine not daring to appear, Nestorius had found out another pretence, and Deposed Philip for having Celebrated the Sacrament in his House, although all the Clergy of Constantinople said, that it was a thing ordinarily done, as often as occasion required.

Possidonium departed to go to Rome with these Instructions, but had order not to deliver Saint Cyril's Letter to the Pope, unless he understood, that Nestorius's Letter was come to his Hands.

Before Possidonium was arrived at Rome S. Cyril wrote to Acacius Bishop of Beraa, that his Friend Nestorius had given Scandal to all the Church, by suffering Dorotheus to deny, that the Virgin was the Mother of God, and maintaining that Doctrine. And that because he would not abet that error, Nestorius had declared himself against him, and filled the World with Calumnies against his Reputation. He tells Acacius, that he was sorry that such a subtle and difficult Question had ever been started and Preached to the People, for which Moral Discourses and Instructions were much more suitable. Acacius answered, that he approved of this Judgment of Saint Cyril, and that he was as thoroughly persuaded as himself, that such things ought not to be disputed; but he advised him not to reprove, with so much passion, a word, which Dorotheus had spoken unawares and inconsiderately, for fear of embroiling the Church, and desires him to appease this Quarrel by his Silence, intimating to him, that it was the Opinion also of John Bishop of Antioch.

Possidonium being arrived at Rome, Pope Celestine who had received Instructions from both sides, had assembled a Council in August, Anno 430, in which after they had read, and examined Nestorius's Writings, his Letters, and S. Cyril's; they disapproved Nestorius's, and approved Saint Cyril's Doctrine. We have a fragment of the Acts of this Council, related in Ambrosius's conference with Serapion; which contains some part of St. Celestine's Judgment, where some Passages

The first Council of Ephesus.
p. 1. c. 10.
11.

p. 1. c. 14

Nov. Col. Conc. rom. 1. p. 378.

enlightened.
impoffible.
ble.

p. 1. c. 22.

Ibid. 23.

1. A

Council at

Rome.

1. B

The Second, is against them that said, That by the Union of the Word and Flesh, the Godhead hath received some alteration; or that it is united to the Flesh in part only; or that faith, That the Godhead and Manhood in Jesus Christ are of the same Nature.

The Third, is against those who said, That Jesus Christ is one Son only made of two Natures, without any Mixture.

The Fourth, is against them who take that which is spoken concerning the Person of Jesus Christ in Scripture, as agreeing to one Nature only, and so attribute the Sufferings to the Word of God.

The Fifth, is against those who dare affirm, That there is but one Jesus Christ: according to Nature.

The Sixth, is against him who gives the Word, who was Incarnate, any other Name than that of Christ; or who makes the Nature of Man to be Uncreated, as that of the Word is.

The Seventh, is against him that faith, That the Person, who was born of Mary; is the only Son of God; and are not contented to say, That he became the Son of God by an Union with the only Son of God.

The Eighth, is against him who believes, That we must honour the Form of a Servant for its self, and not because it is United with the Nature of the Word.

The Ninth, is against him that faith, That the Form of a Man in Jesus Christ, is Consubstantial with the Holy Spirit; and That it had not the Power of doing Miracles by the Union that it had with the Word.

The Tenth, is against them who affirm, That the Word was sacrificed, and suffered for us, and not Immanuel.

The Eleventh, is against them who said, That the Flesh of Jesus Christ is enlightening of its own Nature as it is Flesh.

The Twelfth, is against them, who attribute to the Word the Sufferings of the Flesh of Jesus Christ.

These Anathema's of Nestorius being published at Constantinople, were confuted by Marius Mercator, and John Bishop of Antioch cauled Andrew Bishop of Samosata, and Theodoret to write against S. Cyril's. He wrote also himself Circular Letters to condemn them.

The time for the assembling of the Council drawing nigh, the Bishops began their Journey to present themselves at Ephesus. S. Cyril went with almost 50 Bishops of Egypt; and being landed at Rhodes, he wrote the News of it to his Clergy and People. He arrived at Ephesus five or six Days before Pentecost, which was that Year upon June 7. Nestorius also came about the same time with 10 Bishops. Several also arrived with some Bishops of Palestine. But John Bishop of Antioch who was obliged to assemble his Bishops to Antioch, who were almost 12 Days Journey distant from thence, and had above 30 Days Journey by the Land thither, could not get there so soon. He wrote a Letter of Excuse to S. Cyril, and assured him, that he would be at Ephesus within five or six Days.

The Emperor sent Count Candidian to the Council, that he might assist at it in his stead; not to meddle with Questions or Controversies, which concerned the Faith, but to drive away the Monks and Laity, which came to Ephesus in throngs, and might raise Disturbances there; To maintain the Order and Freedom of the Council without suffering any Heats or Contentions; To hinder the Bishops from going from Ephesus to Court, or elsewhere; And to oblige them to define and determine the Questions in debate before they started any others. And this did the Letter sent to the Council declare to be the substance of his Commission, wherein 'tis also said, that shall not bring any Criminal, or Pecuniary against the Bishops of the Council, neither in the Council, nor before the Judges of Ephesus; And that he hath permitted Count Irenaeus, Nestorius's Friend, to accompany him, nevertheless without allowing him any Share in the Commission granted to Candidian.

Fifteen Days being past from the Day appointed for the Synod, the Eastern Bishops having also sent two Bishops, who had assured them, that the rest would soon be there, and that they would not take it ill, if the Council began without them. Saint Cyril, and several Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Bishops of Egypt and Asia, met in the Great Church of S. Mary, Ju. 22. altho the Legats of the Holy See were not yet come; and notwithstanding the Opposition of 68 Bishops, who required them to stay till the arrival of the Eastern and Western Bishops. Saint Cyril was President of this Council. We shall examine by and by, whether it was in his own, or in the Pope's Name. The Number of Bishops, if we may believe what they have written themselves, was near 200. The Orientals count but 50 out of Egypt, 30 Asian Bishops, and some others. The Subscriptions make it * evident, that there were 160 who signed it, because there were some of those, who at first opposed the holding of the Council, who did nevertheless join in it.

After Peter the Chief Notary had in a few Words declared the Cause of the calling of this Council, they made him read the Emperor's Circular Letter sent to the Metropolitans. Afterwards Memnon having observed, that there had sixteen Days passed since the day fixed by the Emperor's Letter; Saint Cyril said, that it was high time to begin the Council, and required that such Papers should be read as were useful for that end, and chiefly, Candidian's Commission, which he had already perused; 'tis true, but he said after, that he did it against his Will, and to know

know the Emperor's mind only, and not to begin the Council. But he demanded, that they should stay till the Eastern Bishops were arrived, saying, that it was the Emperor's design to make it a general Council, and not a particular and separate Assembly. But because they had no regard to his advice, he retreated, and immediately entered his Protestation against the Council.

Saint Cyril and the other Bishops did not give over their Proceedings; and Theodorus Bishop of Ancyra having represented it as a thing necessary, to * call Nestorius before they read any thing, three Bishops arose, and said, That Yesterday they had been with Nestorius, and the six or seven Bishops which were with him, and that they had advised them to come to the Council; but they could get no other answer from them, but this, That they would think of it, and would come to it, if they judged it convenient: Wherefore they sent others with a Summons in Writing to cite him to the Council. Florentius the Tribune, being accompanied with a Clerk of Nestorius answered them, That he will come to the Council when all the Bishops are met. These Bishops having reported this answer to the Council, they sent other Bishops to cite him the third time, according to the Canons, but they were not suffered to enter into Nestorius's House, and they could get no other reason from the Guards that were at his Gate, but this, That they had Order to keep any Person from entering that came from the Synod. This being reported to the Council, they began to enter upon the Discussion of their business. And after they had rehearsed the Nicene Creed, they read S. Cyril's second Letter to Nestorius, which was unanimously approved by them; The answer of Nestorius to it being also read, was rejected, and they pronounced an Anathema against it, and the Author of it. They cauled also S. Celestine's Letter, S. Cyril's third Letter, and his Anathema to be read. Then they heard the Testimony of Theodorus of Ancyra, who deposed, that since he was at Ephesus, he had heard Nestorius say, That it was an Impious Assertion, to say, That a God could be an Infant of two or three Months Old. Agapinus also, Bishop of Melitina, averred that he heard one of the Bishops, which were of Nestorius's company say, That he that suffered for us, was a distinct Person from the Word. After these Testimonies, they produced many passages of the ancient Fathers, and several pieces of Nestorius's Writings. They also read the Letter of Capreolus Bishop of Carthage, brought by Bassilus his Deacon; wherein he tells the Council, that the state of the African Church was such, that he could not call a Synod to choose Deputies for the Council; and that they were so beset with their Enemies, that it was impossible for them to get to it; That the Emperor's Letter came not to them till Easter, and if they had had free passage, they could not have got to the Council so soon; so that he was contented to send his Deacon Bassilus with a Letter of Excuse, but did conjure them not to suffer any Novelty to creep into the Church, and to confirm the ancient Doctrine, and the Catholic Faith.

The Council judging Nestorius sufficiently convicted by these Records, which they had read, pronounced Sentence against him in these words: 'The Most Impious Heretic Nestorius refusing to appear at our Citation, and not suffering the Holy Bishops, which we sent to him, to enter into his House, we were obliged to examine his Cause; and having convicted him of dissembling and teaching an Impious Doctrine, as hath been proved, as well by his Letters, and other Writings, as by the Sermons which he hath Preached in this Metropolis, which hath been confirmed by sufficient Testimonies, we have been forced, according to the Letter of S. Cyprian Bishop of Rome, to pronounce against him this heavy Sentence, which we cannot do but with grief; Our Lord Jesus Christ, against whom Nestorius hath blasphemed, declares him by this Synod deprived of his Episcopal Dignity, and separated from the Communion of the * Episcopal Order.

So that Nestorius, was cited twice in one Day, his Cause examined, his Letters and Writings read and rejected, the Letters and Writings of S. Cyril approved, Witnesses heard, and the Condemnation of Nestorius pronounced by 200 Bishops, or thereabouts, at one Session only. It is true, it lasted a long time, for S. Cyril observes in a Letter, that they met very early in the Morning, and made an end very late by Candle-light.

The next day the Sentence pronounced against Nestorius by the Synod was signified to him, by S. John a Letter from the Council. In the Direction of it he is called, Another Judas. As soon as this was done, they wrote in the name of the Synod to the Emperor, and Clergy of Constantinople. In Ephesus Saint Cyril wrote also in his own Name to the Clergy of Constantinople, and Alexandria, and sent Jo. caest. the Emperor the Acts of the Council.

Nestorius was not idle on his part, but wrote a Letter to the Emperor in his own Name, and in the Name of 16 Bishops, who signed his Letter, that being come to Ephesus, according to the Orders of the Emperor to be present at the Council, he waited for the Bishops, who were to come thither from all parts, and particularly for the Bishop of Antioch, and the Metropolitans of his Diocese; as also for the Bishops that were come out of Italy and Sicily. But perceiving that the Egyptians were very impatient under this delay, believing that they did it out of design, they had offered to come to the Synod, if Count Candidian would cite them to it, but he would not do it, because he had heard that John Bishop of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops would soon come. Nevertheless the Bishops of Egypt and Asia, would hold a Council alone, and had filled the City with trouble; That Memnon Bishop of this City had granted them the Great Church for this tumultuous Assembly to meet in, although he had denied them the Licence to go into S. John's Church. He desires the Emperor to give Orders, that they be not wronged and abused, and that they celebrate a Lawful Council, not allowing any Monk or Lay-man, nor any Bishop not Summoned to be present at it, but only two of the most Eminent and Learned, chosen out of every Province,

The first Council of Ephesus: Col. of Lupus. c. 9. Cite.

*Sacradotai, or Priests.

Novus Ju. da.

Provision, or if he did not think it fit to permit them to return home again safe. *Candidian* at last sent the Emperor a Relation of what had passed, much like the Account *Nestorius* had given him; but also with the Council's Order, that he had written to him, and made his Declaration about the meeting of the Councils; and Ordered, that they should wait for the arrival of *John Bishop of Antioch*.

Five days after the Deposition of *Nestorius*, *John Bishop of Antioch*, and the other Eastern Bishops arrived. They were but 26, which being joined with the 10 Bishops which were with *Nestorius*, made but 36 in all, if we believe *S. Cyril's* Relation. Nevertheless in the Subscriptions of their Letters we find more than 50 set down by their Names, and the Names of their Cities. The Council sent some Bishops to meet *John Bishop of Antioch*, and desired him not to communicate with *Nestorius*, who was deposed. But *John Bishop of Antioch* was so far from hearkening to them, that as soon as he arrived, he held a Council in the place of his Abode. Here *Candidian* declared, that he had done all he could to hinder the Bishops, who were assembled with *Cyril* and *Memnon*, from doing any thing before the coming of the Eastern Bishops; That they had required of him, that they might read the Emperor's Letters, saying, They knew not the Emperor's Orders; that he had done it against his Will merely to prevent any Sedition, but at his departure he had admonished them to do nothing rashly; but not having regard to his advice, they had done what they pleased; after they had driven him out of the Council, and refused to hear the Bishops which *Nestorius* had sent to them. He then read the Emperor's Letter, and when that was done, *John Bishop of Antioch* demanded, if he done any thing more. He said, That they had Deposed *Nestorius*, and had published and fastened up his Deposition. *John Bishop of Antioch* went on, and asked him, If it were done regularly; if *Nestorius* were present, that it was all transacted without Examination, and contrary to the Rules. *Candidian* answered, given this Testimony, he went out. The Bishops accused *Memnon* of shutting up the Churches against them, and *S. Cyril* of reviving the Error of *Arius* and *Nestorius* in his twelve Chapters. Upon this Accusation they pronounce the Sentence of Deposition against *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*, and Excommunicated all those who had Communion with them, till they should confess the Faith of the Council of Nice without adding any thing to it; pronouncing Anathema against *S. Cyril's* Chapters, and obeying the Emperor's Orders, who Commanded them to examine this Question without tumult and noise. This Sentence was signified to the Bishops, against whom it was given; and because they minded it not, they protested against *Cyril* and *Memnon*, because they held a Council after they were deposed, and contrary to the prohibition of *Candidian*. These Bishops immediately sent the Emperor word by Writing what they had done. There were two remarkable Circumstances in this Letter. The first, That *S. Cyril* had written to *John Bishop of Antioch* two days before the beginning of the Synod, that he would stay till he came. The second, That they could not get thither sooner, because of the length and tediousness of the Voyage, which they were forced to make by Land. They wrote also to the Clergy, Senate, and People of *Constantinople*, to the Emperress, and to the People of *Hierapolis*.

The Relation of *Candidian* being received as *Constantinople* first, *Theodosius* ordered, that all that had been done by *S. Cyril's* Synod, should be looked upon as Null and Void, and that the whole Council should proceed to a new Judgment; forbidding the Bishops to go from *Ephesus*, till he had sent some of his Officers to the Synod to know how things had passed there. This is the Subject of the Emperor's Letter, dated June 19, brought to *Ephesus* by *Palladius*. This was signified to the Bishops of both sides. Saint *Cyril*, and the Bishops of his Party answered, that *Candidian* had not given a true Relation of things to the Emperor, and desired him to send for him to *Constantinople* with five Bishops of the Council, that he might be informed of the truth of all their Proceedings. This Letter was not subscribed by all the Bishops, because *Palladius*, who was to carry it, was very urgent to be gone.

John Bishop of Antioch, and the Bishops of his Party wrote also by this *Palladius* to the Emperor; and having related all that had passed a second time, they prayed him, that only two Bishops out of every Province should be allowed to be at the Synod with their Metropolitans. They also complained, that the Church of *S. John* had been shut against them; inasmuch that they were forced to pray abroad, and had been abused in their return. Lastly, They humbly implore the Emperor to remove *Cyril* and *Memnon*, the heads of this Persecution from *Ephesus*. A little after they sent Count *Irenaeus*, to whom they give another Relation against Saint *Cyril*, concerning the Violence, which they pretend he had done them, by keeping them out of *S. Paul's* Church, by throwing of Stones at them. They also gave him Letters to the Governor of *Constantinople*, and to the Officers of the Emperor, that they would maintain their Cause. *Nestorius* wrote also in his own Name to an Eunuch of the Emperor, that he did not refuse to call the Virgin Mary, The Mother of God, provided that they would condemn the Error of *Apollinarius*, which is maintained by *S. Cyril*.

July 10. *Philip* and *Arcadius* Legats of the Church of *Rome*, arrived at *Ephesus*, and joining themselves with *S. Cyril* and his Synod, according to their Instructions, by which they were ordered to act in conjunction with him, they held a Session the same Day, in which they read *S. Caelestinus's* Letter, dated May 8. first in Latin, and after in Greek, which shews us, that 'twas the Custom to read the Letters of the Holy See in the Tongue wherein they were written. The Substance

Substance of it was this, that the Holy Spirit is present in Synods, and all Bishops being the Apostles Successors are obliged to maintain and defend the Doctrine, which they have received from the same Spirit as they have but one Faith; that the Question in hand obliges them to arm themselves with a fresh Zeal, because the Person of Jesus Christ is endangered by it; That he hopes, that He, who hath united the Synagogue, and the Church, will re-unite the Minds of Christians, restore the Churches Peace, and make the Truth and Ancient Faith to Triumph; He exhorts them to continue in that Love so much commended by *S. John*, whose Reliques they have among them; that they Ought to pray to God with one Heart and Voice, that he would direct them by the Light of his Holy Spirit, and give them Courage to defend the Word of God zealously, and procure the Peace of the Church. Lastly, He tells them, that he sent them the Bishops *Arcadius* and *Projetus*, and *Philip* a Priest, to be present at all the transactions of the Council, and put in execution what he had already ordained. After this Letter was read, the Legats of *S. Caelestinus* demanded, that they would communicate to them the Acts of what was already done, which was granted them. We find at the end of this Act two other Letters of *S. Caelestinus*, the one of which is directed to *Theodosius*, and the other to *S. Cyril*. He exhorts the former to protect the ancient Faith, and he answers to the latter who had consulted him, whether he might still receive *Nestorius*, the time which he had fixed for his Retraction, being passed; and He must endeavour to appease the troubles raised in the Church. He tells him likewise, that he earnestly desired, that *Nestorius* might repent, and that he may be again received. These two Letters bear date, the one May 7. and the other May 15.

The next day they met, to read over again the Acts of the first Session of Council to *Caelestinus's* Legats. When they heard them, they approved them, gave their Judgment against *Nestorius*, and subscribed his Condemnation. When this was done, they framed a Letter to the Emperor, wherein they tell him, that the Legats of the Bishop of *Rome* had assured them, that all the Western Churches agreed with them in their Doctrine, and had condemned with them the Doctrine and Person of *Nestorius*. So that this Matter being thus ended as the Emperor desired it for the benefit of the Church, and of the Faith, they desired him to give them leave to withdraw, to secure them from the Persecution they were threatened with, and suffer them to ordain a Bishop at *Constantinople* in the room of *Nestorius*. They wrote at the same time to the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*, to exhort them to put some Person into the See of *Constantinople* in the place of *Nestorius*, lately Deposed by the Council for his Impious Doctrine.

The Judgment of *Nestorius* being thus finished, *Cyril* and *Memnon* cast about them how they might provide against the Sentence of Deposition pronounced against them by the Eastern Bishops. The Council therefore being assembled the fourth time, on July 16th *Cyril* and *Memnon* presented a Petition against *John Bishop of Antioch*; wherein they say, That the Council being assembled in the City of *Ephesus* to confirm the Faith of the Church, and to condemn the Heresie lately invented by *Nestorius*, had acted Regularly, and in the usual forms; That they had cited *Nestorius* three times to render a Reason of his Doctrine; but this Heretic refusing to appear, the Council had attentively examined his Writings, and had Condemned him according to the Rules of the Church-discipline; That after this Judgment given, and an Account of it sent to the Emperor, *John Bishop of Antioch* had come to *Ephesus*, where he Assembled himself with the Bishops of *Nestorius's* Opinion, of whom some were Deposed, and others were Bishops only in Name, having no See, and that in this Assembly, which had no Authority to judge any Man, he deliberately pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against them, although he could not do it, the Bishop, whom he principally pretended to judge, being in a See Superior to his own. But yet although he might have undertaken this Judgment, yet he ought to have followed the Canons and Rules of the Church, to have admonished them, and cried them before the Council; but contemning all these Rules, he had rashly and inconsiderately, pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against them, immediately after his arrival, without letting them know for what reason he condemned them; That it was a matter of consequence not to suffer the Laws of the Church to be despised; That one Bishop dared to do such things to another, who ought to have the precedence; That he would not dare to attempt the like against the meanest Person of the Clergy; These Considerations forced them to desire the Council to Summon *John* and his Associates, to give an Account of their behaviour before the Synod. *Hefychius*, *Juvencus's* Deacon read this Petition, and *Juvencus* presided upon this Occasion, because *S. Cyril* taking upon him the Person of an Accuser, could not preside in it, nor his Notary give his Opinion in it.

The Synod having respect to the Demand of *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*, sent twice some Bishops to *John Bishop of Antioch*, and the Bishops of his Party, but they were not suffered to enter; and the only Answer which was made them, was, that they would not have any thing to do with Persons which they had Excommunicated. Then the Council pronounced, that all that had been done against *Cyril* and *Memnon*, was Null, and ordered, that *John Bishop of Antioch* should be cited a third time, and if he did not appear, he should be condemned.

The same Day *John* caused an Abusive Libel to be fastened in a publick Place, not only against *Cyril* and *Memnon*, but also against all the Bishops of their Council, declaring *Cyril* and *Memnon* Deposed for Heresie, and the other Bishops Excommunicate for favouring them, till they should forsake them, and re-unite themselves with the Eastern Bishops.

*The best Day, the Council being assembled again, S. Cyril made his Report concerning the Libel of John Bishop of Antioch, and declared that he Condemned Arius, Apollinaris, and the other Heretics, as well as Nestorius, and the Followers of Pelagius and Celestius. Whereupon he required that John Bishop of Antioch should be cited the third time. And they sent three Bishops and a Notary to him. John Bishop of Antioch received them by his Arch-Deacon, who would have given them a Paper as from the Council, but they declared that they came not to receive any Paper, but to cite John Bishop of Antioch. This Arch-Deacon went to tell his Bishop so, and being returned, presented them again with his Paper; and because they would not receive it, he said to them, *Let No body come from you, and we will send No body from our side; we have sent our Refutations to the Emperor, and we wait his Orders, to know what we shall do.* The Bishop insisting upon it, and desiring him to hear what the Synod had given them in Charge to say, He answered, *You have refused to receive the Paper which I have tendered to you, and I will not but the Orders of your Synod.* This being said, he withdrew himself. The Bishops told Apollinaris and Alexander the Priest the Reason of their coming, and then returned to give the Synod a Relation of the whole Matter, who declared John Bishop of Antioch, and the 36 Bishops his Adherents to be separated from the Communion of the Church, and then gave the Emperor an Account of what they had done, praying him to confirm it by his Authority, and consent to all that they had done. They also wrote a Synodical Letter to S. Celestine, in which they relate all that had passed at Ephesus; and tell him, That they had read and approved his Synodical Decrees against the Pelagians and Celestians in the Council. He sent him also a Copy of the Acts of the Council. This Act was concluded with a Sermon preached by S. Cyril at Ephesus, against John Bishop of Antioch.*

The Eastern Bishops on their side wrote to the Emperor, that Cyril and Memnon having been Deposed by their Synod, could not be absolved by Bishops Excommunicated; and they prayed the Emperor to send for them to Constantinople, or at least to Nicomedia, and not to permit any Metropolitan to bring more than two Bishops of his Province, because a great Multitude is only fit to cause disturbance; That their Adversaries had brought with them a great number of Bishops, contrary to the Intentions and Orders of the Emperor; That as for themselves they had obeyed them exactly, by bringing only three Bishops out of each Province, and had sent no Bishop to Court, as their adversaries had done, but contented themselves with writing to him, because they would not disobey his Orders. They sent this Letter by Count Irenaeus.

The 6th Session of the Council was held July 22. Because the Eastern Bishops accused the Bishops of the Council of introducing another Creed, besides that of the Council of Nice, they read it in this Session, declared their approbation of it in general, and owned that it contained a Sound and Orthodox Doctrine. But they added, that several Persons, who pretended to acknowledge it, putting false Interpretations upon it, they had been forced to produce the Testimonies of the Holy Fathers, to discover the true meaning of it. Then they read over again the Testimonies of the Fathers, which they had quoted already at the Condemnation of Nestorius. This done, that they might fatten the Reproach which was laid upon them, upon their Adversaries themselves, they caused Charisius a Priest, and a Steward of the Church of Philadelphia, to present a Petition against one James a Priest, a Friend of Nestorius, accusing him for making the Quotodocimen, who returned to the Communion of the Church, to sign a Confession of Faith different from the Nicene Creed, and full of Heresie. He alleged that form of Faith, which M. Mercator attributes to Theodosius of Mopsuestia, although there be not the least word spoken of it in that Session, that, among other things, maintains: That the Holy Spirit hath not derived his Subsistence from the Son; that we Adore the Son of Man in Jesus Christ, because of his inseparable Union with the Word; that there is but one Son, which is the Word, to whom the Manhood being inseparably joined, partakes of his Dignity, and is called God, and Lord after a particular manner. This Creed, and the Names of those that signed it, being read, the Council made this famous Declaration. That it is not allowable to any Person whatsoever, to Alledge, Write, or make a Different Creed from that which was made by the Holy Fathers Assembled at Nice; and that all those, who are so audacious as to make, or alledge, or offer any other to be signed by such, as turn themselves, or are converted to the Church, whether they be Jews, Pagans, or Heretics, if they be Bishops or Clergy-men, they shall be degraded from their Dignity; and if they are Lay-men; they shall be scourged. Then they read the Extracts of Nestorius, and Peter the Chief-Notary observed, that he owned, that he was the first that had spoken in that manner. This Act concluded with a Sermon of S. Cyril.

The Council having nothing more to regulate concerning Doctrine. In the 7th Action, which was held July ult. (It is in the Acts *Prædic. Calendarum Sept.* but it ought to be read *Prædic. Calend. Aug.* for this day was past before Count John arrived, and S. Cyril was seized;) they discussed matters of Discipline. Reginus, Zeno, and Boagrius Bishops of Cyprus, presented a Petition to the Council against the Bishops of Antioch, complaining that the Bishops of Antioch endeavoured to make the Bishops of the Isle of Cyprus subject to their Jurisdiction, and that the Bishop of Constantinople, Metropolitan of Cyprus, being lately Dead, the Bishop of Antioch had obtained Letters from Dionysius the Prefect, directed to Theodosius Governor of the Isle, prohibiting them from Ordaining a Bishop in that City without the Permission of the Council of Ephesus. These two Letters were read, and the Bishops of Cyprus having shewn, that it was the design of John Bishop of Antioch, to Ordain the Bishop of Constantinople, they asked them if it were the Custom; and being answered, that

that it was never practised, the Synod ordered, That according to the Canons of the Council of Nice, the Bishops of Cyprus should enjoy their Ancient Rights, and Ordain the Bishop of Constantinople according to their Ancient Custom. On the occasion of this business they made this general Rule, That the Ancient Custom should be observed in all the Provinces, and that no Bishop should attempt to bring under his Jurisdiction, a Province which hath not heretofore been subject to him, nor his Predecessors, and that if any one hath endeavoured it, or hath kept any Province by force, he shall be forced to resign it, and restore it to him to whom it belongs, that the Canons be not Violated, and Haughtiness of Worldly Power may not creep into the Church, and the pretence of the Priesthood, and so lose the Liberty, which Jesus Christ hath purchased for us by his Blood; He who is the Saviour of all Men.

In this Act they also made six Canons, which contain nothing extraordinary concerning Discipline. In them they order only, That the Bishops which are, or shall be joined to Nestorius, shall be Deposed. They Decree the same Punishment against those that embrace the Doctrine of Nestorius or Celestius, or that Communicate with Persons Excommunicated or Deposed, or who shall Contemn or Abuse that which is done by the Synod. On the other side, they restored them who have been Excommunicated or Deposed by Nestorius: And they enjoyed all the Clergy, nor to obey those Bishops who have or shall embrace the Nestorian Party.

The Synod also in this Act granted a Letter in favour of Eustatius, who having been Ordained Metropolitan of Pamphylia; and finding himself oppressed with troubles, was brought by some Canning Intrigue to give a Writing, wherein he renounced it. The Council ordered, that altho Theodosius had been Ordained in his place, yet he should enjoy the Name and Dignity of a Bishop, Nevertheless with this Charge, that he should not Ordain, nor Administer Sacraments by his own Authority in any Church.

In the same Act they confirmed the Synodical Decree of Sifimius, against the Messalians or Eudæ, and Ordain'd, that they who would not Subscribe the Form of the Faith composed by this Synod, should be Excommunicated or Deposed. They also defend their Book, concerning an Ascetic or Monastick Life.

Lastly, Euprepius of Byzæ, and Arcadieus, and Cyril Bishop of Cele, desired them to preserve the Ancient Custom of the Province of Europe, in which one Bishop had several Cities in his Diocese; The Council Ordain'd, that there should be no Innovations in this Case, but the Churches should still be Governed as they were heretofore.

While these things were transacting at Ephesus, it was strongly debated at Constantinople, what they should do, about what had passed on both sides there. The Lot of all was, as I may say, in the Emperor's hands, and the Success of the Council depended upon the Resolutions taken at Court. The Council sent three Bishops to him, the Eastern Bishops contented themselves to send Count Irenæus only. He arrived there but three days after the Deputies of the Council, who had prepared their minds to favour them. But when Irenæus was come, he appeared before the Emperor in the presence of the Deputies of the Council, and did so much, that he had almost persuaded the Emperor to think, that the Synod held by S. Cyril ought not to be accounted a Lawful Council; so that he had almost confirmed the Decrees of the Eastern Bishops, and Bann'd S. Cyril. But John, the Emperor's Physician, and a Friend of S. Cyril being come in, quite changed the state of things by engaging the greatest part of the Ministers, some of whom were of an Opinion, that what was done on both sides, was Lawful; others thought, that it was necessary to declare all Null, and to send for some Bishops, who were unconcerned, to examine the Matters of Faith, and all that passed at Ephesus. In this difficulty Theodosius took their part who approved of the Deposition of Nestorius, as also of S. Cyril and Memnon; upon the account of factious Combining, and conspiring one against another; being persuaded, that as to what concerned the Faith, that had all Orthodox Sentiments, and all agreed in the Doctrine of the Nicene Council. In this he followed the Judgment of Acacius of Bérée, who wrote it to the Synod. The Emperor being thus determined, he wrote to the Bishops of the Council, and sent Count John to put this Order in Execution; and to re-unite all the Bishops in one Council, having removed Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon.

John was no sooner come to Ephesus, but he commanded the Bishops of both Parties to come to him at his Inn. John, Bishop of Antioch, and Nestorius came thither, accompanied with the Bishops of his Party, and S. Cyril with his. There was none but Memnon who was missing. Immediately there arose a contest among them. The Egyptian Bishops maintain'd that Nestorius ought not to be present at the Reading of the Emperor's Letter, and that S. Cyril ought, but John Bishop of Antioch, and his Party held the contrary. This Dispute having continued a long time, Count John compelled Nestorius and S. Cyril to withdraw: And then he read the Emperor's Letter to the other Bishops; and told them, that it was the Emperor's Will, that Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon should be Deposed. John Bishop of Antioch's Party consented to it, but the others maintained, that S. Cyril and Memnon ought not to be looked upon as Deposed. Count John to prevent the trouble that was likely to ensue, committed Nestorius to the Custody of Count Candianus, and S. Cyril to Count James's, and sent Memnon word of his Sentence of Deposition; and having sent for him, also put him in Custody to Count James, and then gave the Emperor an Account of what he had done; telling him, that the Minds of the Bishops seemed so much exasperated one against another, that he could find no means to reconcile them.

The Eastern Bishops gave Count *Julian* a Letter to send to the Emperor. In it they desired that he would condemn *S. Cyril's* 22 Chapters, and that he would be contented to have the Nicene Creed without any Addition signed by them. They wrote also to *Acacius*, and sent a Synodical Letter to the Clergy and People of *Antioch*, wherein they bragged that it was reported, that all they had done was confirmed by the Emperor's Authority. These Letters are in *Lupin's* Collection, Chap. 17, 18, and 19.

The Bishops of the Council on their part wrote also to the Emperor, to complain of his Sentence, and to assure him, that they wondered at his Religion, who was persuaded that *S. Cyril* and *Memnon* had been justly Condemned. They told him at the same time, that they would not communicate with the Eastern Bishops, unless they would condemn *Nestorius*, and earnestly affair from Persons unsuspected. They wrote also to the Bishops which were at *Constantinople*, and to the Clergy of that Church, complaining of the ill Usage they met withal, and that they underwent many hardships by being kept at *Ephefus*. Wherefore they desired them to pray the Emperor to free them from that Prison, and to remove them to *Constantinople*, or send them home to their own Churches again. They represent the sad condition that they were in, in the Me-
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moir, which they sent to the Abbot *Dalmatius*. Saint *Cyril* also wrote himself to the Clergy, and the People of *Constantinople*, and to the three Egyptian Bishops residing there. The Letter of the *Antiochian*, who was an Abbot in great reputation for Sanctity, who presented it to the Emperor, to whom he was well known. He also read the Letter of the Clergy to the People of *Constantinople*, and the Emperor, in the behalf of *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*, *Dalmatius*. The Clergy of *Constantinople* presented a Petition to the Emperor, in the behalf of *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*, *Dalmatius*, and the Bishops who were at *Constantinople*, and Ordered, That they should send some Bishops of both sides to *Constantinople*, that the Affair might be terminated by the cognizance of the Cause. There were eight Deputed by each side also a Legat for the Holy See, the Pope's Legat, with these Bishops, *Aradius*, who was Bishop of *Caesarea*, *Theodosius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Flavian* Bishop of *Ephefus*, *Firmus* Bishop of *Polemonia*. The Commission which the Council gave them, was, That they should de-
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mand the Restauration of *S. Cyril* and *Memnon*; and that they should not re-unite with *John*, and don for what they had done, and *S. Cyril* and *Memnon* were restored. With these Instructions the Eastern Bishops sent also eight Deputies, viz. *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, *John* Bishop of *Darius* Bishop of *Chalcis*, and *Theodore* Bishop of *Cyru*, †. They were left at Liberty to act as they terms should be rejected as Heretical. The Emperor, a little after, gave a Second Order, continuing in restraint till their Cause was examined. The Prefect wrote to *Nestorius*, that he might retire to his Monastery, and that he had taken Order, that he Carriages. *Nestorius* received this Order with a seeming Joy, and told the Prefect, That he ac-
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counted this Order of the Emperor a Kindness, believing nothing more honourable than to be-
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coured to retreat for the defence of Religion; but he pray'd him to take effectual care, that the Emperor do condemn *S. Cyril's* Chapters by his Publick Letters. This Retirement of *Nestorius* dubious, that there was no hopes of his Restauration, as that the Cause of the others was yet

The Deputies arrived at *Chalcedon* about the end of *August*, where they received an Order to stay, for they could not come to *Constantinople* because of the disturbances which the Monks raised. From hence the Deputies of the Eastern Bishops sent a Petition to the Emperor, wherein they desired, that he would not allow any other Confession of Faith, but that of the Council of *Nice*; and that he would be Judge of the Contentions between them, and that they might set down fair, that he would dismiss all the Bishops to their Dioceses. They complained also, in this Memoir, of the attempts of *Junius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, upon *Phenicia* and *Arabia*. But they troubling the Church with Personal Contentions.

The Emperor a little after came to his Country-House near *Chalcedon*, and sent for the Deputies to him, and heard them with an abundance of Patience. The Legats for the Eastern Bishops thought they had an Advantage: And therefore spake against *S. Cyril's* Chapters, and accused that the Emperor and his Council seemed favourable to them. The Bishops of *S. Cyril's* Party spake more modestly, and contented themselves to intreat the Emperor to send for *S. Cyril*, that he may give an Account himself both of his Faith and Conduct. The Emperor propounding it to both sides, to deliver him their Judgment in Writing, the Deputies for the Eastern Bishops said, That they had no other Confession of Faith, but that of the Nicene Council, wherefore they

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signed that, and presented it to him. They wrote all that had passed to the Bishops of their Party, who in their Answer shew the great Joy that they had for the good Success they were likely to have; telling them, that their Adversaries domineered as before, Judged, Caus'd, sent their Sentences of Deposition every where, Ordained Bishops, and disturbed the Churches. They exhort their Deputies to oppose Novel Opinions courageously, and to insist upon the Condemnation of *S. Cyril's* Chapters. They joined to this Letter a Petition to the Emperor in which they give him thanks for his favourable reception of their Deputies, and implore him not to suffer them, who are Condemned for nothing but rejecting *S. Cyril's* Heretical Chapters, to remain under Condemnation.

While both Parties waited for the Success of this Affair, Men's minds were much divided at *Constantinople*; the People heard the Eastern Bishops very favourably; as They Preached and Prayed not in the Churches, for they could not be admitted into them, but in an House; On the contrary, the Clergy and Monks were very much exasperated against them. The Emperor, who had at first favoured them, began by little and little to be disaffected to them. He propounded it to them to receive *Cyril* and *Memnon*, but they would not agree to that Proposition; and when they attempted to speak to him of *Nestorius*, he would not suffer them: His Council was absolutely engaged. *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea* in a Letter Printed in *Lupin's* Collection, Ch. 41, accuses Saint *Cyril* of changing the Judgment of the Court, by bribing the Eunuch *Scholasticus* with Money; and says, That this Eunuch being Dead, and having left a great deal of Money, the Emperor found an Account of several Sums of Gold received of *S. Cyril*, which were conveyed to him by *Paul S. Cyril's* Nephew. But we have little reason to believe what *Acacius* Bishop of *Berea* says, because he was none of *S. Cyril's* Friend: But 'tis ever manifest, that the Emperor changed his mind; in a very short time, and relolved all on the sudden to have another Bishop Ordained at *Constantinople*. Wherefore he carried the Deputies of the Council along with him to *Constantinople*, that they might Ordain a Bishop. The Deputies of the Eastern Bishops hearing this, sent a Petition to the Emperor, in which having accused their Adversaries of Rebelling always against the Orders of the Emperor; they tell him, that being Summoned to *Chalcedon*, they had requested first of all, that they would keep close to the Nicene Creed, and reject the Heretical Chapters of *S. Cyril*; that, being cited a second time, they were ordered to discontinue of those things that were in Controversie; and as they prepared themselves for this Dispute, they heard, that his Majesty was returned, and had carried along with him, to *Constantinople* the Deposed and Excommunicated Bishops, to make them celebrate the Sacraments, and Ordain a Bishop, and had left them at *Chalcedon*, them, who had never attempted any thing but for the defence of the Faith; That they thought, themselves obliged to tell him, that if he allowed Hereticks to Ordain a Bishop at *Constantinople*, before their Doctrines were Examined, he would infallibly create a Schism, because it will never be endured; That Communion be kept with Hereticks, and that not only the Eastern, but also all the Churches of the Dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, *Thracia*, *Lybia*, and *Italy*, will never admit of the Heretical Doctrine of *Cyril*.

The only answer that the Emperor gave them, was, That he permitted them, and the other Bishops that were at *Ephefus*, to return to their Dioceses. As soon as they received this Order, they presented a third Petition, in which they speak with a great deal of Freedom. They complain, That having been cited to confirm the Faith of their Ancestors, they were kept at *Chalcedon*, and sent back again without doing any thing; that he had favoured them who had ever been rebellious against his Orders, and so had raised these Troubles; That he ought to think, that the Eastern Bishops are his Subjects as well as others; That he ought to protect the Faith, into which he had been Baptized, and for which the Martyrs have poured out their Blood; That Faith, with which he had conquered the Barbarians, and which was necessary to subdue *Africa*; That the Church would be rent in pieces, if he suffered *S. Cyril's* Doctrine to be seld; That they were obliged to put him in mind, how much he would offend God, if he suffered persons of Heretical Opinions to perform the Offices of Priests; That they were much troubled to see, that the greatest part of the People, who are now of Orthodox Sentiments, will by this means be infected with Heresie; That their Duty obliged them to admonish him of these things; and to pray him earnestly to put them in order; That, if he did it not, they had discharged their Conscience, and do protest against them, that this fault may not fall upon them. This Petition did not change the Emperor's mind, inasmuch that they were forced to beg of him themselves that he would permit them to withdraw, which they obtained. At their departure they wrote to the Eastern Bishops, how things had passed.

The Result of the Emperors Judgment was, That *Nestorius* was justly deposed; That *S. Cyril* and *Memnon* should keep their Sces; That all the Bishops should return again to their Churches; That, neither of them both are Hereticks; And that they should be exhorted to reunite. These are the Contents of the Emperors Letter to the Bishops assembled at *Ephefus*, published by *M. Celerian*, and put by *M. Baluzius* into his Collection of Councils. The Emperor tells them, That desiring nothing so much as the Peace of the Church, he had done his utmost endeavour to hinder their Disagreement, and to reunite them again; but not being able to bring that about, nor to make them hold a Conference about the Doctrines of Faith, he had ordered, that the Eastern Bishops should return into their own Country, that *S. Cyril* should go to *Alexandria* again, and that *Memnon* should remain at *Ephefus*; and that as long as he lived, he would not condemn the

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The first Council of Ephesus

Eastern Bishops, they not being convicted of any Error, and no Body caring to enter the Lists with them. That if they desired Peace, they might write to him; but if they yet stood out, they had nothing to do but to return home. Thus the Council of Ephesus ended. S. Cyril returned to Alexandria; and arrived there Octob. 30. Nestorius retired into the Monastery of Euprepius at Antioch; and Octob. 25. Maximian was Ordain'd in his place by the Bishops, which were at Constantinople, four Months after the Deposition of Nestorius. This Maximian was a Monk, who was thought worthy to be made a Priest; and was accounted a very pious Man, though not learned. The Synod which Ordain'd him, communicated it to the Bishops of Epirus, to S. Celsus and S. Cyril. He wrote also himself to these two last. The Emperor wrote for him to the Pope. S. Cyril returned an Answer to the Synod, and Maximian. Celsus wrote four Letters, the first to the Emperor, the second to the Synod that Ordained Maximian, the third to Maximian, and the last to the Clergy of Constantinople. He shewed much Joy that Nestorius was condemned, and said that he earnestly desired that Peace might be restored. He prays the Emperor chiefly to endeavour it. These Letters are dated March 25. Anno 432.

The Deputies of the Eastern Bishops, who were at Chalcedon, wrote also before their departure to Rufinus Bishop of Thessalonica, to engage Illyria. This Bishop was not at the Council of Ephesus, but on the one side Flavian Bishop of Philippus had assumed the Title of his Deputy, so on the part of the Eastern Bishops Julian Bishop of Sardica sat in the Council, and had received a Letter from Rufinus, who recommended the defence of the Faith of the Council of Nice to him, and not to suffer any Novelty to be introduced. The Deputies of the Eastern Bishops made use of this Opportunity to write to Rufinus, that they have resisted the Doctrine of S. Cyril's Chapters, and would not consent that any thing should be added to the Nicene Creed: That they had for this Reason condemned S. Cyril and Memnon; the one as an Heretic, and the other as a Favourer of Heresies, and have Excommunicated those, who defend them till they should condemn S. Cyril's Chapters, and profess the Faith of the Nicene Council: That all the Lenity, which they had used, could do good with them, but still these Bishops continued to maintain these Heretical Doctrines, and therefore had made themselves subject to the punishment inflicted by the Canons, and particularly by the fourth Canon of the Council of Antioch. Then they accused S. Cyril for being of the Judgment of Arius and Apollinaris, and attributing that to the Godhead of Jesus Christ, which is said of his Humane Nature. As for themselves, they say, that they are resolved to hold to the Doctrine of the Council of Nice, and to follow the Faith of the Holy Fathers: That this is the Judgment not only of the Eastern Bishops, but also of the Asian Churches; and it is not to be doubted but that the Italians will oppose the Novelty, which they endeavour to bring in. They also accuse S. Cyril and Memnon for breaking the Canons by Communicating with Excommunicated Persons, and with the Followers of Pelagius and Celsus, and the Eusebians, or Eutheists. They pray them therefore not to receive S. Cyril and his Adherents to his Communion, nor to receive their Letter.

The end of the Council did not at all conduce to the Peace of the Church, but on the contrary the Minds of Men appeared more discontented than ever, and the Eastern Bishops, who had had the worst of it, sought to revenge themselves. In their return they wrote to Theodosius Bishop of Ancona against the Letters of the Bishops of the Council. At Tarfus they confirmed what they had done, and deposed not only S. Cyril and Memnon, but also six of the Deputies of the Council of Ephesus, viz. Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, Flavian Bishop of Philippus, Firmus Bishop of Cesarea, Theodatus Bishop of Ancona, Acacius Bishop of Miletene, and Euphrosius Bishop of Ptolemais. Afterward being come into the East, they met again at Antioch, confirmed what they had done a second time; and from thence wrote to the Emperor, That they held no other Faith than that of the Nicene Council; That they abhorred S. Cyril's Chapters, and earnestly besought him to provide, that they be not taught in any of the Churches. Theodosius wrote also in his own Name to the People of Constantinople, which were well affected to their Party, to confirm them in the Opinions which he had heretofore taught them, and to prove themselves innocent from the Errors laid to their charge, by professing that there is but One Christ; and by opposing S. Cyril's Sentiments, as being the same with the Apollinarian. There was in the farthest part of the East a certain Bishop, who was of S. Cyril's Judgment: It was Rabula Bishop of Edessa; whose Zeal carried him so far, that he not only condemned Nestorius, but also publicly pronounced Anathemas against Theodosius of Mopsuestia, and all that were not of S. Cyril's Judgment. Being of these Principles, he persecuted those, who would not come over to his Opinion, who fled to the other Bishops.

Andrew Bishop of Samosata hereupon consulted with Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and shewed him, that it was necessary to declare himself. This was the reason that made John Bishop of Antioch, and some other of the Eastern Bishops, to write to the Bishop of Dyrrace, that they should not communicate with Rabula, till being summoned before them, they had pardoned him upon his making Satisfaction, or he had been punished according to the Rigour of the Laws.

But as the Party of Cyril were ill used in the East, so those of the Nestorian Party, and the Eastern Bishops met with no better usage in Asia, Cappadocia and Thracia. Maximian chosen Bishop of Constantinople, who began already to exercise his Jurisdiction over the Churches of those Dioceses, would have himself acknowledged by all the Bishops, and deprived them, who would not communicate with him. Firmus Bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, the Metropolis of Cappadocia Prima, came to Tyana, and Ordain'd a Bishop in the place of Euthymius; but he getting some help, forced him,

him, whom Firmus had Ordain'd, to renounce his Ordination. They also attempted to depose Theodosius Metropolitan of Mariasople, and Ordain Saturninus in his place. They also endeavour'd to deprive Heladius Bishop of Tharsus, because he would not put the Name of Maximian into Council of the Dyrrace. Lastly, All places were full of Deposed and Exiled Bishops, and the Church was Ephesus in terrible Trouble and Confusion.

The Emperor Theodosius being desirous to remedy these Disorders, which increased daily, wrote to John Bishop of Antioch, That he might put an end to these by signing the Condemnation of Nestorius, and pronouncing Anathema to his Doctrine, and by this means all this Trouble would cease: That S. Cyril, S. Celsus, and the other Bishops would communicate with him; and that this may be brought to pass, he commanded him to come to Nicomedia with some of his Clergy only, assuring him, that S. Cyril had also Orders to be there, and that he had told them, that they should not come to Court, till they were reconciled; and had procured Peace to the Church by their Re-union. He forbids them in the mean while to attempt either to dispossess, or ordain any Bishop. The Emperor wrote to S. Symeon Stylites, and Acacius Bishop of Beroea, that the one should labour to procure the Peace of the Church by his Prayers, and the other by his Care. This Letter was written in the beginning of the Year 432. The Count Aristolaius was sent to execute these Orders, and wrote to John Bishop of Antioch to come to Nicomedia. John suspected that the design was to carry him from thence to Constantinople, and therefore being unwilling to do any thing without the advice of his Brethren, he wrote to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, That if it were in his Power to go, or not, it was necessary to deliberate together, what they should answer; and if he were carried away by force, he ought at last to take his leave: That he was too weak to undertake so great a Journey: That he was afraid they would make some attempt upon his Life by the way. Then he desires Alexander to come to the Synod, which was shortly to meet at Cyrus, according to the Custom, that they might take Resolutions together what they should do. He adds, That the Propositions which they had brought, were more impious; That S. Cyril's Chapters had some appearance at least of Error, but at present they demanded no more than to condemn them that taught that there were two Natures in Jesus Christ.

Aristolaius used no compulsion to carry John Bishop of Antioch: But finding him inclinable to Peace, suffered him to call a Synod, which was held at Antioch, where they declared that they would remain steadfast to the Faith of the Council of Nice, which needed no Explication; That they understood it in the sense, in which S. Athanasius had explained it in his Letter to Epiphanius, and that they rejected the Letters, Chapters, and other Decisions lately made, as being only fit to raise Disturbances.

They made also five other Propositions, but this was the principal, and all the Eastern Bishops resolved for the Peace of the Church to receive S. Cyril to their Communion, if he did approve this Proposition, provided that they were not obliged to subscribe the Condemnation of Nestorius. This was the Judgment not only of John Bishop of Antioch, but also of Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, Theodoret, Andrew Bishop of Samosata, and other Zealous Defenders of the Nestorian Party. Acacius Bishop of Beroea was commissioned to make this Proposition to Aristolaius, that he might communicate it to S. Cyril. This Count went immediately to Alexandria, and made this Proposition to S. Cyril, who would not accept the Proposition of the Eastern Bishops, but on the contrary in his Letter to Acacius insisted upon it, That he not only could never reject that, which had been done at Ephesus against the Blasphemies of Nestorius, but likewise that he could not unite with the Eastern Bishops, unless they would condemn Nestorius and his Doctrine, and treat him with disgrace as an Heretic. Nevertheless to give the Eastern Bishops some Satisfaction, he pronounced Anathema against the Errors of Arius and Apollinaris, and declares that he believes That the Body of Jesus Christ is animated with a Rational Soul; That he allows not of any Confusion or Mixture between the two Natures of Jesus Christ; That he confesses, that the Godhead is impassible, but holds, That Jesus Christ, the Son of God, hath suffered according to the Flesh for us. He adds, That his twelve Chapters were only designed to oppose Nestorius's Errors; and when the Peace is made, he will easily satisfy any Objections, which they can form against them.

This Letter being delivered to Acacius of Beroea, with another from Aristolaius, which was brought by Maximian, sent on purpose from Alexandria about this Affair, Acacius also having afterward received two other Letters from S. Cyril, and one from the Bishop of Rome, as also a second Letter from the Emperor, all which exhorted him to further the Peace of the Church; he sent to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and Theodoret, a Copy of S. Cyril's Letter; and wrote to them at the same time, That he thought that they ought to be contented with this Explication, which was very exact, and conformable to their Sentiments, and that he prayed them to approve the Answer which John Bishop of Antioch, and the other Bishops assembled at Antioch, gave S. Cyril, and the Conditions of Peace to which they would agree. Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and Theodoret, were of different Judgments about the Letters of S. Cyril, yet they both agreed that they ought not to conclude a Peace upon this Condition alone. Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis took notice, that the Letter of S. Cyril contained also some Errors, and maintained that the Word ought to be thought only to have suffered according to the Flesh. Theodoret on the contrary believed it Orthodox, and looked upon it as a tacit Retraction of the Doctrine of the twelve Chapters, although there were some terms intricate and obscure: But he much disapproved S. Cyril's Conduct in rejecting the Proposition, which had been offered by the Bishops of the Council of Antioch, and he

Collect.
Lupus,
c. 38. ibid.
c. 66.
136, 141.
174, 201.
ibid. c.
Socr. l. 7.
c. 34.
Libert.
in brev.
c. 6.
Coll. of
Lupus,
c. 39.

ibid. c. 43.
ibid. c. 44.

The first
Council of
Ephesus

ibid. c. 45.
ibid. c. 46.
ibid. c. 49.

3 Part of
the Council.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

ibid. c. 49.

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he thought it impossible to make any Peace so long as S. Cyril would oblige them to sign the Condemnation of Nestorius. He was very willing, that they should condemn those in general, who affirm, that Jesus Christ is a mere Man, who divide Jesus Christ into two Sons, or deny his Godhead; but he could not endure to condemn a Person, whom he thought to be of Orthodox Sentiments, at the same time, that he approved of sound Doctrine. Andrew Bishop of Samosata, Maximus Bishop of Anazarbum, Helladius Bishop of Tarsus, Euthemius Bishop of Tyana, were of the same Judgment with Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis; and although they were averse from the Proposition of Peace made by S. Cyril, yet they would not agree to Theodoret's. This is seen by the Letters which these Bishops wrote, one to another, and to Acacius Bishop of Beroa, Mediator of the Peace.

John Bishop of Antioch, who earnestly desired a Peace, being troubled to see these impediments on both sides, thought, that the best way to remove them, was to send a Bishop, being persuaded, that things would be cleared by a conference, and that an accommodation might more easily be effected *vis à vis*, than by Writing; besides, by this means the more Zealous would not be obliged to Subscribe, any thing, and yet would be comprehended in the Peace. Therefore he chose Paul Bishop of Emesa, who had Subscribed for Acacius Bishop of Beroa in their Council of Ephesus, to undergo this Charge. He wrote also at the same time to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, that he ought to yield; That the Objections which he made were very subtle; That it was not a time to dispute Philosophically, but to redress the troubles of the Church, and the pressing dangers with which it was threatened; That Archilau Bishop of Ephraïma was likely to be condemned to bear a great Fine.

Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, could not agree to this Proposition, and took that very ill which John had written to him. Dorytheus Bishop of Maritima approved of their sending Paul Bishop of Emesa; but he particularly recommended it to them, that they should oblige them to Subscribe, That there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, without Confusion or Mixture.

John Bishop of Antioch gave Paul Bishop of Emesa a Letter for S. Cyril, in which he tells him, That his Twelve Chapters were the Source and Original of the Division; but his Letter to Acacius had made them clear, and corrected what was amiss in them; That it needed no further Explication, and that if the Peace were once concluded, they might explain themselves better. He was pleased, that S. Cyril approved of S. Athanasius's Letter to Epiphanius, and says, That that alone was sufficient to discover the true Sense of the Doctrine of the Council of Nice.

Paul Bishop of Emesa being come to Alexandria, having had one conference with S. Cyril about what passed at Ephesus, delivered the Letter of John Bishop of Antioch to him, who was much displeased with him for it; because it revived the complaints, which were made against the twelve Chapters, and reflected upon what was done in the Council of Nice. Nevertheless the Emperor was intent upon a Peace, and resolved to have one at any rate. Paul Bishop of Emesa, a Subtle and Prudent Man, excused the Letter of John Bishop of Antioch, and said, That he had no design to offend S. Cyril, and that it ought not to be any hindrance to the Union. Saint Cyril insisted upon the Condemnation of Nestorius, and Paul Bishop of Emesa satisfied him, by acknowledging that Nestorius had been justly Deposed, and that Maximian was a Lawful Bishop, and giving him a Declaration of it in Writing. Paul Bishop of Emesa having Subscribed it, requested, that he would be contented with his Subscription, as done in the name of all the Eastern Bishops. But S. Cyril required, that John, also should Subscribe a certain Writing, which he would send him. Paul Bishop of Emesa demanded also, That the Bishops deposed by Maximian should be restored, *viz.* Heladius of Tarsus, Euthemius of Tyana, Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Dorytheus of Maritima, but S. Cyril would not give his consent to it.

Nevertheless the common report at Constantinople was, That S. Cyril had retracted his Opinions, and done all that the Eastern Bishops required of him; Inasmuch that S. Cyril was obliged to relate the whole transaction to his Legats; How he had obliged Paul to sign the Condemnation of Nestorius, before he communicated with him, and how he had not sent a Letter of Communion to John Bishop of Antioch, but upon condition, that before it be given him he should sign a Writing, which he did send him, containing the Condemnation of Nestorius.

John Bishop of Antioch deferring his answer for some time, S. Cyril was something troubled, fearing lest his Legats should have given his Letter of Communion to John Bishop of Antioch, before he had signed the Condemnation of Nestorius. Epiphanius the Arch-Deacon, and Coadjutor of S. Cyril, wrote about it to Maximian, and earnestly intreated him to see that their design be put in Execution, and to persuade the Emperor to compel John Bishop of Antioch to Subscribe against Nestorius, and command, that no mention be made of him for the future.

John Bishop of Antioch having received S. Cyril's Letter, returned him an answer, and changing something in the form of Faith, which S. Cyril had sent him, said, That without adding any thing to the Confession of Faith made by the Council of Nice, unless by way of Explication and Declaration; He confessed, that Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only Son of God, was perfect God and perfect Man, having a Body, and a reasonable Soul, born of his Father from all Eternity, according to his Godhead, born of the Virgin in time according to his Manhood, consubstantial with the Father according to the Divinity, because he hath united the two Natures after such a manner, as that they are but One Christ, One Son, One Lord, And in this Sense of the Union without mixture it may be said, That the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God, because

the Word was Incarnate, was made Flesh, and was United in the Moment of his Conception to the Body, which he took from her. And as to the terms attributed to Our Lord in the Gospel the first, and Writings of the Apostles; some of which, Divines make common, as agreeing to the Council of Person only, and others they apply separately upon the account of the distinction of the two Ephesus. Natures, and apply some to the Divine, and others to the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ.

Having given his approbation of this Faith, he declares, that for Peace sake, and to take away all occasion of Scandal, he did acknowledge that Nestorius was justly Deposed; That he condemned the Novel-Expressions, which they endeavoured to introduce; That he approved the Ordination of Maximian, and he Communicated with all the Orthodox Bishops.

This Letter being carried to Alexandria, S. Cyril did readily unite himself with John Bishop of Antioch; and to satisfy John Bishop of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops for his part, he wrote them a Letter, in which having declared how joyful he was at this Re-union, and approved their Confession of Faith; He condemns the Errors they had accused him of, and acknowledged, that there is not either Mixture, or Confusion, or Conversion of the two Natures; That the Nature of the Word is neither diminished, nor become passible. He approves of Athanasius's Opinion, but he observes, that there are two Editions, wherein the Letter to Epiphanius hath been Corrupted. Paul Bishop of Emesa, and S. Cyril, being thus agreed in the main, Paul Bishop of Emesa made a Sermon Dec. 25. 432. in which having explained his Doctrine about the Incarnation, and confessed, that he believed the Virgin the Mother of God, he was interrupted by the Acclamations of the People; So that he Preached the remaining part on Jan. 1. following, and S. Cyril approved of it. Paul Bishop of Emesa's Discourse in a short Sermon.

John Bishop of Antioch having received this News with this Letter of S. Cyril, he wrote Circular Letters to the Eastern Bishops; in which he tells them, That S. Cyril had made a plain Confession of the Orthodox Faith, approved the form of Faith which he had sent him, and freed himself from the Errors with which he was accused, and had removed all Objections against him; That by this means, all the Churches were again United in one Communion. He exhorts all the Bishops to join in this Peace, and says, That they that stand out, will discover, that they have acted not through Zeal for the Faith, but through Passion. He sent them with this Letter a Copy of his Letter to S. Cyril, and of S. Cyril's to him. John Bishop of Antioch wrote also particularly to Theodoret, before Paul Bishop of Emesa was returned. Lastly, He sent a Letter of Communion in his own Name, and in the Name of the Eastern Bishops, to S. Sixtus, S. Cyril, and Maximian, in which he assures them, that he approved of the Deposition of Nestorius, condemned his Impious Doctrine, and consented to the Ordination of Maximian; and S. Cyril on his part wrote to Maximian, S. Sixtus, and John Bishop of Antioch. While these things passed in the East, S. Sixtus Bishop of Rome, who succeeded S. Celestine, had ordered things in the same manner almost at Rome, having approved of what the Council had done against Nestorius, yet without coming to any disagreement with John Bishop of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops, and exhorting S. Cyril to endeavour after Peace, and to receive them, if they would approve of the Orthodox Faith.

Since there were always some Persons, who carried themselves with Passion, or indifference Zeal, this Peace was not generally approved. Saint Cyril was accused by some of being too remiss; inasmuch, that he was forced to justify himself by several Letters, and to demonstrate, that the Confession of the Eastern Bishops was Orthodox. This is the Subject of his Letters to Acacius Bishop of Melitine, to Eulogius, to Donatus, and Maximus, who refused to communicate with John, and the other Eastern Bishops.

This Agreement of John Bishop of Antioch displeased a great many of his Brethren. Theodoret, who was one of the most moderate of that Party, did not at first disapprove the Conditions of the Peace, not knowing, that they exacted the Condemnation of Nestorius, but he wrote to John Bishop of Antioch, that he ought not to conclude a Peace, till those who had been deprived were restored. He wrote also the same to Theodorus, and several other Bishops. John Bishop of Antioch wrote about it to the Emperor, to satisfy him. But Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, Andrew Bishop of Samosata, Melitus Bishop of Mopsuestia, declared from the beginning, That they disapproved of this Peace, and reproved two things chiefly in it, *viz.* The Condemnation of Nestorius, 92, 94, 95, 96, likewise knowing, that he had condemned Nestorius, disallowed the Agreement, and joined with Andrew of Samosata, and Alexander of Hierapolis. He invited them to come to Zeugma to deliberate about what was fit for them to do, Alexander would not go, but answered, That such a Meeting was needless; That 'twas evident, that S. Cyril was more to be blamed than ever; That he required that Nestorius should be peremptorily condemned, but would not condemn the three Chapters. He complains of the proceedings of John Bishop of Antioch, and accuses him of having betrayed his Faith, and condemned an Innocent Person. Andrew Bishop of Samosata was more moderate, and advised Alexander to agree, without requiring S. Cyril to condemn his twelve Chapters, since it sufficed, That he hath made profession of the Orthodox Faith, and we must use him condescension for the benefit of Peace. But Alexander absolutely refused, and declared, That he would not communicate with S. Cyril, nor with those who joined with him. Andrew Bishop of Samosata, and John Bishop of Germanicia had much ado to bring him to any accommodation, for he told them, he took this Proposition ill, and condemned their carriage. Maximian Bishop

Bishop of Anazarbus said them. They were also very much surprised at their proceedings. The latter was willing to come to an Agreement for he thought S. Cyril's Confession was Orthodox, but he would not give up Nestorius. He wrote his Opinion to Helladius Bishop of Tarsus, and the People of Constantinople. Helladius Bishop of Tarsus, Euthemius Bishop of Tiesia, and the Bishops of Cilicia met at Antioch; there they confirmed the Condemnation of S. Cyril, and excommunicated those who had received him to their Communion; till he should condemn his Chapters, as they had agreed the first time they were Assembled. After they had taken these Resolutions they wrote to S. Simeon, that S. Cyril had taught the Heresie of Apollinaria in his twelve Chapters, which was condemned at Rome by Pope Damasus; that he had condemned Nestorius at Ephesus unjustly, and on the contrary S. Cyril and Memnon were justly Deposed; that the Emperor having convened the Bishops of both Parties, their Adversaries would not enter into a Conference with them about the points of Faith; that they taught Errors, and falsely imposed them upon those that were not of their Judgment; That John Bishop of Antioch had himselfe condemned S. Cyril's Chapters, but hath since perjurated by receiving S. Cyril and Memnon to Communion; that he alone hath absolved them from the Anathema pronounced against them by several Bishops; and nor content with this, he condemned Nestorius, and all that he hath asserted, as Impious, without marking any particular. They pray the Pope to inform himself of these things, and to assist them; That they would pour out floods of Tears at his Feet, if the fear of those Wolves, which are ready to enter into their Flocks, did not constrain them to continue with them, and watch over them. It was to no purpose for them to think to engage the Pope to them, for knowing the Peace he had approved the Conditions, Sept. 15. 433, and had written about them to S. Cyril, and John Bishop of Antioch.

- c. 123. John Bishop of Antioch being angry, because Alexander and some other Bishops of the East and Asia, not only refused to be included in the Peace, but separated themselves from him upon that Account; after he had written to them several times, he implored the help of the Imperial Authority, to force them to submit to his Will. Proclus having been Ordain'd Bishop of Constantinople in the room of Maximian, in the beginning of the Year 434, he took that occasion, writing about that Ordination to the Prefect Taurus, to desire him to assist him with his Authority against the Bishops, who refused to joyn in Communion with him. He sent also to Constantinople one named Varius, who obtain'd an Edict against them from the Emperor, directed to Domitian the Quæstor. John Bishop of Antioch certified Alexander in particular of the Emperor's will, telling him, that he would not allow any of the Bishops to come to Constantinople. The Letter was delivered to Alexander by one of the Emperor's Officers, but he would not receive it; but hearing it read only he promised to obey the Emperor's Orders. Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and the Bishops of Ephraïma, whose Metropolis he was, wrote a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of Syria; the two Cilicia's, and of Cappadocia Secunda, in which they complain of John Bishop of Antioch, as well because he hath condemned Nestorius, as because of the troubles he involved them in, and his daily attempts against them. Alexander in signing this Letter, discovers, that it was a year since he communicated with him, which shews, that it was written in 434. Helladius Bishop of Tarsus, Metropolitan of the upper Cilicia, and four Bishops of the same Province answered them, That they had a design to call a Synod, but being hindered by the approaching Festival, they comforted them by advising them to have recourse to their Prayers. Meletius Bishop of Mopsuestia, and the Bishops of the Lower Cilicia comforted them also by a Letter, and exhorted them to remain steadfast. But Alexander Bishop of Apamea wrote to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, that he desired to speak with him, certainly that he might persuade him to the Peace; but not being able to come to Hierapolis by reason of the Feast, he prayed him to come to some Monastery half way to meet him. All these Writings would not keep them from persecuting the Bishops, who would not communicate with John Bishop of Antioch. Theodoret complains in a Letter written to the Governor of his Countrey, That they had stirred up Tumults in his Diocese, that they had thrust out Abibius Bishop of Dolechia, and had ordained in his place a Priest called Athanasius, who had been hitherto convicted of a Wicked Life; that they had also Ordained in another Church one Named Marisian known to be a Debauched Man, and that this Ordination had been made contrary to the Canons, without the Authority of the Metropolitan, by strange Bishops. That they had hindered Athanasius from entering the Church of Dolechia, and made him promise upon Oath, that he would not accept of it, but that he had not long after possessed himself of it, without any regard had to his Oaths.
- c. 135. Abibius being thus deprived, presented a Petition to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and to Theodoret, a Bishop of his Province, wherein he complains that he had been driven out of his See by force, and declared, That he had never voluntarily quitted his Bishoprick, as they had divulged. These Bishops wrote to the Emperress against those violences, which John Bishop of Antioch used against those that would not be of his Judgment. They complain, that he had ordain'd two Bishops in their Province contrary to the Canons; and that he had put one into a Church which was in the Diocese of Hierapolis. They implore these Princes to obtain of the Emperor to forbid these Ordinations contrary to the rules, and allow the Bishops in their Province to Celebrate them according to their Custom, and to leave the Church of S. Sergius to depend upon the Bishoprick of Hierapolis.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless, there came a second Order from the Court to Titus a Count and Imperial Vicar, and sent in the Emperor's Name by Count Dionysius, Master of the Horse, who enjoyed him to Theophilus Bishop of Tarsus, Maximian Bishop of Anazarbus, Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, Council of Theodoret, to return to the Communion of John Bishop of Antioch, upon the penalty of being immediately deprived of their Churches. Helladius wrote about it to Meletius Bishop of Mopsuestia, and desired to know what he should do; Meletius answered him, That he ought to remain steadfast. Theodoret also wrote about it to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, and tells him, That as for himself, he was not afraid of his Monasteries, and that he was willing to retire; but his Monks had much disturbed him, by representing it to him as his Duty not to be against the Peace, and that they had proposed it to him to go to Gindarus, where they would procure John Bishop of Antioch that they might discourse of an Agreement; That he had yielded to this Proposition, but had refused to go to Antioch.

Alexander answered him, That he was resolved never to communicate with Cyril: That what had been commanded since from Constantinople, confirmed him in that Resolution: That though all the Dead should rise to persuade him the contrary, he would do nothing: That he was ready to leave his Bishoprick, and had already done it, had not he feared he should pass for a Deserter, and a Coward for forsaking his Flock. Theodoret answered, That he seemed to be acted with too much passion: That he ought to consider so far as he might safely without approving anything that is not true. That he ought to examine the Synodical Letter of John Bishop of Antioch, and S. Cyril; and if they found it Orthodox, they might communicate with S. Cyril, nevertheless not approving what had been done at Ephesus: That he had heard, that he brought this Proposition out of the East: That Proclus Bishop of Constantinople was of sound Principles: That Helladius and Euthemius had told him so: That he could wish, that they could meet with John Bishop of Antioch at some distance from Antioch, on condition, that those whom he hath unduly Ordained, should be excluded: That he was troubled that John Bishop of Antioch having in his Letter made Confession of the Orthodox Faith, had condemned Nestorius, who had no other Opinions than those which John did explain: That that which comforted him, was, That he had not absolutely condemned his Doctrine, but particular all that he had said, or written against the Doctrine of the Apostles.

Alexander replied, That he did not separate from John Bishop of Antioch upon the account of the Ordinations, which that Patriarch had unjustly made, but because he hath betrayed his Faith, and communicated with an Heretic: That he was resolved not to communicate with any of those, who held Communion with S. Cyril, although they should condemn his Chapters. And to shew to what an height the Bishop of Constantinople had driven things, he sent him the beginning of his Synodical Letter, where he speaks of the Seditions which sprung from the corrupt Seeds of Nestorius's Doctrine.

Theodoret did not yield to this Council, but on the contrary he thought himself obliged to admonish his Metropolitan Alexander friendly, That it was necessary to consider upon a Peace: That he saw the Churches would certainly be ruined; That their Flocks would become a Prey to Wolves; That he was afraid that they must give an Account to God for being backward to it; That by comparing the Advantage of Peace with the Disadvantages that might redound to the Church, he found it would lose more by holding out, than by a small Compliance.

But Alexander, who was never to be wrought upon, gave him an angry Answer, That he would C. 151. not have him write any more to him about it. And for an Answer to Theodoret's Maxim, he told him, That the only way to compare the Benefit and Damage that might be done, is to chuse the part that Truth is: That Deprivation, Banishment, Death, and Disgraceful Revilings of Men, are nothing to Eternal Torments: That he did not wonder that Theodoret inclined to a Peace, being persuaded that S. Cyril was Orthodox; But as for him, who thought him an Heretic, he could not communicate with him. Whereupon he cites the Examples of Meletius Bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius Bishop of Samosata, of Barsius, and of many other Bishops, who have been deposed because they would not communicate with Heretics. He sent him a Letter from Parthenius a Priest, who assured him, that Nestorius's Adversaries had not at all altered their Mind.

Theodoret seeing that there was no way to change the Resolution of his Metropolitan, consulted C. 157. his own Affairs alone; and going to Antioch, entered into Communion with John, but without any Subscription, or Approbation of the Condemnation of Nestorius, to whom he wrote a Letter to excuse himself, as also to Helladius Bishop of Tarsus. The Bishops of Cilicia Secunda followed his Example, and wrote a Synodical Letter to John Bishop of Antioch, in which they acknowledged, C. 160. That his Letter to S. Cyril was Orthodox; That they had separated themselves from him out of a suspicion that S. Cyril's Chapters were Heretical, but their fear was taken away by that Exposition of Faith. The Bishops of Cilicia Prima and Iuana yielded also, but they could never alter the inflexible Resolution of Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis. Theodoret himself wrote again to him, and to his Friends, to persuade him, but he answered his Letters with anger, and sharp Reflections, shewing always an unconquerable Resolution and Obstinacy. Meletius Bishop of Mopsuestia was the only Man of the Cilician Bishops that imitated him. John Bishop of Antioch deposed, and ordained in his place Chronatius, and presented a Petition to the Emperor to persuade him to remove C. 176: him from his See.

But they behaved themselves better towards Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis. Theodoret having done what he could to bring him over, even by desiring Nestorius to write to him, interceded for him to John Bishop of Antioch, and desired him to let him alone, shewing him, that it would be of no ill consequence, nor prejudice his Cause, because he would be quiet, whereas if he provoked

- ked him, 'twould cause more trouble. But *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was resolved to make all the Eastern Bishops subject to him, wrote to *Alexander* by Count *Titus*, and *Dionysius* Matter of the Horse, That they had born patiently hitherto in respect to him; but if he did still continue in his *Ephefus* Resolution not to communicate with *John* of *Antioch*, they could not wait any longer, nor dissemble. He answered with this ordinary stiffness, That he could not communicate with a Bishop who had received Hereticks to his Communion, and that he was willing to go without any noise or stir, whether they pleased. After this, *Titus* gave Orders to *Libianus* Judge of *Euphratesia* to expel *Alexander*, if he still remain'd in his Resolution, and to put in his place such a Person as the Synod of Bishops should Ordain. This Order being made known to *Alexander*, he retreated, and *Libianus* telling *Titus*, that he had executed his Orders, represents to him, and *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, the Affliction that the Church of *Hierapolis* was in, having lost their Bishop, and prayed them to have some regard to it.
- C. 186. *John* Bishop of *Antioch* wrote hereupon to the Clergy, and People of *Hierapolis*, That he had used all manner of ways to convert their Bishop *Alexander*; That he had prayed, and solicited him several times not to hinder the Peace by his obstinate refusal; And that he was yet willing to receive him, if he would comply, and enter into Communion with him. Lastly, They thrust out, and banished all of them, after he hath related the Order, which was given against him, and against another called *Phorius*, Adherents of *Nestorius*: *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, banished to *Phamisi* in *Egypt*, of his Diocess, and another ordain'd in his place by *John* Bishop of *Antioch*: *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Cilicia*, Bishops of the Province of *Mesja*, who was sent to *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*: *Valentinus* and *Endo* themselves voluntarily from the Churches: *Meletius* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, Bishop of *Cilicia Secunda*, banished to *Melitina*, a City of *Armenia*, where *Acacius* Bishop of that City made him suffer much: *Zenobius* Bishop of *Scythia* in *Cilicia Prima*, who left his Church in the same manner, and was afterward banished to *Tiberias*, from whom he was also driven: *Anastasis* Bishop of *Scythia*, *Pamphilius* Bishop of *Hypate*, *Basil* Metropolitan of *Larissa* in *Thessalia*, *Julian* Bishop of *Sardicia*, Church, and would never communicate with those who had received *S. Cyril*: *Acilius* Bishop of *Bardnissi*, who was expelled from his Bishoprick for refusing to communicate with *John*, but he was after re-united to him without the condemning of *Nestorius*: *Maximianus* Bishop of *Demetrius* in *Thessaly*, who separated himself immediately after the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. Thus ended the long and boisterous Contest between the Eastern Bishops, which lasted two Years compleat after the Peace made between *B. of Antioch* and *S. Cyril*. Lastly, *Nestorius*, who was the Author and Subject of all these Troubles, was himself last of all sacrificed to, being removed from his Monastery, and banished to *Ossis* by the Emperors Edict published in 435. and by another Edict in August in the same Year: His Books were condemned to be burnt, and all Persons forbid to read them.
- C. 192. Peace seem'd by this means to be restored to the Church, all the Bishops being of the same Communion, but there still remained some Seeds of Division in Mens Minds. The Eastern Bishops had a secret Grudge against the *Egyptians*, and the *Egyptians* could not endure the Eastern. They suspected one another guilty of Heresie, the one were always perswaded that *S. Cyril's* Chapters were Heretical, and the others thought them Orthodox. Besides, several Eastern Bishops had not condemned *Nestorius*, and were not inclined to condemn him, thinking him innocent. Nevertheless one of the Conditions of the Peace was, That they should curse *Nestorius*. Lastly, Some of those who Signed the Deposition of *Nestorius*, would not add any thing against his Doctrine, saying, That the Emperor exacted no more of them, and to communicate with the Patriarchs. Thus the Bishops of *Cilicia Prima* explained themselves in the Letter that they wrote to the Emperor in the presence of *Aristolaus*. But this did not content *S. Cyril*, and therefore he sent *Beronianus* Bishop of *Tyre* to beg of the Emperor, That he would by his Edict force all the Bishops not only to condemn the Person of *Nestorius*, but also to condemn his Impious Doctrines, and at the same time to confess that there is but one Son only, who ought not to be divided into two, born of God after an ineffable manner before all time, and born of the Virgin in time according to the Flesh. That in this sense he is the Mother of God, because one and the same Person is God and Man both, the Word being Incarnate without Confusion, or mixture; and that this Word is passible in the Humane Nature, although he be impassible in the Divine. This Edict was sent to *Aristolaus*, who presented it to the Bishops of *Cilicia Prima*, and the Eastern Bishops. *Acacius* Bishop of *Melitina* having heard that *S. Cyril* obtain'd this Edict, congratulated him for it by a Letter, and advised him that *S. Cyril* obtain'd this Edict, congratulated him for it by a Letter, and advised him to send some zealous and faithful Persons with *Aristolaus*, who might compel all the Bishops to condemn the Doctrines of *Nestorius*, and *Theodorus*, and those who affirm, That there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, which act distinctly, and that plainly, and without Ambiguities, because he had seen some *Nestorians* in *Germania*, who by asserting, That there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, introduced two Persons, and two Sons, separating the two Natures, and making them to act distinctly.

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At the same time *S. Cyril* wrote a Letter to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, in which he tells him, That it was said, That some Eastern Bishops, who seem'd to condemn *Nestorius*, and to curse his Doctrine, did yet revive his Errors. He assures him, That he did not believe it, but he pray'd him, That if there were any such, he should take notice of them, and confute them. He thought, that it was not sufficient for all that to condemn *Nestorius*, and his Doctrines, because they might evade it, by saying, That they condemn'd him for nothing but because he would not give the Virgin *Mary* the Name of the Mother of God; but when they curse *Nestorius* and his Doctrine, they must profess the Faith contain'd in the Edict before-mentioned. He wrote also to *Aristolaus* not to permit those, who do not confess this Faith, to continue in the Priesthood, and Clergy. He wrote to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Aristolaus*, particularly against *Theodoret*, having heard by a Priest named *Daniel*, that he had not condemned the Person or Doctrine of *Nestorius*. He tells another Bishop also named *Moscius*, that the Abbot *Maximus* accused him of having asserted the Blasphemies of *Nestorius*.

John Bishop of *Antioch* having received this Edict of the Emperor, was surpris'd, that the Eastern Bishops having so manifestly condemn'd *Nestorius* and his Doctrine, and given so great proofs of the soundness of their Faith, should yet be suspected, and a new Confession of Faith be exacted of them. He wrote to *Proclus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, That this was very unjust dealing; That they would neither add any thing, nor take from the Nicene Creed; That they understood it as Heretics that had corrupted it; That this may suffice for their Justification, although it was needless, having done four Years since all that was desired of them, at the time when *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa* came out of *Egypt*. That he could not imagine for what reason they fought out new matter of quarrel; That the Bishops of the Provinces adjoining to the Sea, of *Phoenicia*, *Cilicia*, *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Osrène*, *Euphratesia*, and the Lower *Syria*, are of the same Judgment, and have approved what they have done; That he prayed him to prevent those new Troubles, and to suffer the Eastern and Asian Churches to have some respite, and to protect them against the Heathens, Jews, and some *Nestorians* of *Cilicia*, who yet held out their Opposition. He wrote the same thing to *S. Cyril*, who replied to his Letter, That he rejoiced to see him in so good a Mind, and that he desired nothing so much as to see Union and Peace in the Church, and to see those Scandals laid to cease, which *John* Bishop of *Antioch* had once suppress'd, and he would endeavour fully to extinguish for the future.

By this he seem'd to let the Eastern Bishops to be quiet hereafter, but there were some troublesome unquiet Spirits, who rais'd a new contest, which troubled the Church a long time. Some of the Clergy and Monks of *Antioch* seeing that they could not create any further Disturbances to the Bishops about the business of *Nestorius*, because there was no discourse of him or his Writings, which had been plainly condemn'd, nois'd it abroad, that they revived the same Errors under the Name of *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, and *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, whose Writings they intended to publish. Hereupon they wrote a large Letter, which they sent to *S. Cyril*. At the same time the Abbot *Maximus*, who dwelt at *Antioch*, disgrac'd the Eastern Bishops, saying, That they were all *Nestorians*; that they pretended to approve of the Nicene Creed, but they put what sense they pleased upon it. *Theodorus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Acacius* Bishop of *Melitina*, and *Rabulas* Bishop of *Edessa*, who were the most Zealous against the *Nestorians*, declared themselves first against the Writings of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*. *Rabulas* and *Acacius* wrote a Circular Letter to the Bishops of *Armenia*, to oblige them to reject the Books of *Theodorus*, which they had translated into their own Language. The Bishops of *Armenia* being met upon that occasion, and sent two Priests with the Letters of *Acacius* and *Rabulas*, and the Books of *Theodorus*. *Proclus* having received these Pieces, compos'd a Writing, entitul'd, *An Epistle to the Armenians*, in which he explains the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Incarnation, affirming, That to avoid all Ambiguities, we ought to confess, that One Person of the Holy Trinity was Incarnate. To this Writing he joyn'd such Propositions as he thought Heretical, or at least suspected of Heresie, which were extract'd out of *Theodorus's* Books, but he did not name him. He sent this Writing to *John* Bishop of *Antioch* by his Deacon *Theodorus*. The Bishops of the East being met at *Antioch*, read this Work of *Proclus* there, approved it, subscribed it, and sent it to him, but did not condemn the Extracts of *Theodorus's* Books. *S. Cyril* having received this Piece of *Proclus* by *Basilus* the Deacon, the Letter of the Bishops of *Armenia*, and the Extracts of *Theodorus's* Books, declar'd himself openly against the Works of the latter, and wrote to the Emperor, Not to suffer them to be approved; and to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, That he should condemn them. *Acacius* Bishop of *Melitina* wrote also to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, against the Writings of *Theodorus*. The Abbot *Maximus*, who was the principal Author of these new Broils, had put the Name of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia* and *Diodorus*, at the Head of those Extracts which *S. Proclus* had annex'd to his Letter, and would have the Eastern Bishops to curse *Theodorus*. The Monks of *Armenia* took the pains to dispose these Extracts over all the Eastern parts; and going from City to City, boldly declar'd, That they ought to condemn them, and curse the Author of them.

John Bishop of *Antioch* complain'd of this first to *Proclus* and *S. Cyril*; assuring them, that the Eastern Bishops would rather separate than condemn the Memory of *Theodorus*. Whereupon *S. Cyril* wrote to *Proclus*, That though he believed the Works of *Theodorus* to be full of Impieties

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and Blasphemies, yet he thought it more convenient for Peace sake, and to prevent a separation of the Eastern Bishops nor to speak of him, chiefly because he dyed in the Communion of the Church. *Proclus* wrote on his part to *Maximus*, that he disapproved his Carriage, that he ought to be obedient to his Bishop, and not trouble the East; and that he would send his Deacon back again, when his Writing is Signed, and the Propositions annexed at the end of it, be rejected.

John Bishop of *Antioch*, and the Eastern Bishops, could not hold their Peace, seeing the Memory of a Bishop who was of so great reputation among them to be assaulted. Being assembled therefore at *Antioch* in 436, or 437, they wrote three Letters for the defence of *Theodorus*, the one to the Emperor *Theodosius*, the other to *Proclus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and the third to *S. Cyril*.

In the Letter to *Theodosius*, they humbly represent to this Emperor; that it is unjust and prejudicial to the Church to quarrel at the Writings or Memory of *Theodorus*; that this great Man for five years together was a professed Enemy and Opposer of Heresie; That he was commended, admired by all the World, and highly esteemed by *Theodosius* the Great; That he was the Scholar of *Flavian* and *S. Chrysostom*; That having Written a great deal, it is likely he may have some Expressions which may give some ground for the Accusations brought against him; That the Ancient Fathers have used the same Modes of speaking, which are reproved in the Works of *Theodorus*. Lastly, That those, who bring this Accusation are troublesome Persons, who are deluged in nothing but disturbances and confusion.

In the Letter to *Proclus* they commend his Book, blame those that were the Authors of the Division, who accuse their Bishops, and not content to raise Sedition against the Living, desire to do it against the Dead, and make their attempts to condemn *Theodorus*. *Theodorus*, who in his Life-time never received any proof, who was always commended, and esteemed by the Emperor and Bishops, who ever opposed himself against the Heresies, and wrote 10000 Volumes to confute them. They conclude this Letter by maintaining, that we may find an infinite number of such like passages, as those of *Theodorus*, in *Ignatius*, *Enstathius*, *S. Athanasius*, *S. Basil*, *Flavian*, *Diodorus*, *S. John*, *Chrysostom*, *S. Ambrose*, and *Africanus*. From whence they infer, that if we condemn *Theodorus*, we must also do the same to them, because there is none of them out of which the like passages may not be taken, especially, if we sever them from what goes before, and follows after, as they have done in those that are extracted from the Writings of *Theodorus*.

Lastly, in the Letter to *S. Cyril* they say, that being Assembled upon the account of *Proclus*'s Letter, they thought it needful to enter into a new contest concerning the Writings of *Theodorus*, all things being at peace; That it is possible that there may be in the Works of that Author some places, which are capable of an ill sense; but there were others, where he delivers his Judgment plainly in a very Orthodox manner; That we may meet with the like Expressions in the Holy Fathers; particularly in *S. Athanasius*, *Theophilus*, and *Proclus*'s Letter; That it is very dangerous to blemish the Memory of a Man, who served and defended the Church for several Years; and so much the more, because by condemning him we must involve several of the Fathers in the same Fate; That 'twas this that made the Defenders or *Nestorius* so victorious, who were amazed to see themselves cursed with the such Bishops as dyed in the Communion of the Church, and in to great esteem; That *Theodorus* having opposed the Hereticks was obliged to reject their Errors more plainly; and to make use of such terms, as might seem to favour the Opposite Errors.

The Emperor made answer to *John* and his Synod, That he had heard by *Proclus* what a fit some Persons began to make in the East, and exhorts him to provide for the Peace, and encounter those who are the promoters of the Disturbance; That his Intention is, that all those that are under his Government, should live in Peace, and chiefly the Church; That they might be confident of this, and therefore be more active to further and secure the Peace of the Church.

Proclus also gave them a very civil Answer, declaring to them, That when he wrote his Book, he had no design to condemn *Theodorus*; That his Deacon *Theodorus* had no Order to do it, and that he was contented to reject these Propositions, which seemed to him False or Erroneous, without naming the Authors.

Lastly, Although *S. Cyril* openly declared himself against the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mysia*, yet he wrote to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, as he had before done to *Proclus*; That he approved, that for the Peace of the Church, they should content themselves to condemn the false Propositions taken out of the Books of *Theodorus*, without meddling with his Memory. This Letter is recited in the Fifth Council, where it is accused of Falshood, because they pretend, that it doth not agree with the other Letters of *S. Cyril*; but if they consider them well, they are not contrary to this. In it he condemns the Writings of *Theodorus* and *Diodorus*, and reproves those that commend the Doctrine of these Authors, but he doth not pronounce Anathema against their Persons; on the contrary, in his Letter to *Proclus*, he is of the same Opinion as in this. It cannot be proved, that he changed his Judgment, or that he ever was against the Peace, in which he had engaged himself.

We would here make an end of the Council of *Ephesus*, but before we pass to the History of the Council of *Chalcedon*, it is necessary to add something by way of Illustration upon such points of the History, as do admit of some difficulty.

And first It is demanded, who it was, that called the Council of *Ephesus*? It is evident, that it was *Theodosius* the Younger. The Cardinals *Baronius* and *Belarmine* both agree in this, but they

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they pretend that this Emperor did it by the Pope's Authority, and following his Judgment and Advice. This supposition is groundless, and indeed it is easie to prove by the course of the History, that it was impossible, that the Emperor should take the Pope's Advice, when he called the Council. *Saint Celestine* having examined the Cause of *Nestorius* referred to his Council by both Parties, wrote to *S. Cyril*, that he should certify *Nestorius*, That if he did not change his Opinion, within ten Days after the Declaration of this Sentence to him, that he was Excommunicated and Deposed, and that they would put another Person in his place. This Letter is dated Aug. 11. Anno 430. The Pope speaks nothing here of celebrating a Council, but on the contrary he suppoeth it needful to call one, and that it was not yet mentioned.

The Pope's Letter was carried to *Alexandria* by *Possidinius*. *Saint Cyril* called a Council of Bishops there, to signify the Pope's Judgment to *Nestorius*. The Letter of the Synod is dated Novem. 3. of the same year. The Letter for the assembling the Council of *Ephesus* bears date Nov. 19. By this 'tis evident that the Emperor had not relolved to call this Council, till he knew what the Synod of *Alexandria* had decreed. Now it is manifest, that it was not possible in so small a time as passed between the holding of this Council, and the Date of his Letter, to write to *Rome*, and receive Advice from thence. Therefore the Council of *Ephesus* was called by the Emperor, and the Pope knew nothing of it, the Pope having passed his Judgment before. Yea, moreover it seems, that the Emperor's design in calling the Council was to weaken or rectifie the Pope's Sentence. Lastly, the Pope was called to it, as other Bishops, and he acknowledges in his Letter written to *Theodosius*, That it was the Emperor who ordered the calling of a Synod.

The Question concerning the Prefidency is of greater difficulty. It is beyond Controversie that *S. Cyril* did preside in this Council, but some enquire, whether it was in the quality of Legat of the Holy See, or in his own Name. It is certain, that the Pope had entrusted him wholly with the Execution of the Sentence which he had given against *Nestorius*; but it doth not appear in the least, that he had any Commission to assist at, or Preside over the Council of *Ephesus* in his Name; but on the contrary, he sent his Legats on purpose to it, who had strict orders to do nothing but with the concurrence of *S. Cyril*; but he doth not say, that *S. Cyril* shall assist with them at the Council in his Name, nor that he continues the same power to him, which he lately gave for this purpose. And indeed, in the relation which the Council gives the Emperor, the time, which went before the Council is distinguished from that which followed; and it is said, that *S. Celestine* had Commissioned *S. Cyril* before the Council, but after he sent the Bishops *Acacius* and *Projectus*, and the Deacon *Philip*, on purpose to supply his place in the Council.

Nevertheless *S. Cyril* in the Subscriptions of the First, Second, and Third Action, takes the Title of *The Deputy of Celestine*. *Libertinus* and *Evagrius* gives him also the same Title. Some pretend, that it hath been added to the Subscription by some Scribe, or that it ought to be understood of the time which went before the Council. I rather believe, that *S. Cyril* having born that title before the Council, held it in the Council it self, though he had it not then; but it doth not follow from thence that he presided in the Pope's Name, or in the Quality of his Deputy, for if he had presided under that Title, it is certain, that upon his default the other Legats of the Pope ought to have presided in his place, and had the first Seat. Now 'tis evident, that not they, but *Juvencius* Bishop of *Jerusalem* presided in the Fourth and Fifth Action, in which *Saint Cyril* became a Petitioner. Wherefore 'twas not under the Title of Legat to the Pope, that *S. Cyril* presided, since in his absence *Juvencius* was preferred before the Pope's Legats; 'Twas because he was the first of the Patriarchs, who were present in Person at the Council.

There are several Objections made against the Nature of this Council, and the management of it. Some say, that it ought to be accounted no better than a tumultuous and rash Assembly, where all things were carried by passion and noise, and not for an Occumenical Council. That *S. Cyril* held it against the consent of the Commissioners, whom the Emperor sent to call them together; That not only *Nestorius* and his Party, but also several other Orthodox Bishops opposed it; That he scorned to wait for the Eastern Bishops, who would have soon arrived, and who desired him to wait for them; That he did not stay for the Legats of the Holy See, nor any of the Western Bishops; That his Synod was made up of the Egyptian Bishops, and some Bishops of Asia, who were wholly devoted to his Will; That it was he that did all, and ordered all in the Council. Although he was *Nestorius*'s Enemy, and one whom he had objected against for his Judge, because he looked upon him as his Enemy; Had not *Nestorius* therefore the same reason to Object against him? The manner in which he acted against *Nestorius*, and the rashness he was guilty of in condemning him, make it Credible, that he was animated by nothing but Passion. He caused *Nestorius* to be Summoned twice in a day. *Nestorius* Answered, That he was ready to appear when the Eastern and Western Bishops were come, and the Council was full; That they refused not to be Judged, but he would not be judged by his Enemies only; These excuses appeared Reasonable. *St. Chrysostom* alleged the like to exempt him from appearing before the Synod of *Theophilus*. Nevertheless *S. Cyril* imitating his Uncle, and Predecessor *Theophilus*, accepted the Accusation, proceeded against him, and was the first that gave his Voice against him, and caused him to be Condemned. This *S. Isidore* of *Dunania* reproved *S. Cyril* for telling him, That several Persons laughed at him, and at the Tragedy which he had Acted at *Ephesus*.

Ephesus; That it was said openly that he sought nothing but revenge upon his Enemy; That in this he imitated his Uncle *Theophilus*; and although there was a great deal of difference between the Person accused, the carriage of the Accusers was much the same; That he had better have been quiet, and not revenged his private quarrels at the expence of the Church, and to raise an eternal discord among Christians, under a pretence of Piety. These are the very words of *Nisore*, which he speaks to him in kindness. *Gennadius* Bishop of *Constantinople* compares this conduct of *S. Cyril* to *Theophilus*'s, and calls him the second Scourge of *Alexandria*. The Proceedings in the Judgment seem to prove it more clearly, that *S. Cyril* and the Bishops of his Party were hurried by Passion; That they greatly aimed at the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, and were afraid of nothing more than of the coming of the Eastern Bishops, for fear they should not be able to do what they pleased; for in their first Session they cited *Nestorius* twice, read the Testimonies of the Fathers, *S. Cyril*'s Letters and twelve Chapters, *Nestorius*'s Writings, and all gave their Judgments. Was ever any business concluded with so much haste? The least matter of this nature require an whole Session. How could they thoroughly examine *S. Cyril*'s 12 Propositions in so small a time, which need so much Explication, and have caused so many disputes? How could they compare so many passages of *Nestorius*'s Sermons, with what went before and came after to find the true Sense? How could they be sure of the Judgment of the Ancient Fathers in so short a time? All these things required a long and serious Examination for several days together; but the Bishops of the Council were afraid that they should not finish it at one Session, and therefore sat close to it from Morning to Night, to judge this matter only for fear that things should happen otherwise, if they should stay till to-morrow. The Sentence which they caused to be delivered to *Nestorius*, was made up of such Words, which discover the Passion they were in. To *Nestorius* another *Judas*. Was it not enough to Condemn and Depose him, but they must insult over him with abusive Words. Lastly, This Council was so far from bringing Peace, that it brought nothing but trouble, divisions, and scandals, in to the Church of Jesus Christ, so that that may be said of this Council with a great deal more truth, which *S. Gregory of Nazianzen* said of the Councils of his time. 'That he never saw an Assembly of 'of Bishops that had a good and happy Conclusion; That they always increased the Dispute rather than cured it; That the oblate Contests, and the ambition of Overcoming and Domineering, which ordinarily reigns among them, renders them prejudicial, and ordinarily they, who are concerned to judge others are moved thereby by ill-will, rather than by a design to restrain the faults of others. This seems to agree to the Council of *Ephesus* better than any other Assembly of Bishops. The History of the Troubles that followed this Council, makes this sufficiently evident, and we may say, that these Troubles were not appeased, but because the Transactions of this Council were buried in silence. These are the Objections which may be made against the form of the Council of *Ephesus*: I have neither dissembled them, nor weakened them, that I may shew, that nothing which can be said on this Argument is unanswerable. At present I shall offer these Answers to the former Objections, viz.

The Council of *Ephesus* was called in the usual forms. The Bishops of all Countrys of the Roman Empire were summoned to it. The Days appointed being come, the Bishops who were come to the City, where it was to be held, waited some days after; They did not begin it, till they knew, that the Men whom they waited for, would soon arrive, and that they were willing that the Council should be begun without them; That though several Bishops were not at first of that Opinion, and therefore opposed it, yet they yielded at last, and were present at the Council; That there remained no more than ten with *Nestorius*; That the Emperor's Commissioner having read the Letter for the Calling of the Council, had done his Duty, and after that was free for the Bishops to meet; That though the Pope's Legats were not come, yet it was Lawful to begin the Council without them, since the day appointed for the beginning of it was over; That these Legats having read what was done in their absence had approved it; That *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and the other Eastern Bishops ought to have come to the Council according to their Summons; That they might have Read and Examined a New what had passed, and ought not to have made a Schism, or separated upon that account; That though they did judge *Nestorius* at one Session, and in one Day, he must blame himself for it, because he would not appear; That he deserved to be Condemned for his Obstinacy; That it was evident, that he had denied, that the Virgin *Mary* might be called *The Mother of God*, and that he used such Expressions as seemed to divide the Person of Jesus Christ into two; That he was cited three times according to the Order of the Canons; That it was not necessary by the Laws of the Church to perform these Citations on several days; That it was Zeal and not Passion that made *Saint Cyril* to act so; That although he had had some differences with *Nestorius*, that was no just impediment, that he might not be his Judge in the Council, especially discussing a matter of Faith; That in the business of *S. Chrysostom* there was nothing meddled with that concerned the Faith; That it was not a General Council, but a private Synod called together by the contentious humour of *Theophilus*; That *S. Nisore* and *Gennadius* were mistaken through the false Reports that *S. Cyril*'s Enemies had spread abroad of him; That afterward they themselves acknowledged the Falseness of them; That there were in the Council many Bishops of *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Thracia*, and *Thebais*, which could not be said to be devoted to the Egyptian Faction; That *Sirvenal* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and the other Bishops of *Palestine* could not be suspected of holding

Intelligence

Intelligence with them; That it is not credible that *Momon* was so much Master of the Asian Bishops as to make them to yield to his Will against Justice and Innocence; That Judgment was pronounced after cognizance of the Cause; That they read the Nicene Creed, and examined the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers of the Church; to which, because *Nestorius*'s Opinions were *Ephesus* evidently contrary, they Condemned him; That it is very rare to find a longer time allowed in any of the Ancient Council for the Examination of a single point of Faith; That they did neither approve nor examine *S. Cyril*'s twelve Chapters, because the Question was not about them; but only to inquire whether *Nestorius* had Preached any Errors, and whether he deserved to be Condemned; That they never after meddled with it; That on the contrary his Condemnation was approved by almost all Orthodox Bishops; That the Doctrine which the Council condemned as his was unanimously rejected by all the World; That the troubles which followed the Council, proceeded from nothing but the Headiness of the Eastern Bishops, who would at first right or wrong maintain their bad proceedings; That they have been happily appeased by the Peace, in which they have followed the Judgment of the Council, concerning the Person and Doctrine of *Nestorius*. Lastly, That the following Councils, and the Universal Church have received the Council of *Ephesus*, and have acknowledged it for a General Council.

From the Form let us come to the Matter it self. Was *Nestorius* in an Error? Had *S. Cyril* delivered nothing contrary to the truth? Did not his twelve Chapters contain in them the Errors of *Arius*, or *Apollinarius*? or at least, the same Error which was after maintained by *Eutyches*? Were not the Eastern Bishops of *Nestorius*'s Judgment? If *John* Bishop of *Antioch* were not, yet were not *Theodoret*, *Andrew* of *Samosata*, *Hilarius* Bishop of *Tusius*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Tyana*, and above all, *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, and all the Bishops who were Expelled and Deposed with him, because they would not subscribe the Condemnation of *Nestorius*? Lastly, Was there none of *S. Cyril*'s side in the Error opposite to *Nestorius*'s? As for *Nestorius*, we have already shewn wherein his Error consisted, and proved, that there was a lawful ground of Condemning him, because though he pretended to acknowledge the intimate Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ, yet he would not consent to the true Consequences, which followed from that Union, and made use himself of such comparisons and expressions, as did plainly intimate a Moral Union only. His oblique rejection of the term of *The Mother of God*, and other expressions commonly used in the Church, as for Example. That God was born, suffered, and dyed, &c. His way in which he Explained the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, saying, That God inhabited in Man as in a Temple, that he was Cloathed with the Manhood, that he was joyned to the Man, that he beheld himself in the Manhood, as in a Looking-glass; The comparisons that he made of the Union of the Humane and Divine Nature in Jesus Christ, to the Union of Man and Wife, of the Spirit and Soul in a Righteous Man, and several other ways of speaking of the like nature, to which he was so much addicted, that he shewed an aversion for those that signified the Natural and Substantial Union of the two Natures, were evidences that he did not sincerely allow of such an Union. And although there had been no other reason besides the Scandal which he gave by speaking after such manner as might make Men believe, that he was in the Error of *Phoebus*, or *Paulus Samosatensis*, that had been enough to condemn him, if he would not change those Expressions, and conform to those of the Church. Now it was so in this case; for when they speak to the People, who were accustomed to hear these Words, God was born, God is dead, &c. when they discoursed of Jesus Christ, and told them that these Propositions were false and unsufferable, they immediately imagined that they denied Jesus Christ to be God, and by this means it was that the Nestorian Preachers, and their Friends, raised to great a Scandal among the Faithful at *Constantinople*. At first they thought him of the Opinion of *Paulus Samosatensis*; but the thing being better examined, they knew, that his Error was more subtle. *Saint Cyril* himself acknowledged it, and owned that it were better not to meddle with this Question. But because *Nestorius* persisted still to give offence to the People, and to speak in a way contrary to the Church, and would not change it, they were forced to condemn him. *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and his best Friends, who thought him of Orthodox sentiments disapproved his manner of speaking, and advised him to alter them, and own, that the Virgin might be called *The Mother of God*. He would not do it at first, but at last he did it, but too slowly, and after such a manner as shewed that he did it not heartily. He was therefore justly Condemned? But did not his Adversaries also deserve the same Fate? Was not he of *Arius* and *Apollinarius*'s Opinion, or at least of *Eutyches*'s? Did not his twelve famous Chapters contain some Errors? Had not the Eastern Bishops reason to reject them? Did the Council of *Ephesus* do well to approve them?

As to the Opinions of *S. Cyril*, he hath explained himself too clearly to be suspected as guilty of the Errors of *Arius* and *Apollinarius*. He hath so often expressly rejected them, and hath removed the Accusation to fully, that it can't be said, that he hath approved the Errors of these two Heretics, by denying with the one of them, that Jesus Christ hath a Soul, and with the other, that his Soul was destitute of Understanding and Reason. Nor can we with greater truth say, that he hath confounded the two Natures in the Person of Jesus Christ; or that he allows of a change of one Nature into another, since he hath always distinguished the two Natures, and rejected the Error of those, who say, That they are changed, or confounded, or mixed. He distinguishes them so elegantly, in his Second Letter to *Nestorius*, that he was forced to own in his Answer to him, that he allows a distinction of the two Natures, that he acknowledged, that

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the Word had not his Original from the Virgin, and that it was not possible that the Word should suffer. He always confessed this Doctrine, when the dispute was at the hottest. Lastly, When he made Peace with the Eastern Bishops, he made no scruple to acknowledge the two Natures in Jesus Christ, united in one Person; inasmuch that John Bishop of Antioch, Theodoret, and almost all the Eastern Bishops, have owned, that his Letter and Doctrine were Orthodox. But although it is manifest that S. Cyril was of Orthodox Sentiments, yet we must own, that it hath happened to him, as it hath to all others almost who suffer themselves to be transported with Passion in Disputes, that is to say, by opposing an Error so earnestly, he seems to incline to the contrary; for having opposed those Persons, who divided the two Natures, he used such Expressions to denote the Union, as gave occasion to believe, that they were confounded. This Facundus Bishop of Hermianum wisely observes. "S. Cyril, faith he, having undertaken to oppose Nestorius, who divided Jesus Christ into two, that he might reject this Error more fully and plainly, made choice of all such terms, as are most proper to express the Union of the two Natures whereas the Ancient Fathers, writing against Apollinarius, who confounded them, laboured most to express their distinction. But we ought not to think for all that, that S. Cyril disowns the difference of the two Natures, or that the Ancients denied the Unity of the Person.

The difference of the Contests made them speak differently. The Expressions, which come nearest the Opinion of the Eusebians, and which is chiefly urged, is this, One Incarnate Nature. S. Cyril uses it often, and they affirm, That he is the first of the Fathers that hath mentioned it. For though it is said, that he took it out of S. Athanasius, yet it is very probable, that the Writings attributed to Athanasius, out of which S. Cyril is pretended to have taken it, is rather Apollinarius's than this Father's, as the Orthodox have since found out, and maintained against the Severians. This Expression seems directly contrary to the Faith of the Church, which believes two Natures in Jesus Christ, and was displeased not only with the Eastern Bishops, but with S. Isidore of Damietta, who wrote to S. Cyril, that he ought not to use it, because by saying One Nature, he excludes the Two. Nevertheless, S. Cyril and Egyptians used it commonly, and preferred it before others. Eusebes and his Friends have since looked upon it as the Foundation of their Doctrine, and Flavian himself comes near it in his Apologetical Letter to the Emperor. The Council of Chalcedon would not make use of it, and the Eastern Bishops rejected it. But the Egyptian Bishops having shewed them that it was S. Cyril's, they dare not condemn it. Several Greek Authors have used it since, but it is seldom found in the Latin Fathers, and there are very few Divines which have approved of it. There are divers senses given to this Expression: Some say, that S. Cyril means by this word Nature, the Person, and that he uses these terms promiscuously, as it appears in his Defence of his eighth Chapter, where he says, That Jesus Christ is one Person, or Nature; that is, One Hypostasis. In this sense, there is no difficulty in this Proposition, but the true sense of S. Cyril is not, that there is but One Nature in Jesus Christ, but that the Nature of the Word was Incarnate: For he never says plainly, That there is but One Nature in Jesus Christ; but, that there is but One Nature of the Word which is Incarnate; and having said that, he explains how it being Incarnate was united to the Manhood. Thus S. Cyril explains himself in several places, but chiefly in his Letters to Successus and Acacius. He acknowledges indeed that the Humane and Divine Nature are distinct in the Person of Jesus Christ; but for fear that distinction should be abused, and they should divide these two Natures into two Persons, he affected to use a term which signified this Union without denoting any division; which he did, not only to oppose the Nestorians the most strongly, but to satisfy the most zealous of his own Party, who could not endure to hear of two Natures in Jesus Christ and who were displeased that it was approved in the Confession of Faith made by the Western Bishops.

As to the Chapters of S. Cyril, which made so much noise, we must own, that these twelve Propositions were very subtil, and that some of them might be badly construed. This S. Cyril himself was convinced of; but 'tis not true, that they are not as well capable of a good sense. He explain'd them in such a manner, as might satisfy the Eastern Bishops. They were read in the Council of Ephesus, but they were approved by Name, as his second Letter to Nestorius was. When the Peace was concluded, the Eastern Bishops were not obliged to subscribe nor approve them, nor did they require it of S. Cyril to retract them. They were not spoken of in the Council of Chalcedon, nor was Theodoret obliged to recant what he had written against S. Cyril's Chapters. They read also in this Council that Letter, where it is said, That the Eastern Bishops believed S. Cyril an Heretic, before he had explain'd his Chapters. All this proves, that the twelve Chapters of S. Cyril were never made a part of the Faith of the Church, and that the Eastern Bishops are not to be condemned for opposing and rejecting them. Nor can we reasonably believe them guilty of any Errors in their carriage as to Nestorius. It is evident, that they thought him of Orthodox Sentiments, and at the very time when they stuck closest to him, they plainly rejected the Errors that were attributed to him. They also advised him from the very first to approve the term of the Mother of God; and shewed him, that in one sense it might be said, That the Son of God, who was born before all Ages, was also born of Mary. But nothing better proves, that the Eastern Bishops never departed from the Orthodox Truth, than the Objections which they made against S. Cyril's twelve Chapters; for though they condemned the Expression of this Father, they acknowledged, That there was but one Person in Jesus Christ, and owned that the two Natures are united in a very strict Union, and cannot be divided or separated, but they oppose any confusion

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fusion, mixture or change of the two Natures, Errors which they thought to lie couched in S. Cyril's twelve Chapters. They always professed the same Doctrine both in and after the Council of Ephesus. They always professed that they acknowledged but one Christ, perfect God, and perfect Man, and that the two Natures were united in one Person. When the Peace was making, there was no Controversie about the Confession of Faith, they agreed without any trouble with S. Cyril in that, who acknowledged that they never were in Nestorius's Errors, though they had been before accused of it. Theodoret himself, who was one of the most furious against S. Cyril's twelve Chapters, had no sooner seen his first Letter, but he owned it to be Orthodox. All the difficulty which can be raised here, is as to Alexander Bishop of Hierapolis, Eusebius Bishop of Tyana, and some other Bishops who would not be comprehended in the Peace, or yielded to it only by force. But we must own, that these Bishops themselves did seemingly, protect the Orthodox Faith; and though they found fault with S. Cyril's Exposition of the Faith, 'twas not because they denied the Union of the two Natures in one Person, but because they were afraid that there was some term which made it suspicious, that there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ. They never defended the Doctrine attributed to Nestorius, but maintained that Nestorius had no other than what they thought Orthodox. 'Twas a Question of Fact, and not of Right, that divided them. But their Obstinacy and Separation gave occasion to suspect, that they were of Nestorius's Opinion, or at least was sufficient to make them to be condemned as Disturbers of the Peace, and Schismatics.

Lastly, The chief Subject of these Contests which were raised between the Egyptian and Eastern Bishops at this Juncture, may be said to proceed from hence, that they attributed the quality of the Divine and Humane Natures, which were in the Person of Jesus Christ after different manners: For the Eastern Bishops could hardly understand, how the Qualities of the Humane Nature could be attributed to the Divine, and the Properties of the Divine Nature to the Humane; and the Egyptians urged this Communication of Terms to an excess, as has not since been followed.

'Tis for this Reason, that the Eastern Bishops being desirous to take away all matter of Contests, have annexed to the end of their Confession of Faith: "We know, that as to those Qualities which Holy Scripture attributes to our Lord, there are some, which great Divines have made common to both Natures, as agreeing to one and the same Person; and there are others which they attribute to the two Natures severally, referring to the Divinity of Jesus Christ those which are more sublime, and to the Humanity of those, that are more mean, and unworthy of the Divine Nature.

We have seen that Nestorius would never allow it to be said, that God is born, dead, or hath suffered, but would suffer them to be said of Christ. The Eastern Bishops also would very hardly allow these Expressions, and desired that some softer terms might be added to explain them. * Admit S. Cyril and the Egyptians used them upon all Occasions; they scrupled not to say, The Immortal of, is dead, Life is dead, God is crucified, Humane Flesh is become the Giver of Life, and to be adored: Yea, some of them, as Acacius Bishop of Melitina, maintained this Expression, That the Word was born, died, hath suffered, and applied it to the Divinity, or Divine Nature of Jesus Christ. This was the Original of the greatest part of the Disputes, which reigned in this Age, which we are now speaking of, and in the next. This was the Cause of the misunderstanding between the Eastern and Egyptian Bishops, The pretence of their Division, and the Subject of their Contests.

THE HISTORY OF THE

COUNCIL of CHALCEDON, and other Precedent Councils.

The Council of Chalcedon.

Cyrl. Ep. ad Calist. 1. p. Cote. Ep. c. 14. Sec. 1. 7. c. 32.

Although all the Eastern Patriarchs seemed to be agreed about the Contests, which had so long troubled them, yet private Persons were not united in their Opinions, and several there were on both sides that stirred up Divisions in both the Churches. Among the Easterns there were some secret Nestorians, who fought by any means to revenge the Disposition of Nestorius; and among the Egyptians there were others, that carried the Union of the two Natures too far, making but one of the two, and could not endure any should acknowledge two after the Union. The Monks especially were of that Opinion, published it every where, and condemned all those that would not embrace it. After the Deposition of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Alexandria were united; but because the Interest of these two Sees were different, they did not continue Friends long. The Bishop of Constantinople would have the second place among the Patriarchs, and rule over the Dioceses of Asia and Pontus; the Bishop of Alexandria disputed his Claim, yet himself aimed to bring one part of the East under his Jurisdiction. The Bishop of Antioch did not much regard the Preference of the Bishop of Constantinople, but he would not submit to the Bishop of Alexandria, nor endure him to take away his Provinces from him. These things being controverted in 439, between Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople, Theodoret in place of John Bishop of Antioch, and the Deacon Dioscorus, Deputy for the Patriarch of Alexandria, an Order was made among them, That the Canons of the Councils of Nice and Constantinople should be observed; That the Bishop of Alexandria should be confined to Egypt; That the Eastern Bishop should exercise his Jurisdiction over the Eastern Churches only hereafter, and not concern himself hereafter with the Affairs of the Dioceses of Asia and Pontus; and that the Bishops of Constantinople should have the second place according to the Canon of the Council of Constantinople. Dioscorus opposed this Regulation with all his Power, and accused Theodoret of having betrayed upon this Occasion the Interests of the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch, but he had the management of the Bishop of the Imperial City, who was in great favour at Court, and might much advantage or hurt the Eastern Bishops.

Rabulus Bishop of Edessa, who was one of the violent Enemies of the Memory of Theodoret, and the most Zealous Defender of the manner of speaking used by the Egyptians, being dead, Ibas a Priest was put in his place, who was of the just contrary Judgment, and was suspected to be a Nestorian. Rabulus having left in his Church several Persons of the same Opinion, who could not endure any Expressions, which looked like Theodoret's or Nestorius's, he did never enjoy any quiet. They had accused him already, while he was yet but Priest, and while John Bishop of Antioch was yet alive, of defending the Nestorian Principles, refusing to subscribe Proclus's Writing, and to condemn the Propositions of Theodoret annexed to it, but on the contrary, translating them into Syriack, and dispersing them in the East. Proclus, before whom he was accused, had sent him to John Bishop of Antioch, but the business went no further, either because his Accusers would not prosecute him before John Bishop of Antioch, who was not a Favourer of them, or because old Accusations, Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, and Eulogius, Priests of his Church, whom he had Excommunicated, accused him to Domnus who succeeded John, and presented a Petition to him, accusing him of being a Nestorian. Domnus ordered him to appear to justify himself; but because it was in Lent, he put off the hearing him, till after the Feast was over, and yet ordered him to abjure these Priests from the Excommunication. Ibas permitted Domnus his Governor to do

do with him, as he pleased; and Domnus absolved them from their Excommunication, because of the Feast, but upon Condition, that they should not go from Antioch, because the Cause was not determined; and in case they went from thence before the business was ended, they should be liable to greater Punishment. Maras and Eulogius stayed, but the other two went to Constantinople to accuse Ibas, and to procure him other Judges. Domnus having called a Synod after the Feast asked the two Priests, which staid at Antioch about them; and knowing of them, that their Fellows were gone to Constantinople, declared them false Accusers; and that they were justly Excommunicated, and that by their slight they had render'd themselves more blameworthy. This Judgment was subscribed by twelve Bishops. Nevertheless Dioscorus, who Succeeded S. Cyril in 444, revived the old Quarrel between the Egyptian and the Eastern Bishops, and endeavoured to destroy the principal Bishops of their party. In this enterprise he was assisted and maintain'd by Eutyches, a Priest, and Abbot of the Monastery of Constantinople, who had great interest at Court. This Monk was always one of the most Zealous of the Egyptian Party, who stuck close to the most rigid Expressions of S. Cyril, but carried things higher than he, and absolutely refused to say, that there were two Natures in Jesus Christ. He accused his Adversaries of being of Nestorius's Opinions, and they again reproved them for being Apollinarians. The Greatest part of the Eastern Monks were of Eutyches's Judgment, and accused their Bishops for being Nestorians. And because they were in favour at Court, and some of these Bishops were suspected to be Nestorians, they easily obtain'd an Edicts against them. Theodoret suffered more than any Man else by it, as we have seen Irenaeus was Deposed, but justly. They appointed Judges for Ibas, and troubled several other Bishops suspected to be Nestorians. They laboured also to go further, and under the pretence, that the Eastern Bishops were defenders of the Memory of Theodoret and Diodorus, they would involve them all in the same Condemnation. Domnus and the Eastern Bishops opposing this attempt, wrote to the Emperor Theodosius, that Eutyches revived the Error of Apollinarian; That he corrupted the Doctrine of the Church touching the Mystery of the Incarnation, asserting, That the Humane and Divine Nature of Jesus Christ are but one, and attributing the Sufferings to the Godhead; That he Carried Diodorus and Theodorus, with a design to maintain those Errors, those two Pillars of the Church, who had maintain'd the truth against the Heretics of their time and had been commended and esteemed by the great Men of their Age. Eutyches to revenge himself upon these his Accusers wrote to the Pope S. Leo, that the Error of Eutyches was revived by a private Faction. He dare not accuse the Bishop of Antioch, and the other Eastern Bishops by name; but it is easy to see that he means them. Saint Leo commends his Zeal, but would not openly declare himself against the Persons whom Eutyches accused, not knowing particularly who they were. Saint Leo's answer bears date June 1. 448.

The Judgment of Eutyches did legally belong to *Flavian, who was his Bishop. This Patriarch was engaged for his own Interest to uphold the Eastern Church against the Egyptians, because the Bishops of Alexandria contended with him about the Prerogatives and Privileges, which he pretended to, whereas the Bishop of Antioch, and the Eastern Church had yielded to them. Wherefore it happened, that in the Council assembled at Constantinople, Nov. 448, to examine the Sentence given by Florentius Bishop of Sardis, Metropolitan of the Province of Lydia against two Bishops subject to his Jurisdiction; Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum brought an Accusation against Eutyches, and presented his Petition to the Council Nov. 8. in which he requests, that Eutyches might be Summoned before the Synod, to answer to such Accusations as he had to make against him; alleging, that he was ready to prove, that he held Heretical Opinions about the Mystery of the Incarnation. This Petition being read in the Council, Flavian said, That this Accusation surprized him, but that Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, ought to go to Eutyches, and confer with him about his Doctrine; and if he found him Heretical in his principles, then the Synod might cite him. Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum answered, That he was heretofore intimate with him; That he had admonished him several times, but could not work any change in him. Flavian urged him several times to speak with him again, but he would do nothing, but more importuned them to cite Eutyches. Whereupon the Council ordered, that he should be Summoned; and they sent John a Priest and Advocate, and Andrew a Deacon to Communicate to him the Petition presented against him; and to tell him, That he must come to the Council.

In the Second Action, which was on Nov. 12. Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum, to free himself from all suspicion of Nestorianism, desired that the two first Letters of S. Cyril to Nestorius, and his Letter to John Bishop of Antioch might be read. Flavian, Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum, and all the other Bishops approved the Doctrine contained in their Letters, and the greatest part of them added, that it was conformable to the Faith of the Nicene Council.

In the third Action held Nov. 15. John and Andrew related to the Council, that they had been with Eutyches at his Monastery; That they had read to him the Petition presented against him, and had given him a Copy of it, and had cited him before the Synod; but he answered them, That he had made a Resolution a long time ago never to go out of his Monastery, but to abide in it as in a Tomb; That he prayed them to assure the Council, that Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum had been his Enemy along time, and had invented this Accusation to ruin him; That he was ready to consent to the Confession of Faith made by the Fathers assembled at Ephesus and Nice, and subscribe their Expressions; but if they were mistaken in any thing, he would not prove

* Bishop of Constantinople. [The Council of Chalcedon. A.D. 1. p. 150. & Council of Constantinople. A.D. 1. p. 170. & Eusebius.]

Cont. Chal. John Bishop of Antioch had stifled the matter. When Ibas was made Bishop, they revived these old Accusations. Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, and Eulogius, Priests of his Church, whom he had Excommunicated, accused him to Domnus who succeeded John, and presented a Petition to him, accusing him of being a Nestorian. Domnus ordered him to appear to justify himself; but because it was in Lent, he put off the hearing him, till after the Feast was over, and yet ordered him to abjure these Priests from the Excommunication. Ibas permitted Domnus his Governor to do

prove it, nor did he intend to give his approbation of it; That he did keep close to the Scripture, as being more certain than the Explications of the Fathers; That after the Incarnation of the Word he did adore Jesus Christ, as God Incarnate and made Man; That he read a Book to them, where these things were, and afterwards rejected the Propositions of which he was accused, and among the rest this, that the Word had brought his Flesh from Heaven; That he owned, that he was perfect God, and perfect Man born of the Virgin, without having a Flesh consubstantial with ours; and that he was made up of two Natures Hypoatically united. This Relation of *John* and *Andrew* was confirmed by testimony of one *Athanasius of Seleucia*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* said to the Council, That what he had already related was sufficient to discover the Opinion of *Eutyches*, but he again intreated the Synod to cite him a second time. They sent therefore to him two Priests, named *Mamas* and *Theophilus*, giving them an Order in Writing directed to *Eutyches* in the name of the Synod, in which he was Commanded to come and defend himself against the Accusations of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum*; and they threatened him, if he did not come, to judge him according to the severity of the Canons, as a Person, who was afraid to be convicted, and therefore fled from Justice, because the excuse which he alledged, that he had resolved not to go out of his Monastery, was not sufficient, the Accusation being of that Nature. After the departure of the Priests, who carried this Order to *Eutyches*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* said, that this Monk did all he could to make trouble; That he had sent into all the Monasteries a form of Faith to have it signed there: *Abraamius* the Priest deplored, that *Asperius* told him, that the Abbot *Immanuel* had received one in the name of *Eutyches*, and because he assured them, that he also had sent it to other Monasteries, they nominated two Priests and two Deacons to go and get a true information of it in all the Monasteries. *Mamas* and *Theophilus*, whom they had sent to *Eutyches*, being returned, reported, That being arrived at his Monastery, they found the Monks at the Gate, and that they told them, that they came to speak with their Abbot, that as the Deputies of his Bishop and of the Synod they desired to speak with him; but the Monks answered, that he was Sick; That he could not speak with them; and that they might tell them the occasion of their coming, and what they desired of him; That they insisted upon it, that they must speak with him in Person, and that they had a Letter from the Synod directed to him; That these Monks being gone in sent out another Monk, called *Eusebius*, who told them, That he was come to them instead of their Abbot, who was Sick; That they had insisted and demanded, whether *Eutyches* would receive them or not? That these words much affrighted these Monks; but to pacify them, they bid them not trouble themselves, for they brought nothing that need disturb them, but could tell them the subject of the Letter of the Synod, was to cite him a second time, that he should come and give answer to the Accusation brought against him by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum*; That the Monks entering in again told *Eutyches* of it, who immediately caused them to be brought in; That they delivered their Summons to him from the Synod, and that after he had read it, he told them, That he had made a solemn Resolution a long time since never to go out of his Monastery; That they still urged him to yield Obedience to the Synod, but he always refused it, and had given them a Writing subscribed by his own Hand to present to the Council. They ordered him to be cited the third time the next Day, which was *Octob. 17.* and framed the Instrument of his Citation, which they gave to *Memnon* the Sacristan, and two Deacons to deliver it to him.

[* Sexton,
or Church
Clerk.]

Ad. IV.

The next day *Eutyches* sent *Abraamius* the Priest with three Deacons belonging to his Monastery to *Flavian*, to excuse his not coming to the Council by reason of his Sickness. *Flavian* hearing this excuse, said it was reasonable to put off this business till he was well. *Abraamius* telling them, that he had a Commission to Answer for him, if they did put any Questions to him. *Flavian* replied, That the Person accused ought to answer for himself; That he did not urge him; That he would give him all the time he desired; That he might be assured, that he should find all the Bishops of his Synod to be his Brethren and Friends; That several Persons had taken offence at the things that *Eutyches* had vented; That he ought to clear himself of the Accusation, or make satisfaction for it; That he had heretofore been a stout Champion for the truth against *Nestorius*; That it was necessary that he should speak for himself; and if he hath delivered any Error, he ought not to be ashamed to retract it; That if he owned it and would condemn it, the Synod was ready to forgive him, upon Condition that he would never teach the like for the future; In sum, That he had known him a long time, and had a great respect for him, but could not but hearken to so Zealous an Accuser; that he had desired him several times to lay down this Accusation, but could not prevail; That he desired not the destruction of the Monasteries; That he wished for nothing so much as to preserve Peace and Union. This Conference is reckoned for the fourth Act of the Council: Nevertheless, it was not with all the Assembly of Bishops, but only between *Flavian*, and the Messengers from *Eutyches*.

Ad. V.

The next day being *Wednesday Nov. 17.* the Bishops being again met, *Memnon*, who had been sent by the Council to Summon *Eutyches* a third time, said, That he had answered him; That he had sent *Abraamius* to *Flavian* and the Synod, to * consent in his Name to all that had been decreed by the Holy Fathers assembled at *Nice* and *Ephesus*, and to all that *S. Cyril* had spoken: *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* answered, that that was not the Question, whether he consented to them now, or no, but what he had done heretofore? That he was accused for having taught Heretical Doctrines; That he had Witnesses of it; That he had admonished him of it several times;

times; That 'tis not sufficient for him now to say, that he approves sound Doctrine; and that he ought to be convicted of the Errors he hath Taught, and afterwards retract them; Give full satisfaction. *Memnon* added to his Relation, that having urged *Eutyches* to come himself, he said, That he had sent *Abraamius* to obtain some time of *Flavian* and the Synod; That he expected their Answers, and desired only the rest of the Week; That on *Monday* next he would come to the Synod and give them Satisfaction. This Report being confirmed by the other Deputies, they gave audience to those whom they had sent to the Monasteries, to enquire whether *Eutyches* had sent any Forms of Faith to be signed by them; And they said, that the Abbots *Martin* and *Kassius* had received a Writing in *Eutyches*'s Name, but they would not Subscribe it; That the Abbot *Job* had heard that the Bishop of *Constantinople* would soon bring them one to sign; That *Immanuel* and *Abraam* had received no Writing in *Eutyches*'s Name. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* insisted, that they had enough to condemn *Eutyches*, but nevertheless consented, that he should be allowed the time he desired, and defer his Judgment to *Monday, November 24.*

In the mean time he laboured to get all things ready for his business; and in the Synod held *Ad. VI.* on *Saturday Nov. 22.* he desired them to Summon such Persons before the Council as were necessary for the Conviction of *Eutyches*, viz. *Nasfer* the Priest, and his Coadjutor, the Abbot *Maximus* his Friend, *Constantinus* a Deacon, and *Eutyches*'s Chancellor, and *Eusebius* a Deacon of his Monastery, that the truth might be laid open before them. And they gave *Eusebius* leave to Summon them. Afterward he shewed, That *Mamas* and *Theophilus* had not given a Faithful Report of what they had heard *Eutyches* say, and requested, that they be obliged to speak the truth of what they heard upon Oath. *Mamas* was absent, but *Theophilus* was there, and owned, that *Eutyches* had asked them in the Presence of *Nasfer*, *Maximus*, and other Monks, in what place of Scripture the two Natures were spoken of; who of the Fathers had said, That the Word of God had two Natures; That they had answered, Shew us in what place of Scripture the term *Consubstantial* is mentioned; that he answered them, That it was not in Scripture but in the Explications of Faith made by the Fathers; That *Mamas* replied, That the Holy Fathers also had acknowledged the two Natures in Jesus Christ; That continuing his Speech he enquired of *Eutyches* whether Jesus Christ were perfect God and perfect Man; That he owned it, whereupon he concluded that Jesus Christ was made up of two perfect Natures; But *Eutyches* answered them, *God forbid that I should say, that Jesus Christ is made up of two Natures, or that I should give the Godhead the Name of a Nature. Let them depose me if they please, yet I will die in the Faith which I have received from my Fathers.* Then *Theophilus* excused himself for not relating these things at first, because he was not sent upon that account, but to Summon *Eutyches* only. *Mamas* being also suddenly returned excused himself also after the same manner, and said, That what *Theophilus* had deplored was true.

The Day on which *Eutyches* had promised to be present at the Council, being come, *Eusebius Ad. VII.* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* first appeared. Then they sent to search for *Eutyches* in the Church, and about the Bishop's Palace, and after much enquiry *John* a Priest and Advocate of the Church, came to tell them, That he had met with a Troop of Soldiers, Monks, and Guards, that would not suffer him to escape their hands, but upon condition that he would go with them; that there was the Grand Silentiary of the Palace, who demanded entrance, as coming from the Emperor. They suffered him to come in immediately with *Eutyches*, and he delivered to the Council the Emperor's Letter, which imported, that his Majesty, desirous to uphold the Peace of the Church, and the Faith of the Nicene Council, which was confirmed at *Ephesus* by the Bishops who condemned *Nestorius*, and to hinder any Scandal from rising in the Church of Jesus Christ, had nominated *Florentius Patricius*, who was a Person of known Faith and Honesty, to be present at the Synod, because they debated upon a matter of Faith, while the Letter was reading, there were several Acclamations made in the Praise of the Emperor. The Council testified their Approbation of the Emperor's Choice in naming *Florentius*, and were well pleased he should be at the Council. They asked *Eutyches* whether he was willing with it, who answered That he would agree to any thing that pleased the Council, and that he left himself entirely to the Bishops. They prayed the Grand Silentiary to put *Florentius* in mind of it, and when he was come, they read over again the Acts of the Council. When they came to a place of *Saint Cyril*, where it was said, that there is an Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* interrupted them, and told them, that *Eutyches* did not consent to that truth. *Florentius* desired that *Eutyches* might be interrogated about it, but *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* fearing that he would own it, desired them to make an end of reading the Acts, and said, That it ought not to be any prejudice to him, although he should now acknowledge this truth, since it is evident, that he hath denied it. He discovered, that he was afraid of him, and that with reason, because he was Poor and of no Credit, whereas *Eutyches* was Rich and in great Credit; and had threatened him to cause him to be banished to *Ossis*. *Flavian* promising him faithfully that *Eutyches*'s Confession should be no disadvantage to him; *Eusebius* then asked him, if he confessed the Union of the two Natures. *Eutyches* laid *Yea*. *Eusebius* pressed him further, and asked him, if he acknowledged two Natures in Jesus Christ after the Incarnation, and whether he owned that Jesus Christ was of the same substance with other Men according to the Flesh. *Eutyches* answered, That he came not to Dispute, but to deliver his Judgment which was set down in the Paper; which was in the Hand, which he entreated them to read. *Flavian* bid him

The Council of Chalcedon.

him read it himself, and because he said he could not, they bid him declare his Opinion with his Mouth. Wherefore he said, that he worshipped the Father as the Son, and the Son as the Father, and the Holy Ghost as the Father and the Son; That he acknowledged that he dwelt with us in the Flesh, having taken Flesh of the Virgin, and he was really Incarnate for our Salvation. *Flavian* asked him, if he believed that Jesus Christ was consubstantial with the Father according to his Divinity, and with us according to his Humanity. *Eutyches* answered, That he had delivered his Judgment, and they need not ask him further about it. *Flavian* demanded if he agreed, that Jesus Christ was of two Natures. He answered, That he would not dispute about the Nature of his Master and Lord. *Flavian* further asked him, if he believed him of the same Substance with us, according to the Humanity. He replied, that hitherto he had never asserted that the body of Jesus Christ was of the same Substance with ours, but that the Virgin was. But because they urged him further, shewing him, that if the body of the Virgin was of the same Substance with ours, and Jesus Christ assumed his body of the Virgin, the body of Jesus Christ was also of the same Substance with ours. He answered, that since others affirmed it, he was very willing to assert it, but hitherto he had called it the body of God. Lastly, *Flavian* bid him speak plainly, whether Jesus Christ after the Incarnation was of two Natures? He answered boldly, that before the Union there was two Natures, but after the Union he acknowledged but one. The Synod required him to Curse this Doctrine. He answered, that he would be willing to submit to the Judgment of the Council, but he could not Curse the contrary Opinion, because if he did it he should Curse the Holy Fathers. They urged him to pronounce them Accursed, who would acknowledge but one Nature in Jesus Christ after the Incarnation, but he stoutly maintain'd that he would not do it, because it was the judgment of *S. Cyril* and *S. Athanasius*. When they saw, that he stuck at this, the Synod pronounced him deprived of his Priest-hood, of the Communion of the Church, and the Office of Abbot; and ordered, that all those, who should accompany with him, and assemble with him, should be Excommunicated, as well as those who should espouse his Sentiments. This Sentence was signed by 29 Bishops, and 24 Abbots.

Eutyches having heard this Sentence pronounced against him thought it best to appeal to a Council, where the Patriarchs of *Rome*, *Alexander*, and *Jerusalem*, the Bishop of *Thebais*, and several other Bishops should be present. But he did not make this Appeal publicly, and in the presence of the Synod; but the Assembly being dissolved, and after the Sentence pronounced against him, he wrote immediately to *Pope Leo*, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* having a design to ruin him, and to disturb the Church, had presented a Petition to *Flavian*, and some other Bishops who were met at *Constantinople*, in which he accused him for being an Heretic; That being Summoned to Answer to the Accusation, although his Age and Sickness ought to have excused him, yet he had been forced to appear, knowing well enough that they had combined together to destroy him; That he had immediately presented a Confession of his Faith in Writing, Subscribed with his own hand; That *Flavian* had not, nor would receive it, nor cause it to be read, but had urged him to confess, that there were two Natures in Jesus Christ, and to pronounce them accursed that would not; That being unwilling to add any thing to the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and knowing that *Julius*, *Salix*, *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Gregory* rejected the two Natures, he dared not to discourse of the Nature of the Word of God, who in the last days came down into the Womb of the Virgin without any change in himself, in such manner as he pleased, and that he knew, that he was not a Man in shew only; that he would not Curse the Fathers, and that he had required them to write to his Holiness, and leave it to him to Judge him, promising to submit to his Determination; That the Synod not regarding these Propositions had dissolved themselves, and had published a Sentence of Deposition against him; That they had contrived a long time against him by the Faction, inasmuch that he was in great danger, if he had not been taken away by the Guards; That they had forced all the Abbots to subscribe against him, and being desirous to justify himself before the People by reciting his Creed, they had hinder'd him, that they might make him pass altogether for an Heretic; That in this condition he fled to *S. Leo* for help, whom he knew to be Zealous for the Faith, and to hate all Faction and Contest; That he assured him, that he brought in no Innovations concerning the Faith, and had been taught from the beginning of the Church; That he condemned *Apollinaris*, *Valentinus*, *Manes*, *Nestorius*, and all those who affirm, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ descended from Heaven, and was not assumed in the Womb of the Virgin. He requests, that setting aside that which had been done against him through Faction and Combination, that it be not prejudicial to him, *S. Leo* would give his Judgment about the point of Doctrine in contest; That he would forbid them for the future to speak abusively of him, to thrust him out of the number of the Orthodox, and that he would not endure that a Person who hath passed 70 Years in the exercise of Continence and Chastity, be overwhelmed at the end of his Life. He annexed to the end of this Letter the Petition of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, and the Confession of Faith which he had made in the Council, with the Testimonies of the Holy Fathers against the two Natures. There is also at the end of this Letter a Confession of Faith made by *Eutyches*, in which he professes to hold to the Definitions of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Nice*, of *S. Cyril* and other Fathers of the Church, and pronounce Anathema against *Nestorius* and *Apollinaris*, and against all those who affirm, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ came down from Heaven, holding

that the Word of God came down from Heaven without Flesh, and took Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin of the very Flesh of the Virgin. So that he, that from Eternity was perfect God, is become perfect Man in time. We find also in the same place a Letter attributed to *Julius*, which affirms, that we ought not to say, That there are two Natures in Jesus Christ after their Union, and that as Man, although he be made up of a Soul and a Body, is but one Nature, in like manner though the Divinity and Humanity be in Jesus Christ, they are nevertheless but one Nature. It is probable, that this Letter is forged under the Name of *Julius*, as the Letters attributed to *Felix*, and *S. Athanasius* upon the same Subject.

But *Eutyches* did not content himself to write to the Pope, he besought the Emperor to call a general Council for the determination of his Cause, and prayed him, that in the mean while he would have the Acts of the Judgment given against him by *Flavian* to be revived, maintaining that things were not carried as they are related in those Acts. From this time the Emperor resolved to Assemble a General Council, and in the mean while he assembled the Bishops residing in *Constantinople*, to examine the Acts of the Council under *Flavian* before them and the Parties concerned. This Synod met *April*, in the Baptistry of the Great Church. It consisted of 30 Bishops out of the Dioceses of *Asia*, *Pontus*, the *East*, and *Thracia*, of whom 10 or 12 were present at the former Synod. *Theodasius* Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia* was the first. *Patricius* *Florentinus* held the chief place in it as Judge, and the Tribune *Macedonius*, a Notary, and Master of Requests ordered it. He, when the Bishops were entered, Ordered, That those, who were sent in the stead of *Eutyches* should be admitted. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* said, That if he defended himself by Proxy, he would retire. *Macedonius* having answered, That the Emperor would have it so, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* desired the Bishops to declare, if they were willing it should be so. *Meliphiborgus* Bishop of *Julipolis* said, That he thought that the Person accused ought to come in Person, especially if the cause in Examination were of any consequence, and that the Emperor had determined to hold an Universal Council, to which all matters of consequence ought to be referred. *Macedonius* having been inquired of by *Florentinus*, what commands he had received from the Emperor about it, said, That the Emperor understanding that *Eutyches* was Condemned, would have the Acts of his Condemnation read over, in the presence of those whom *Eutyches* had sent in his stead to the Synod, that both Parties might be satisfied in what was related. *Patricius* hereupon called in *Constantinus*, *Eusebius*, and *Constantinus*, who were sent on *Eutyches* behalf, and *Macedonius* have placed the Gospel in the middle of the Synod; would have obliged the Bishops to take an Oath, that they would speak truly, if things were transacted so as they are set down in the Acts. But *Basilis* Bishop of *Seleucia* said, That the Bishops were never obliged to take an Oath upon the like Occasion, that Jesus Christ forbids us to Swear that being before the Altars, having the fear of God before their Eyes, and their Confidence to observe them, they would speak the whole truth so far as they could remember. Wherefore they ordered *Asterius* a Deacon and Notary, to produce the Authentick Acts, at first he was unwilling, but *Flavian* and the Bishops having consented to it, he brought them forth; *Constantinus* the Monk produced also a Copy of theirs. There was no difficulty about the two first Actions. They made several brangles about the answers of *Eutyches*, which don't deserve to be related. But when they came to the Condemnation, *Constantine* said, That *Eutyches* had appealed to a Council of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Jerusalem*, and *Thebais*, and that they had not inserted that appeal into their Acts. *Basil* Bishop of *Seleucia* said, That he had heard him say at that time, that they propounded it to him to confess that there were two Natures in Jesus Christ; That if the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* would command him to do it, he would say it; but he never heard him appeal from the Sentence. *Flavian* maintain'd, That *Eutyches* had not appealed in the Council, but the Synod being dissolved, as he ascended out high, *Patricius* had told him, That *Eutyches* did appeal from it. *Florentinus* said, That the business was thus carried. *Julianus* and *Seleucus* testified, that none of the Bishops had heard that he appealed from it.

Eutyches invented another trick to weaken the Authority of the Acts. He desired, that the Grand Secretary might hear them, who being sent to *Flavian's* Synod, might know much of what passed there. The Emperor granted his request, and Commanded the Grand Secretary to take the deposition of *Martial*, a Count, and Great Master of the Imperial Palace. He appeared before him with *Macedonius* the Notary, and Master of Requests *April* 27. and declared, that being sent to meet *Flavian* by the Emperor, to tell him, that *Patricius* *Florentinus* had Committed to sit in the Synod, that he held in his Episcopal Palace at *Constantinople*; *Flavian* answered, That it was needless for *Florentinus* to give himself that trouble, because the business was already decreed, and *Eutyches* was condemned because he did not appear after the second Citation, and that then they shewed him a Paper, where his Condemnation was written; and that before the Synod was Assembled, *Macedonius* deposed, That being come from the Council where they had reviewed the Acts of the Synod, *Asterius*, a Priest, and Notary, met him, and told him, That *Asterius* and the Notaries had changed some places in the Acts; and fearing lest they should discover the fraud, he was forced to tell him, that it was done without his knowledge or consent.

It was about this time that *Flavian* was obliged to make a Confession of his Faith to the Emperor, which is recited in the first part of this Council, in which he professes, to follow the Holy Scriptures, and Expositions of Faith, made by the Holy Fathers assembled at the Council of Nice, of the 125 Fathers assembled at *Constantinople*, and those who assembled at *Ephesus* under *S. Cyril*, and to teach that there is but one Jesus Christ born of God from all Eternity, according to his Divine Nature, and born of the Virgin in time according to his Humane, perfect God, and perfect Man, made up of a Soul and Body of the same Substance with God, as to his Divine Nature, and with his Mother, according to the Flesh, made up of two Natures united in one Person. That he doth not refuse to say, That there is one Nature of the Word, provided that it be acknowledged to be Incarnate and made Man, because our Lord Jesus Christ is of two Natures. That he pronounces them Accursed, that affirm, That there are two Sons, or two Persons, and particularly *Nestorius*. This was the Substance of the Form of Faith, Signed by *Flavian*, and presented to confirm the Calumnies of those who hated and envied him.

Ep. 29.
Act of the
Council. c. 2.

to confute the Calumnies of those who had said that *Eutyches* had written a Letter to the Emperor, wrote a Letter to *Leo* having received a Petition from *Eutyches*, and a Letter from the Emperor, wrote a Letter to *Elavian*, in which he tells him, That he greatly wondered that he had not written to him about the disturbance that happened in this Church, who had given him an Account of what had passed; that he had received a Petition from *Eutyches*, who complained, That he was unjustly deprived of Communion without understanding the Appeal, which he interposed in the Council; but they had no regard to it; That he saw not with what Justice they could condemn him, yet he desired nothing to be done till he had full information of every thing; That they ought to have shewed some Innovation that *Eutyches* had made against the Ancient Doctrine, for which he deserved to be dealt with rigorously; That he had sent him a Perfon of Credit, and a faithful Relation of what had passed, because the Lenity of the Church, and the Piety of the Emperor, inclined him to with earnestly for Peace, and to induce them, that are in an Error to acknowledge it, and amend it; That he did not think it a very hard thing to compole them, because *Eutyches* had already declared, That he was ready to Recant, if he was found to have Taught any Error. This Letter bears date Febr. 18. An. 449.

This Letter bears date Feb. 18, A.D. 449. At the same time he wrote also a Letter to Theodosius, in which having highly extolled the Emperors Piety, he tells him, That he had yet been able to learn what Reason Flavian had condemned Eusebius, who he had received a Writing from Eusebius, in which he complained, That he had been unjustly condemned, although he had never departed from the Faith of the Council of Nice; That the Petition of Eusebius Bishop of Dorylaeum, of which Eusebius had sent him a Copy, had not given him a sufficient insight into it, because he had not distinctly perceived the things which he reproved in his Doctrine; That he had Written to Flavian to send a full and faithful Relation of the Affair, and he made no question but that he would do it.

We have two Letters of *Flavian* to *St. Leo*. In the first, which he wrote to him when he
 sent him the Acts of the Council of *Constantinople*, he Accuses *Eutyches* for reviving the Errors of
Valentinus, and *Marcion*, by holding that there is but one Nature in Jesus Christ; that the Pro-
 perties of the two Natures were mixed together, and that the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ was
 not of the same substance with ours; that *Eutyches* had been Accused by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Do-*
ruileum, and was convicted of this Error, as he may learn by the Acts annexed to this Letter;
 that since *Eutyches*, instead of Repenting, had disturbed the Church by Publishing abusive Libels,
 and Preferring to the Emperor arrogant Petitions, full of Falshoods, and Injuries, breaking all
 Laws by it; that it was not true that he had presented an Appeal to the Council to decide him;
 that he prayed him to act upon this occasion as became his Priestly Dignity, to make this business,
 which concerns all the Churches, his own, to approve the Condemnation of *Eutyches* to regularly
 performed, to confirm the Pious inclinations of the Emperor; and so much the more, because
 this Affair needs nothing but his Help and Protection; that by this means Peace may
 soon be restored, Troubles cease, and he lay aside the thoughts of a Council, which he is about
 to Convene, which can only bring further trouble to the Church.

Acts of the Council, p. 3. 1.

one not being informed of it, should write to him, or Communicate
Ep. 22. S. Leo having received the first of these two Letters from *Agathangelus*, tells him that he commended the Zeal which he had shewn for the Faith, and that he would not suffer him to be troubled, nor *Eusebius* to perish in this Impulse. This Letter is dated May 21. 449. He was of the Opinion that, as well as the first, this Letter was not necessary to Affirm a General Council, at least in the East, and to prevent it, prayed *Theodosius* to call one in Italy. But before the Emperor had received this Letter, he had appointed a Council at the humble Request of *Disdorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, for the Re-examination of the business of *Eusebius*. S. Leo having notice of it, and being Summoned to it, as other Bishops were, nominated 3 Legats to send into the East, *Julius* Bishop of *Pavetta*, *Renaus* a Priest, and *Hilarius* a Deacon, with *Dulcisius* a Notary; & he gave them several Letters, which are dated Time 13.

Ep. 24. The first was that famous Letter directed to *Flavian*, in which he Explains with so much Accuracy the Mystery of the Incarnation. In it he distinguishes two Births of the Son of God, and two Natures in *Jesus Christ*, whose Properties subsist distinctly, although they be united in one, and the same Person. He maintains that the Word hath assumed our Nature, and all the Properties

tie of it, Sin only excepted. In it he proves that he hath a true Flesh like ours. He rejects the
Confession of Faith made by *Eutyches*, because, says he, 'tis absurd to say, That the Son in the
Incarnation is of two Natures, and impious to maintain, That after the Incarnation he hath but
one. He acknowledges that he was justly Condemned, and yet was willing to shew him some
Mercy if he would confes his fault, and condemn *viva voce*, and in Writing the Errors which he
had published.

ⲉ The second was written to *Julian* Bishop of *Coos*, who had been present at the Judgment given against *Eutyches*, and had written about it to *S. Leo*. In it he speaks passionately against *Eutyches*, calling him an Impudent Old man; he accuses him for reviving the Errors of *Valentinus*, *Apollinaris*, and *Manichaeus*. He proves that there is no change, nor a confusion made in the two Natures in *Jesus Christ*. He observes, that it follows from *Eutyches's* Confession of Faith, that the Soul of *Jesus Christ* was united with the Godhead before it assumed a Body in the Womb of the *Virgin Mary*, and that the Body of *Jesus Christ* was created out of Nothing. Lastly, He maintains against *Eutyches*, That although *Jesus Christ* had some particular Privileges, as to be Born, and Conceived of a *Virgin* by the Power of the Holy Ghost, and not to be subject to the motions of Concupiscence, nor Sin, yet he hath a Body and Soul of the same Nature with ours, and ended with the same Properties.

The third is directed to *Theodosius*. He tells him, That he had sent his **Legats** to be present at the Council in his stead, which he had called at *Epheſus*, and aſſure him at the ſame time, that *Eutyches* was apparently in an Error. Ep. 26.

The fourth Letter of the same Date is directed to the Empress *Pulcheria*. He commendeth *Ep. 27.* her Zeal for the defence of the Faith; explains the Myſtery of the Incarnation in her; condemns the obſtinacy of *Eutyches*; complains that the Emperor had appointed the Council upon a day too near, becauſe the Biſhops of *Italy* had too little time from the 12th of *May*, on which they received the News of it, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, which was the day appointed for the Meeting of the Synod at *Ephelus*, to prepare for, and finiſh ſuch a Journey. Then the Emperor had thought that he ought to be preſent in Perſon, but although he had himſelf preſided for it, which he could not, the preſent Conjunction will not permit him to leave *Rome*. Laſtly, He ſhews of what Importance this Queſtion was, and prays him to take care that *Eutyches's* Impiety be Condemned by pardoning him if he Recant it.

The fifth Letter of *S. Leo* is directed to the Abbots of *Constantinople*; he tells them, that he *Ep. 28.* condemns the Errors of *Eutyches*, and hoped that he would acknowledge it.

The sixth is directed to the Council it self; In it he opposes *Eutyches* by the Confession of *Ep. 19. S. Peter*, who acknowledged that Jesus Christ was the Christ the Son of the Living God. He exhorts the Fathers of the Council to suppress the Error, and to reduce those that are in it.

There are also two Letters of the same date, of which one is addressed to *Pulcheria*, the other *Ep. 30*, to *Julian of Coos*; as also another to *Flavian*, dated *June 17*, and another *June 29*, to *Theodosius*. *31, 32*. He repeats the same things in them.

The Emperor *Theodosius* also wrote several Letters about the Council. The first is about the Calling of it, *Aug. May* 30, directed to the Patriarchs and Exarchs, in which he orders them to be at *Ephesus*, *Aug. 1.* with the Metropolitans, and so many of the Bishops of their Jurisdiction as they would choose, except *Theodoret*, who was Prohibited to come thither, unless the Council should Summon him.

The second is a private Letter to *Discolorus*, dated May 15, in which he gives him Notice, That he would have the Abbot *Barfimus* present at the Council, as a Deputy for the *Eastern* Abbots, who complained that they were used hardly by their Bishops, who were favourers of *Nestorius*'s Party. The third is an Order to *Barfimus* to be present at the Council. It is dated the day before the former Letter.

The fourth is an Order directed to *Elpidius* to come to the Council with *Eulogius*, a Tribune and Notary, to prevent that there be no Tumults there. In it he Orders that the Bishops, who have been Judges of *Eutyches*, should be Prefent at it, but have no power to Consult, nor right to Vote, but shall wait upon the Judgment of the other Bishops, because they Re-examine what they have Judged. He forbids them to meddle with any Civil Affairs, least that which concerns the Faith be not thoroughly decided.

The fifth is an Order to the Proconful of *Aſia*, to afford *Elpidius* all neceſſary Aſſiſtance. The ſixth is a Letter to the Biſhops of the Council, in which he tells them, That he wiſhed that they had had no cauſe of going from their Churches and leaving their Miniſterial Functions, and to ſpare themſelves the trouble of ſo long a Voyage, but *Flavian* having moved a Queſtion concerning the Faith, by accusing the Abbot *Eutyches*, after he had done what he could to appeaſe the Conteſt, but to no purpoſe, by perſwading *Flavian* to keep cloſe to the *Nicene* Creed, he thought that there was no other way to decide this Queſtion but by aſſemblyng a Council, that they might examine all that had paſſed, utterly extirpate the Error, and expel all thoſe out of the Church who would revive the Hereſie of *Neftorius*.

The seventh is a private Letter to *Diogenes*, in which he gives him the Precedence of the Bishops, and the Chief Authority in the Council, not only upon the Account of *Theodoret*, whom he commanded to be Excluded out of it, but upon the Account of some other Bishops whom he suspected to favour the Sentiments of *Nestorius*. He takes notice also, that he was persecuted

Flavian, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theodosius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and the other Orthodox Bishops, would have been willing, that they who would add or change any thing that had been established at Nice of Epiphanius, should have any Authority in the Synod.

It is said to have been by these Letters that the Court favoured Eutyches, and the Egyptian Party, and declared it self openly for them against Flavian and the Eastern Bishops: It was Chrysostom the Bishop, who for a long time had born a good Affection to the Egyptians, who was a great Friend to Eutyches, who Baptized him, and a particular Enemy to Flavian, who would not give him Money for his Ordination. It was, I say, this Chrysostom who had misguiding the Emperors Policy: with whom he had a great Interest and Favour.

The Council began Aug. 3. An. 449. It was made up of 130 Bishops out of the Dioceses of Egypt, the East, Thracia, Pontus and Asia: Dioscorus of Alexandria was President of it by the Emperors Order. Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, appeared there in the Name of the Patriarch. The Bishop-Legat of the Pope, held the second place in it. It is not certain whether it was Julian Bishop of Coll, or Julius Bishop of Puteoli, who held this place: The Greek Acts of the Council bear the Name of Julian, which is also met with in the ordinary Edition of the Latin Translation, but the MSS. of the Old Translation, reviewed by Rufinus, read it Julius, and not Julianus. It is certain by S. Leo's Letters, that he sent Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, with Hilarius the Deacon, and Remains the Priest: to supply his place in the Council: Now the Author of the Memoir about the Affair of Acacius assures us, That Rhenus died in his Journey at the Isle of Delos; and that Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, assisted in the Name of the Pope at the Council of Ephesus. Eusebius says also in his History, That Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, assisted in the Popes room at the Council of Ephesus. In the Acts of the Council there is no mention of Rhenus the Priest, which confirms the Testimony of the Author of the Memoir about the Affair of Acacius, and proves, That it was he, and not Julius of Puteoli, that died in the way. It is true there is a Letter of Theodorus Written after the Council to Rhenus the Priest, but either Theodorus knew not of his Death, or the Superscription is a Mistake: for 'tis not probable that Hilarius the Deacon, and Dulcius the Notary, should be Named in the Acts of the Council, and Rhenus the Priest not be spoken of if he had been at it; and the Testimony of the Memoir of Acacius, who was almost contemporary, is of great weight. The Greek Text of the Acts of the Council ought not to create any doubts, for we know that the Greek often corrupt the Latin Names, and the Name of Julian being more common among them than that of Julius, they put the first instead of the last. The MSS. of the Old Translation in Latin, made when the Memory of the Council was yet fresh, and when the true Name of the Popes Legat, who assisted at this Council, was well known, serve to Rectify the Greek Text. Juvenal had the third place in the Council before Domnus Bishop of Antioch, who was allotted the fourth Seat. Flavian was reckoned in the fifth place, which was very extraordinary in the Council of Chalcedon. Steven, Bishop of Ephesus, was the sixth in Order; and Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia was next to him, and was ranked among the Patriarchs, as we have seen in the Emperors Letters to Dioscorus.

John, the Chief Notary, having declared to the Bishops, That the Emperor had caused them to meet, to Examine a Controversie of Faith disputed between Flavian and Eutyches, utterly to Exterminate Heresie, and to confirm the Faith Established by the Fathers of the Council of Nice, and Explained by those of the Council of Ephesus, Read the Letter for the Calling of the Council. Then the Bishop-Legat made some excuses for S. Leo, that he did not come in person to the Council, as he had been desired by the Emperor, because there was no President that it had ever been done in any Council. He required them to receive and read his Letter, in which he explained the Doctrine of the Church. They did not read this Letter, but the Emperors, and after several Acclamations, in which they commended the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, they called Eutyches before them, who presented a Confession of Faith, in which he recited the Nicene Creed, professed to Live, and without making any alteration in it, by changing, or adding to it; as also in the Doctrine of S. Cyril, approved by the Council of Ephesus. In it he pronounced Anathema against Marius, Valentinus, Apollinaris, and Nestorius, and against all Heretics, beginning with Simon M. and particularly against those who maintain that the Flesh of Jesus Christ came down from Heaven. Having read this Confession of Faith, he complained, That though he was of this Judgment, yet Eusebius, Bishop of Doryleum, had unjustly accused him before Flavian, and the other Bishops, who were at Constantinople about their private Affairs; That he had presented abusive Petitions against him, in which he treated him as an Heretic, although he alleged no proof of it; believing, that Flavian having cited him to the Council, would condemn him because he did not appear. That when he appeared, Flavian would not suffer him to read his Confession of Faith; And though he declared, That he had no other Sentiments than those of the Fathers of the Council of Nice, and Ephesus, yet they read a Sentence of Condemnation given against him, not regarding the Appeal, which he interposed, and made to a General Council. That after this Condemnation Flavian had caused him to be accounted for an Heretic, and had made several Bishops and Monks to subscribe against him, although above all things he ought to have Written to all the Bishops to whose Judgment he had appealed; That seeing himself thus persecuted, he had informed the Patriarchs, and Emperor, after what manner things had been carried, and had requested that the Proceedings of Flavian should be Examined in the Council.

Council. When Eutyches had thus spoken, Flavian requested that Eusebius, Bishop of Doryleum, his Acquirer, should be called in, but Elpidius would not suffer him to be admitted, and said, The Council that he had done the Office of an Accuser before the first Judge, and that now the Judges themselves were to answer for the Judgment; that the Council was met to Judge the Judges themselves, chalice and examine the Judgment which they had given, and not to furnish out a new Accusation; so that it was sufficient to read over again the Acts of the Council of Constantinople. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, and several other Bishops, were of that Opinion, but the Popes Legats demanded that S. Leo's Letter should be read before the Acts. Eutyches said, That the Letters were suspected by him, because ever since their arrival they had abode with Flavian, who received them, Friends, and gave them Presents; so that he desired the Council, that if they demanded any unjust thing against him, it might not be prejudicial to him. Dioscorus, President of the Council, concluded, that the Acts of the Condemnation of Eutyches should be read without more ado. They read them all along with the acknowledgment that had been made of them at Constantinople. When these Acts were read, the Bishops declared, That Eutyches having always professed the Faith of the Fathers of the Council of Nice, and Ephesus, was Orthodox; and had been unjustly Condemned.

The Monks of the Monastery of Eutyches afterwards presented a Petition against Flavian, in which they complain, That this Bishop having unjustly Condemned their Abbot, because he would not approve, as he had done, Errors contrary to the Faith of the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, had sent Theodorus a Priest to them, who enjoined them not to obey their Abbot, to have no Society with him, and not permit him to have the Management of the Revenue of the Monastery; that the Altar, which Flavian himself had Consecrated for them six months since, had remained without a Sacrament; that they were still themselves bound by that unjust Sentence; that some of their Brethren were dead without receiving the Sacrament; that they had always strictly followed the Orders of a Monastic life according to their Rule, but had been deprived of their Sacraments; that they had passed the Festivals of the Nativity, Epiphany and Easter, and continued 9 months in that Estate, but Flavian had no Mercy on them; that they prayed the Synod to have some pity on their Misery, restore them to the Communion, and to judge him with rigor, who had passed that unjust Sentence upon them. This Petition was Subscribed by 1 Priest, 10 Deacons, 3 Sub-deacons, and 21 Ordinary Monks. They questioned them about their Faith, who answering, That they received the Faith of the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, the Faith of S. Athanasius, S. Gregory, and S. Cyril, and that they agreed to the Confession of Faith that Eutyches had read, they declared them Absolved, and they received them to Communion.

Lastly, They read the sixth Action of the [former] Council of Ephesus, that they might get a pretence to condemn Flavian, and when it was read, and approved by the Bishops, Dioscorus declared, That Flavian, and Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum, having been the Cause of a Universal Scandal, endeavouring to add to the Faith of the Council of Nice, contrary to the Prohibition of the Council of Ephesus, ought to be Deposed. His Opinion was followed by Juvenal, Domnus, Thalassius, and the Bishops, who Signed the Condemnation of Flavian, and Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum. While Dioscorus gave his Judgment, Flavian said aloud, That he rejected him; and Hilary the Deacon said, That he opposed the Sentence of Dioscorus. Some of the Bishops contradicted it, others cast themselves at Dioscorus feet, begging of him to spare Flavian, but they were compelled by the threats of the Soldiers, whom they had admitted, to subscribe the Acts of the Council. The next day Dioscorus Deposed Ibas Bishop of Edessa, being accused of having spoken this Blasphemy, That he envied not Jesus Christ the Title of God, because he could himself become such, if he pleased. Nor did they spare Theodoret, although he was denied the Liberty of coming to defend himself. The reason of his Condemnation was, That he had written against S. Cyrils Chapters, and had heretofore taken Nestorius's part. Labrianus Bishop of Paros, was also Deposed; and lastly, Tho. Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, had Signed the Condemnation of Flavian, and consented to all that Dioscorus desired, yet he was also condemned under a pretence, that he had heretofore written a Letter to Dioscorus against S. Cyrils 12 Chapters. Dioscorus made use of the opportunity of his absence from the Council, upon the account of some indispotion which took him suddenly. Flavian Appealed from this Judgment given against him by the Synod. The Reasons for his Appeal were these, That they would not hear his Defence; That Dioscorus had been an absolute Commander in it to order what he pleased; That all things passed by force and contrary to the Canons; That they had forced the Bishops by Threats to Subscribe; That they would not read S. Leo's Letter; That no regard was had to the refusal which he made against Dioscorus, nor to the opposition made by the Popes Legats. This Appeal was presented to the Popes Legats, but it was referred to a General and Free Council, and there to be Prosecuted. This appears by the Letters and Carriage of S. Leo, who in pursuit of this Appeal did not concern himself with the Judgment of Flavian's Cause before his own Tribunal, but impowered the Emperor to call a Council of the Eastern and Western Bishops, to make void the Judgment given at Ephesus against all sort of Justice and Equity. Dioscorus, and those of his Faction, being provoked by this Appeal, set upon Flavian with a design to banish him, and did it with so much violence, that he died a little time after. 'Tis probable that having received several blows on his Feet when he was apprehended, and afterward being hardly used in his Journey by those that carried him into Banishment, he died a little after he came there of the ill usage and blows he

had received. Thus *Liberatus* and *Evagrius* relate his Death, and this shews, that it was not without Reason that *Diogorus* was accused in the Council of *Chalcedon* of having been the Cause of *Flavian's* Death, because though he did not himself smite him; yet it was by his order that he was so badly used. *Anatolius* was ordain'd in the place of *Flavian*; *Maximus of Domus*; *Normus of Ithac*; and *Athanasius of Sabanien*. They ordained none in the place of *Theodore* Bishop of *Cyrrus*; and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, for they were only thrust out of their Dioceses. The first desired help of the Pope. They did not spare the very Legats of *S. Leo*, who were the only persons who shewed any Courage for the defence of the Innocent. They were apprehended, but *Hilary* found out a way of escape, and having passed through many dangers they got safe to *Rome*. Ep. 35. During these transactions, *S. Leo* was much perplexed about the success of this Affair. He knew that *Eutyches* was very considerable at Court, and that *Diogorus* and the Egyptian Bishops favoured him, and was afraid that they would not have that respect to his Letter and Legats that they ought. *Flavian's* silence increased his Grief, and he could not but let him know it. As soon as he understood by *Hilarius* the Deacon how things went, he called a Council, and wrote to the Emperor *Theodosius* in his own and Brethren's Name, That the Council, which he had called to be held at *Ephesus*, had depraved the Purity of the Faith, and Discipline of the Church; That all things were carried according to the Humour of *Diogorus*, who had allowed the Bishops no Liberty, and who had made them pass a very unjust Sentence. He conjured his Majesty by the name of the Holy Trinity to leave all things in the same state that they were before the assembling of this Council, until he could call a Council of a greater number of Bishops from all parts of the World. He says, that all the Churches, and all the Western Bishops did implore him with Tears and Sighs, that since the Legats of the Holy See have opposed it, and *Flavian* presented them with an Appeal, his Majesty would call a General Council in *Italy*, which may either wholly remove or mitigate the Causes of the discontent; inasmuch that there may remain no Scruples about the Faith, nor any Division contrary to Charity, by summoning the Bishops of the Eastern Provinces to this Council. He adds, that 'tis unavoidable after an Appeal put in, and also conformable to the Laws established in the Council of *Nice*. They are the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* that he means, and uses to shew, that in the Case of an Appeal a Synod ought to be called to examine the Cause already judged; and not to shew that he had a right himself to review it. This Letter is dated *Obob. 13*. Ep. 40. Ep. 41.

He repeats the same Complaints and Requests, in another of the 15th of the same Month. He also addresses himself to *Pulcheria*, to obtain what he desired by her means. In the mean time he comforts *Flavian*, telling him; That he will not omit any thing for the defence of the Common Cause, and exhorts him to suffer patiently. He congratulates the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, because he was not at the Council of *Ephesus*, and admonishes him to continue in Communion with *Flavian*. Lastly, He exhorts the People and Clergy, and Abbots at *Constantinople* to be still united with *Flavian*; and explains to them what they ought to believe concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, by rejecting the Sentiments of *Eutyches*. In fine, He brought it to pass that the Emperor *Valentinian*, and the Emperress *Placidia* and *Eudoxia* did join with the Western Bishops to entreat *Theodosius* to suffer a General Council to be held in *Italy*. We have the Letters they wrote to *Theodosius*, in which they much extol the Authority of the Holy See, and insist much upon *Flavian's* Appeal. But *Theodosius* gave this Answer to these Letters, That he had assembled a Council at *Ephesus*, where the thing had been examined and judged; That *Flavian* was found Guilty and therefore was condemned, and that 'twas needless, nay impossible to do any thing more. Saint *Leo* also wrote about it to *Pulcheria*, and made her write to him by the Emperress *Placidia*. He refused to communicate with *Anatolius*, and renewed his suit afresh in beginning of the next Year, that he would hold a Council in *Italy*; He sent Legats also into the East to demand it, but could not effect any things as long as *Theodosius* lived. *Marcian*, who succeeded him in the year 450, entered upon the Throne with another Opinion, because *Pulcheria*, by whose Marriage he was advanced to that Dignity, had a great Veneration for the Bishops of *Rome*. So that the four Legats which *S. Leo* had sent, being arrived at *Constantinople*, a little after the Death of *Theodosius*, were very kindly received there. *Anatolius* foreseeing that it would not be for his advantage to continue in Communion with *Diogorus*, and maintain his separation from *S. Leo's*, sought all means to join with the Latter, and to procure, that he should acknowledge him Lawfully ordained, although it was done by *Diogorus*, and he had been put into the place of a Bishop unjustly, and violently deposed. He made use of his Interest with the Emperor and Emperress to bring this about, and that he might himself engage *S. Leo's* favour, and persuade him of the Purity of his Faith, he called a Council of such Bishops as were then at *Constantinople*, and invited the Pope's Legats to be present at it. In it he caused *S. Leo's* Letter to *Flavian* to be read, with the Testimonies of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and caused all the Bishops to sign it, pronounced Anathema against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, and condemned their Doctrine, sent the Letter of *S. Leo* to the Metropolitans, and that they should sign it, and that they should cause all the Bishops of their Provinces to sign it. In this Synod they also decreed that the Bishops who were fallen into an Error by approving the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus* under *Diogorus*, and had separated themselves from the Communion of the Church, should have Communion with no Church but their own, and be deprived of the Communion of other Bishops. The Pope's Legats proposed it to him to blot out the Names of *Diogorus* and *Juvencolus* of the Dypticks. Ep. 39.

Anatolius having celebrated this Council sent Deputies to *S. Leo*, to assure him of the Purity of his Doctrine, and communicated to him what they had proposed in the Council. The Emperor *Marcian*, and the Emperress *Pulcheria*, wrote to *S. Leo*, and she tells him, That they intended soon to celebrate a Council in the East, and desired him to send the Western Bishops to it. She adds that she had caused the Body of *Flavian* to be brought to *Constantinople*, where they Entered it honourably in the Apostles Church, which was the ordinary burying place of the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and had given those Bishops who were banished upon the Account of the Council of *Ephesus*, leave to return to their own Dioceses. Ep. 58. Ep. 59. Ep. 60. Ep. 61. Ep. 62. Ep. 63. Ep. 64. Ep. 65. Ep. 66. Ep. 67. Ep. 68. Ep. 69. Ep. 70. Ep. 71. Ep. 72. Ep. 73. Ep. 74. Ep. 75. Ep. 76. Ep. 77. Ep. 78. Ep. 79. Ep. 80. Ep. 81. Ep. 82. Ep. 83. Ep. 84. Ep. 85. Ep. 86. Ep. 87. Ep. 88. Ep. 89. Ep. 90. Ep. 91. 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Anatolius having celebrated this Council sent Deputies to *S. Leo*, to assure him of the Purity of his Doctrine, and communicated to him what they had proposed in the Council. The Emperor *Marcian*, and the Emperress *Pulcheria*, wrote to *S. Leo*, and she tells him, That they intended soon to celebrate a Council in the East, and desired him to send the Western Bishops to it. She adds that she had caused the Body of *Flavian* to be brought to *Constantinople*, where they Entered it honourably in the Apostles Church, which was the ordinary burying place of the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and had given those Bishops who were banished upon the Account of the Council of *Ephesus*, leave to return to their own Dioceses. Ep. 58. Ep. 59. Ep. 60. Ep. 61. Ep. 62. Ep. 63. Ep. 64. Ep. 65. Ep. 66. Ep. 67. Ep. 68. Ep. 69. Ep. 70. Ep. 71. Ep. 72. Ep. 73. Ep. 74. Ep. 75. Ep. 76. Ep. 77. Ep. 78. Ep. 79. Ep. 80. Ep. 81. Ep. 82. Ep. 83. Ep. 84. Ep. 85. Ep. 86. Ep. 87. Ep. 88. Ep. 89. Ep. 90. Ep. 91. Ep. 92. Ep. 93. Ep. 94. Ep. 95. Ep. 96. Ep. 97. Ep. 98. Ep. 99. Ep. 100. Ep. 101. Ep. 102. Ep. 103. Ep. 104. Ep. 105. Ep. 106. Ep. 107. Ep. 108. Ep. 109. Ep. 110. Ep. 111. Ep. 112. Ep. 113. Ep. 114. Ep. 115. Ep. 116. Ep. 117. Ep. 118. Ep. 119. Ep. 120. Ep. 121. Ep. 122. Ep. 123. Ep. 124. Ep. 125. Ep. 126. Ep. 127. Ep. 128. Ep. 129. Ep. 130. Ep. 131. Ep. 132. Ep. 133. Ep. 134. Ep. 135. Ep. 136. Ep. 137. Ep. 138. Ep. 139. Ep. 140. Ep. 141. Ep. 142. Ep. 143. Ep. 144. Ep. 145. Ep. 146. Ep. 147. Ep. 148. Ep. 149. Ep. 150. Ep. 151. Ep. 152. Ep. 153. Ep. 154. Ep. 155. Ep. 156. Ep. 157. Ep. 158. Ep. 159. Ep. 160. Ep. 161. Ep. 162. Ep. 163. Ep. 164. Ep. 165. Ep. 166. Ep. 167. Ep. 168. Ep. 169. Ep. 170. Ep. 171. Ep. 172. Ep. 173. Ep. 174. Ep. 175. Ep. 176. Ep. 177. Ep. 178. Ep. 179. Ep. 180. Ep. 181. Ep. 182. Ep. 183. Ep. 184. Ep. 185. Ep. 186. Ep. 187. Ep. 188. Ep. 189. Ep. 190. Ep. 191. Ep. 192. Ep. 193. Ep. 194. Ep. 195. Ep. 196. Ep. 197. Ep. 198. Ep. 199. Ep. 200. Ep. 201. Ep. 202. Ep. 203. Ep. 204. Ep. 205. Ep. 206. Ep. 207. Ep. 208. Ep. 209. Ep. 210. Ep. 211. Ep. 212. Ep. 213. Ep. 214. Ep. 215. Ep. 216. Ep. 217. Ep. 218. Ep. 219. Ep. 220. Ep. 221. Ep. 222. Ep. 223. Ep. 224. Ep. 225. Ep. 226. Ep. 227. Ep. 228. Ep. 229. Ep. 230. Ep. 231. Ep. 232. Ep. 233. Ep. 234. Ep. 235. Ep. 236. Ep. 237. Ep. 238. Ep. 239. Ep. 240. Ep. 241. Ep. 242. Ep. 243. Ep. 244. Ep. 245. Ep. 246. Ep. 247. Ep. 248. Ep. 249. Ep. 250. Ep. 251. Ep. 252. Ep. 253. Ep. 254. Ep. 255. Ep. 256. Ep. 257. Ep. 258. Ep. 259. Ep. 260. Ep. 261. Ep. 262. Ep. 263. Ep. 264. Ep. 265. Ep. 266. Ep. 267. Ep. 268. Ep. 269. Ep. 270. Ep. 271. Ep. 272. Ep. 273. Ep. 274. Ep. 275. Ep. 276. Ep. 277. Ep. 278. Ep. 279. Ep. 280. Ep. 281. Ep. 282. Ep. 283. Ep. 284. Ep. 285. Ep. 286. Ep. 287. Ep. 288. Ep. 289. Ep. 290. Ep. 291. Ep. 292. Ep. 293. Ep. 294. Ep. 295. Ep. 296. Ep. 297. Ep. 298. Ep. 299. Ep. 300. Ep. 301. Ep. 302. Ep. 303. Ep. 304. Ep. 305. Ep. 306. Ep. 307. Ep. 308. Ep. 309. Ep. 310. Ep. 311. Ep. 312. Ep. 313. Ep. 314. Ep. 315. Ep. 316. Ep. 317. Ep. 318. Ep. 319. Ep. 320. Ep. 321. Ep. 322. Ep. 323. Ep. 324. Ep. 325. Ep. 326. Ep. 327. Ep. 328. Ep. 329. Ep. 330. Ep. 331. Ep. 332. Ep. 333. Ep. 334. Ep. 335. Ep. 336. Ep. 337. Ep. 338. Ep. 339. Ep. 340. Ep. 341. Ep. 342. Ep. 343. Ep. 344. Ep. 345. Ep. 346. Ep. 347. Ep. 348. Ep. 349. Ep. 350. Ep. 351. Ep. 352. Ep. 353. Ep. 354. Ep. 355. Ep. 356. Ep. 357. Ep. 358. Ep. 359. Ep. 360. Ep. 361. Ep. 362. Ep. 363. Ep. 364. Ep. 365. Ep. 366. Ep. 367. Ep. 368. Ep. 369. Ep. 370. Ep. 371. Ep. 372. Ep. 373. Ep. 374. Ep. 375. Ep. 376. Ep. 377. Ep. 378. Ep. 379. Ep. 380. Ep. 381. Ep. 382. Ep. 383. Ep. 384. Ep. 385. Ep. 386. Ep. 387. Ep. 388. Ep. 389. Ep. 390. Ep. 391. Ep. 392. Ep. 393. Ep. 394. Ep. 395. Ep. 396. Ep. 397. Ep. 398. Ep. 399. Ep. 400. Ep. 401. Ep. 402. Ep. 403. Ep. 404. Ep. 405. Ep. 406. Ep. 407. Ep. 408. Ep. 409. Ep. 410. Ep. 411. Ep. 412. Ep. 413. Ep. 414. Ep. 415. Ep. 416. Ep. 417. Ep. 418. Ep. 419. Ep. 420. Ep. 421. Ep. 422. Ep. 423. Ep. 424. Ep. 425. Ep. 426. Ep. 427. Ep. 428. Ep. 429. Ep. 430. Ep. 431. Ep. 432. Ep. 433. Ep. 434. Ep. 435. Ep. 436. Ep. 437. Ep. 438. Ep. 439. Ep. 440. Ep. 441. Ep. 442. Ep. 443. Ep. 444. Ep. 445. Ep. 446. Ep. 447. Ep. 448. Ep. 449. Ep. 450. Ep. 451. Ep. 452. Ep. 453. Ep. 454. Ep. 455. Ep. 456. Ep. 457. Ep. 458. Ep. 459. Ep. 460. Ep. 461. Ep. 462. Ep. 463. Ep. 464. Ep. 465. Ep. 466. Ep. 467. Ep. 468. Ep. 469. Ep. 470. Ep. 471. Ep. 472. Ep. 473. Ep. 474. Ep. 475. Ep. 476. Ep. 477. Ep. 478. Ep. 479. Ep. 480. Ep. 481. Ep. 482. Ep. 483. Ep. 484. Ep. 485. Ep. 486. Ep. 487. Ep. 488. Ep. 489. Ep. 490. Ep. 491. Ep. 492. Ep. 493. Ep. 494. Ep. 495. Ep. 496. Ep. 497. Ep. 498. Ep. 499. Ep. 500. Ep. 501. Ep. 502. Ep. 503. Ep. 504. Ep. 505. Ep. 506. Ep. 507. Ep. 508. Ep. 509. Ep. 510. Ep. 511. Ep. 512. Ep. 513. Ep. 514. Ep. 515. Ep. 516. Ep. 517. Ep. 518. Ep. 519. Ep. 520. Ep. 521. Ep. 522. Ep. 523. Ep. 524. Ep. 525. Ep. 526. Ep. 527. Ep.

gin; The Emperor returned them this Answer, That the Legats of the Holy See had thought it convenient, that he should be there in person, and that his affairs having not hitherto, nor yet permitting him to go to Ephesus, he desired them to come to Chalcedon, where they should hold the Council. This place was suspected by some, because it was to be feared, that Eusebius, who had a strong party in those quarters, would raise some Sedition. They discovered to the Emperor the ground of their Fear, but he assured them, That he would take care that they should have no disturbance, and exhorted them to come immediately. The Bishops having received this Letter came cheerfully to Chalcedon, where the Council met, the first time Octob. 8. Anno. 451.

The Council of Chalcedon.

This Council was held in the Great Church of S. Euphemia, the Emperor's Commissioned-Officers, and the Counsellors of State being present, who were to direct all their motions, and were set in the middle of the Council, near the Rails of the Altar. On the Left-Hand were the Bishops Paschasius and Lucenius, and the Priest Rufinus the Pope's Legat, then Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople, and after him Maximus Bishop of Antioch; Thalassius Bishop of Caesarea, Stephan Bishop of Ephesus, and all the Bishops of the Eastern Dioceses, except those of Palestine were the Bishops of the Dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, of which those that we have named, were Exarchs, or Patriarchs. Upon their Right-Hand were Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, Quintilian Bishop of Heraclea in Macedonia, who supplied the place of the Bishop of Thessalonica, Peter Bishop of Corinth, with the Egyptian Bishops Illyria and Palestine. The Holy Gospels were in the midst. The number of the Bishops is commonly reckoned 630. And indeed, S. Leo in his 77 Epistle to the French Bishops, saith, That the Synod consisted of 600 Bishops or thereabouts. Liberatus and Photius reckon 630, yet there are but 350, or thereabouts, named in the Acts of the Council, and its very unlikely, that there should be above 600 Bishops assembled out of the Dioceses of the Greek Church. The Testimony of S. Leo doth not undoubtedly prove it, because the number of 600 in Latin is ordinarily taken for a considerable number. This might give some reason for the mistake, or there might be some confusion in the Figures. But however that be, 'tis certain that this Council was made up of a greater number of Bishops than any of the Precedent Councils.

Art. I.

The first Meeting of the Council was on the 8th of October. The first thing that Paladius the Pope's Legat did, was to demand, that Dioscorus might not sit in the Council, saying, That they were ordered by S. Leo, Bishop of the Church of Rome, which is the Head of other Churches, to hinder him from sitting in the Council, and that if he did, they declared; That they would withdraw. We must observe, that they spoke in Latin, and an Interpreter explained what they said to the Council. The Commissioners asked them, what they had to object against him. The Legats insisted upon it, that he was to give an Account of the Judgment he had given without Authority, and contrary to the will of the Holy See, that he was accused; and could not be a Judge. The Commissioners ordered him to come forth into the middle as a Person accused. Immediately his Accuser Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum appeared, and required that his Petition should be read. Saying with Tears in his Eyes, that he had been unjustly condemned as well as Flavian, whom Dioscorus had put to Death. The Sum of the Petition was this, That in the Council held a little while since at Ephesus, Dioscorus had attempted several things contrary to Justice, and the Faith, by upholding Eutyches, who was Accused and Condemned for Heresie, and by condemning the Orthodox Bishops; That he prayed the Council to Command him to answer to the Accusations, which he was ready to prove against him. Dioscorus made this Defence for himself, that Flavian had been condemned in a Council called by the Authority of the Emperor, and desired them to read the Acts. Eusebius agreed to it. Dioscorus changing his mind prayed the Council to Examine before all things else, such things as concerned the Faith. The Commissioners ordered, That he should answer the Accusations brought against him, and that the Acts of the Council should be read as he had required. Whereupon they read the Emperor Theodosius's Letter for the appointment of the Council of Ephesus, and the Acts of that Council, in which the Acts of the Council of Constantinople under Flavian were inferred. This was the Cause of several Interruptions in the Council.

The first was about Theodoret, whom Theodosius had forbidden to come to the Council of Ephesus. The Commissioners demanded that he should be admitted, because S. Leo had acknowledged him for a Lawful Bishop, and the Emperor Martin had ordered him to be present at the Council. The Bishops of Egypt, Illyria, and Palestine opposed it. Hereupon several tumultuous Acclamations were made of each side. Lastly, The Judges ordered, that he should come in as an Accuser, and should stand in the middle, provided, that it were not prejudicial to the Rights of either Party. When he entered, the Acclamations of both sides were redoubled; Some cried out, That he was Deposed from his See, others accused him for being a Nestorian. The Eastern Bishops cried out against Dioscorus, and the Egyptians and they against the Eastern Bishops. This continued a long time, and the Synod had turned into a confused Rout, if the Commissioners had not suppressed the Popular Cry by telling the Bishops, That it was unbecoming them to act thus, and then making them to go on in reading Theodosius's Letters, and the Acts of the Council of Ephesus. The reading of these Papers discovered, that Dioscorus would not suffer Saint Leo's Letter to be read in the Synod, although it was twice requested of him. They accused Dioscorus for having falsified the Acts, and made the Bishops to sign a Blank-Paper, and that by force, compassing them in with Soldiers, who threatened them. They said, that Eutyches had

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indeed owned that the Flesh of Jesus Christ did not come from Heaven, but that he would not say whence it was. They disputed some time about the Union, and distinction of the two Natures. The Eastern Bishops confessed, that they had done ill in signing the Deposition of Flavian, they said Unanimously, That they had all offended, and therefore desired Pardon. They examined, why they would not suffer Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum to come into the Council of Ephesus. Whereupon Dioscorus complained, that they had admitted Theodoret into the Council of Chalcedon. When they read the Judgment of Dioscorus against Flavian, the Eastern Bishops all cried out, Anathema to Dioscorus, and disapproved the Condemnation of Flavian, and Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum. The Commissioners concluded, that since it appeared by the Acts which they had read, and by the Confession likewise of those who had the chief places in the Council of Ephesus, that Flavian and Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum had been unjustly Condemned, it was just, that not only Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, but also Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius Bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius Bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius Bishop of Berytus, and Bassi Bishop of Seleucia in Iffauria, who had presided in the Council of Ephesus with Authority, should bear the same Punishment, and be declared unworthy of their Episcopal Office, according to the Holy Canons. The Bishops of the East and Illyria, approved of this Sentence. The Judges then said, That the Bishops ought now to declare what their Faith is, and to be assured, that the Emperor followed the Faith of the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers Gregory, Basil, Athanasius, Hilary, and the two Letters of S. Cyril, read and confirmed in the first Council of Ephesus; and that S. Leo had written a Letter to Flavian against Eutyches, which contained an Exposition of the Catholick Faith.

The Second Action in the Greek Copies at present is that which treats of the Faith. Evagrius and Facundus make it the Third, and put that which concerns the Deposition of Dioscorus in the Second place. Liberatus on the other hand follows the common order. The ancient MS in the Church of Paris agrees with Evagrius; but Rufinus the Deacon, who reviewed the ancient Translation of the Council of Chalcedon by several MSS. about the middle of the Fifth Age, assures us, that that in the Monastery of the Acemera Monks follows the Order of Liberatus. So that if we consider the Authorities of others it is hard to determine the Order of these two Acts, because there are on both sides testimonies equally Ancient and Credible. The Date, which might clear this difficulty, is not certain. The Act of the Condemnation of Dioscorus is dated the Third of the Ides, that is to say, the 13th day of October. That wherein the Faith is treated of in the Greek, and most of the Latin MSS. is dated the Sixth of the Ides, which is the 10th of October, but the MS of the Church of Paris says only, Sub die Idus Octobris, before the Ides or October, without mentioning the Day, so that it may be the 14th. The Fourth Session, which sets down the date of the First, does not clear this any thing more, for in the Translation it is the Sixth of the Ides of October, and in the Greek: the First of the Ides. In the first Act the Commissioners deferred the Question of Faith till the first Day. The Act where the Faith was treated of speaks of that, wherein the Abolition of the Flavian was handled, as preceding it. It is said about the end, that five days after they will meet to treat of the Doctrine of S. Leo's Letter, which was done on the 17th, in the 4th Act.

Lastly, The Bishops of Illyria at the conclusion of the Action, which is commonly thought to be the Second, desire, that Dioscorus might be brought into the Synod again, and restored to his Church. Dioscorus Synodo Dioscorum Ecclesiam. Now would they have done it, if his Deposition had been pronounced in the Council, and signed by themselves. These Reasons seem to render the Common Order to be most probable. But on the other side Dioscorus being cited before the Council in the Session wherein he was Deposed, answered twice, That in the first Session the Commissioners of the Emperor were present, and that they Summoned him to a Second Session, where they were not. It is then very hard to know the true order of these two Sessions.

However that be, we will not remove the Act, wherein the Question concerning the Faith was debated, from the second place. The same Commissioners and Bishops who were present at the first Action, were also at this, and in the same order, except those who had been declared unworthy of the Priesthood in the first Action. The Commissioners having represented, that what concerned the Judgment of Flavian and Eusebius Bishop of Doryleum, being judged in the former Session, they ought to take the subject of our Faith into Examination; because that was the principal matter for which the Council was Assembled; That the Emperor had no other Faith than that of the Council of Nice; all the Bishops declared that they had no other, and that they would not undertake to explain it, nor add any thing to it. Cereopius said, that to confute the Error of Eutyches S. Leo's Letter was sufficient. The Bishops said, That they would follow it, and Subscribe it. The Commissioners said, That it was necessary that the Patriarchs should choose one or two of the Bishops of their Dioceses who were most Learned, that they might read and agree concerning the Faith. All the Bishops said, that they would not endure any new Exposition of Faith in Writing, because they had a Canon that forbid it. Florentius Bishop of Sardis shewed, That it was no easy thing to make an Exposition of Faith so quickly, and demanded time for it. Cereopius required that they should read the Nicene Creed, and Saint Leo's Letter. The Judges ordered it should be so, wherefore they read the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creed. Saint Cyril's Second Letter to Nestorius, his Letter of Union to John Bishop

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of Antioch, S. Leo's Letter to Flavian, and the passages of the Fathers annexed to it. All the Bishops by their reiterated Acclamations approved the Creeds of Nice and Constantinople. The Bishops of *Myria* and *Constantinople* inscribed some places in S. Leo's Letter, but so fastidiously they agreed that there were the like in S. Cyril's Writings. This made them all content, and all the Synod approved S. Leo's Letter. But since there were some Bishops who had some further Objections about it, they put off the Action five days longer; that they might make the point clearer; and they desired *Anatholius* to choose out some Bishops from among them, who had signed this Letter, who were most able to explain it to the rest. This Action was ended with Acclamations, in which the Eastern Bishops desired pardon for them of their side, and the Banishment of *Discorus*. On the contrary the *Myrians* demanded that he should be still continued in his Church, and have a place in the Synod.

Art. III.

In the Third Action October 13. the Bishops being assembled without the Commissioners, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Doryleum* presented a New Petition against *Discorus*, accusing him to be of the same Opinion with *Eutyches*, to have condemned *Flavian* unjustly, for putting into the Acts of his Council such things as were never spoken, and for forcing the Bishops to sign a Blank Paper. Whereupon he besought the Council to declare all that was done in the Synod of *Ephesus* void, *Discorus*, Null, and to pronounce an Anathema against *Eutyches*. He prayed the Council to Summon *Discorus* to appear before them. The Arch-Deacon *Aetius* said, that he had been with *Discorus* and the other condemned Bishops; That *Discorus* had answered, that they were the Guards which had hindered him from coming to the Council. They fought for him abroad, and because they could not find him, they sent to cite him. He answered them that went, That he was under Guard, and they must ask them if they would let him go; That in their return they had met with the Master of the Offices, and returning again with him to bring *Discorus*, He answered them; That upon second Thoughts he had resolved not to go to the Synod, lest the Judges should be forced to examine again what they had resolved. They told him, That they did not call him to weaken what had been decreed, but only to invite him to the Council. Having refused to go they summoned him a Second time, but he replied, That he was Sick, and that he would not go to the Synod, unless the Commissioners were there. He demanded whether *Juvenal*, *Thalassius*, and *Eustathius* were also Summoned thither. They said, That it did not concern him that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Doryleum* had accused him only, and as to what he required, that the Commissioners should be present, that was needless, because it was a Matter purely Ecclesiastical, where the Commissioners or Lay-men ought not to assist. Nevertheless he still refused to go. They resolved to cite him a Third time. In the mean time *Aetius* told the Council that there were at the Door some Clergy-men and Lay-men of *Alexandria*, who desired to be permitted to prefer their Complaints against *Discorus*. They received them, and read their Petitions.

The first was *Theodorus*'s a Deacon of *Alexandria*, who complained, that *Discorus* thrust him out of the Clergy without Cause, not bringing any Accusation, nor forming any Complaint against him. He accused him for being an Enemy to all S. Cyril's Relations, for having used him ill, for being of *Origen's* Opinions, for being guilty of Murder, Theft, making Disturbances and Debaucheries, for having impelled to Egyptian Bishops to sign an Excommunication against S. Leo, and offered to prove all these Facts.

The second was *Ischyrian*, who also accused *Discorus* for having exercised several Cruelties, plundering Houses, robbing up Trees, forcing private Men from their Estates, for buying the Corn, which the Emperor sent to the Churches of *Lybia* to make bread for the Holy Sacrament, and to support the Poor and Strangers, for disposing certain Monies which "a Lady left to the Poor and Hospitals of *Egypt*, to scandalous Persons, for familiarly conversing with Lewd Women. He added, that *Discorus* had thrust him out of the Clergy for no Cause, although he had done much service for the Church of *Alexandria* in S. Cyril's time, he was one of his Friends; and had caused the Monks to burn his House; Lastly, That he had sent a Company of Church-men in *Alexandria*, and shut him up in an Hospital, where he endeavoured also to destroy him.

The third Petition was presented by *Athanagius*, S. Cyril's Nephew. He accused *Discorus* for depopled him and his Brother, for causing them to be hardly used at *Constantinople* by *Chrylaphius*, and to buy their Liberty of him very dearly: That they had been forced to borrow Money at Use, which had ruined them: That his Brother being dead, he was left alone overwhelmed with Debts: That *Discorus* to compass his ruine had seized upon an House at *Alexandria*, which was all he had, to make it a Church: That he had thrown him out of the Clergy, and forbidden any Person giving him relief: That he had depopled him of all his Estate, and of what belonged to his Brothers Children, and had reduced them to Beggary.

The fourth Petition was of a Lay-Man called *Sophronius*, who accused *Discorus* not only for not executing the Orders, which the Emperor had directed to him against an Officer of *Alexandria*, who had carried away his Wife, but also of sending his Deacon to pillage his Estate, and forcing him to fly. The same *Sophronius* likewise declared, that he was ready to prove, that *Discorus* had uttered Blasphemies against the Trinity, and endeavoured to make himself Supreme over the Province of *Egypt*. Then they deputed certain Persons to summon him the third time to come and answer, as well to the Accusations of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Doryleum*, as to other fresh

Accusations.

Accusations. The Bishops, who summoned him, shewed him among other things, that he was obliged to go and clear himself of the Accusations formed against him, because the Misdemeanors The Count of the Bishops turning to the general disgrace of the Clergy, he ought to free the Church from it, and if that which they laid to his Charge were false, he ought to justify himself, and convince the World of his Innocency. *Discorus* gave them no other answer than this, That he had nothing more to say, that was new.

When they had certified the Council, that *Discorus* would not come to it, *Paschasius* asked, What Punishment he had deserved? The Bishops said, That he had offended against the Canons. Then the Popes Legats declared, That it was evident as well by the Examinations made in the first Assembly, as by what had already passed in this, that he had attempted several things contrary to the Order and Discipline of the Church: First, in that he had abolished the Priest *Eutyches* by his own Authority, who had been condemned by *Flavian* his Bishop: That the Holy See had pardoned the other Bishops, who had been forced to do the same, but since had submitted themselves to the Council, but that it ought not to deal so with *Discorus*, because he obstinately persisted in his fault: That he had committed no small Crime in not suffering S. Leo's Letter to be read in the Council of *Ephesus*: That this notwithstanding, they were ready to use him with the same Lenity as other Bishops, but since he continued in his Obstinacy, dared to excommunicate S. Leo, and would not appear before the Synod, being summoned three times, although he was accused of very great Crimes, and had received Persons depopled and excommunicated into his Communion. "For these Causes, says the Legats, Leo Archbishop of Old Rome, doth by us, and by the Synod, with the Authority of S. Peter, who is the Rock and Foundation of the Church, and the Ground of Faith, Depole him from his Episcopal Dignity, and declare him unworthy of the Priesthood. And let all the Council judge now, what ought to be done with *Discorus* according to the Orders of the Holy Canons. *Anatolius*, *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and all the other Bishops following *Paschasius*'s Sentence, gave one after another their Votes for the Deposition of *Discorus*, and confirmed them with the Seal. Then the Council sent to the Emperor an Account of their Proceedings, in which they deliver the same Motives for the Condemnation of *Discorus*, which are mentioned in *Paschasius*'s Sentence. They also sent another Relation of them to *Pulcheria* the Empress. Then they certified *Discorus* of the Judgment pronounced against him; they published it by a private Writing to the Clergy of *Alexandria*, and by a publick Edict to all the People of *Chalcedon* and *Constantinople*.

The Commissioners were present at the fourth Session held Octob. 17. They began it with reading the Judgment pronounced by the Commissioners in the First Action; in which they read that which was laid in the Second, about deferring the Exposition of Faith. The Commissioners demanded of the Council, What they had decreed concerning the Faith? The Popes Legats said, That they had no other Doctrine or Faith to deliver, than that, which was contain'd in the Creed of *Nice* and *Constantinople*, in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and in S. Leo's Letter, which agreed exactly with the Doctrine of these Councils. All the Bishops declared that they believed the Doctrine of S. Leo's Letter to be conformable to the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers, and also those of *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*. Some of those who were most scrupulous, declared that in their Judgment S. Leo's Legats had removed all Difficulties, in saying, That the Terms of S. Leo's Letter did not imply any Division in the Person of Jesus Christ. There was a good Bishop of the Province of *Lycania*, who thought good to speak thus; That his Country had always been free from Controversies, and had always remained in the Faith of the Fathers with simplicity; and that if any Persons did contradict S. Leo's Exposition of Faith, he should be very little concerned; but as to himself he believed as the Fathers of the Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople* believed. When all the Bishops had given their Opinions particularly, they made several Acclamations in common for the Confirmation of what they had said, and desired that the * five Bishops who had been depopled by the Council, and deprived, should be restored, because they had signed as well as others, and were of the same Judgment. The Commissioners answered, That they had spoken to the Emperor for them, and that they ought to wait for his Answer; and that as to the rest, they should give an Account to God for the Deposition of *Discorus*, which they had done without the Concurrence of the Emperor, or his Commissioners, for the Restauration of the five Bishops whom they demanded, and of all which they had done. All the Bishops cried out several times, that *Discorus* had been justly Depopled.

They waited some time for the Emperor's Answer; but at last he sent the Bishops of the Council word, That he left them to their own Liberty to do as they thought fit with the five Bishops depopled in their first Session, viz. *Juvenal* of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cesarea*, *Eusebius* of *Anicia*, *Basil* of *Seleucia*, and *Eustathius* of *Berytus*. The Council required, that they should be admitted, and the Commissioners ordered it so. After they were come in, they declared them Orthodox, and received them into their number. The Commissioners then informed the Council, that some Bishops of *Egypt* had presented a Petition to the Emperor the day before, in which they explained their Doctrine. They admitted them, and read their Petition, where it was contained, That they had no other Faith than that which they received from the beginning of the Church from the Evangelist S. Mark, and were taught by S. Peter the Martyr, and their Holy Fathers *Athanagius*, *Theophilus*, and S. Cyril; That they held the Faith of the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, and that of S. *Athanagius*, and that they Anathematized all the Heretics of *Arius*, *Eunomius*,

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The Council of Chalcedon.

which *Marcellianus*, and *Nestorius*, and of those, who affirm, That the Flesh of Jesus Christ came down from Heaven; or that he did not assume it in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of God, as all other Men do. This Petition was signed by 30 Bishops of Egypt.

The Bishops of the Council were offended, that they had not condemned *Eutyches*, nor approved *S. Leo's* Letter. They demanded by several Acclamations, that they should pronounce an Anathema to *Nestorius*, and Subscribe *S. Leo's* Letter. They declared that they did condemn *Eutyches*, and approve *S. Leo's* Letter, but could not Subscribe any thing unless they had a Patriarch. They demonstrated in a very affecting way, that it was not Lawful for them to do any thing without him; that if they signed any thing, they should be torn in pieces in their own Country. The Bishops did not much regard these excuses, but cried out incessantly against them. But the Commissioners being more Moderate, declared, That since the impediment which kept the Egyptian Bishops from Subscribing, was not that they were of a different Judgment, but only a Custom established among them; by which they were forbidden to do any thing without the Consent and Order of their Patriarch; and that they desired to be born with no longer than till they had one. It was just and reasonable, that nothing should be done against them, till they had a Patriarch ordained, and therefore should remain at *Constantinople* till that time. *Eusebius* consented to this Proposition, upon Condition, that they would give security not to go from *Constantinople*, till they had a Patriarch. The Commissioners ordered, That they should give security for it, or at least, should engage themselves to it by an Oath.

Then the Monks of Egypt were brought in, who had presented a Petition to the Emperor, to beg of him, that they might not be compelled to sign any thing. They met with a bad Reception, and some-body elying among them *Barsumas*, they cried out, that it was he that slew *Flavian*, that it was he that commanded he should be put to Death. They presented another Petition to the Synod, in which they required, that *Dischorus*, and the Bishops of his party should come to the Synod; That they would annul all things that had been done against him, and declared, That if they did not do it, they would separate themselves from the Bishops of the Council. When this Petition was read, the Arch-Deacon *Astius* read the 3th Canon of the Council of *Antioch* against such Monks as did cause any Schism. Then they Questioned them about their Faith. They protested, That they held the Faith of the Councils of *Nice* and *Ephesus*, but would not Anathematize *Eutyches*.

Other Monks presented a Petition against the former, and declared, That they condemned them, desiring leave to punish them who would not Subscribe. They then asked *Carpus* and *Dorotheus*, who were the heads of those obstinate Monks, but they boldly affirmed, That they would neither sign *S. Leo's* Letter, nor condemn *Eutyches*. They gave them two or three days to consider what they would do.

After this Action there was a Private Session, *Octob. 20.* against *Carpus* and *Dorotheus*, to whom they had given two or three days time; and another of the same day about a difference that happened between *Eustathius* Bishop of *Berytus*, and *Phoebus* Bishop of *Tyre*. Neither *Eusebius*, nor *Libertus* make mention of these two Sessions, nor do we meet with them in the Old Translations of the Council, not that they are not real, for there is mention made of the Judgment given by the Council about the affair of *Phoebus* in the 10th Action; but because they concerned private matters of small Consequence, or such as had no relation to the Council, for that which respects *Carpus*, *Dorotheus*, and *Barsumas*, and the other Monks, contains nothing remarkable. They had time given them only till *Nov. 15.* to consult whether they would submit themselves to the Council, which time being passed, if they would not do it, they declare them deprived of their places, and Excommunicated.

The Action concerning the difference between *Phoebus* Bishop of *Tyre*, and *Eustathius* of *Berytus* is more considerable, but it had no relation to the business for which the Council was called; and for that reason it is, that *Eusebius* and *Libertus* have not spoken of it, and that it is not described in several Copies of the Council. The subject of this Action was this. The Emperor had made the City of *Berytus* into a Metropolis, this gave *Eustathius* an Occasion to assume the title of a Metropolitan likewise, and to seize upon the Cities of the Province, which before were subject to the Metropolis of *Tyre*. He also made *Phoebus* Bishop of *Tyre* consent to this encroachment, and Subscribe an Instrument, although against his will. *Phoebus* desired to be released from this Obligation, got the Emperor's Letter for that purpose, and presented his Petition to the Council, in which he prayed, that what he had done might not be prejudicial to him, but setting it aside, be established in his Ancient Rights and Privileges. *Eustathius* asked *Phoebus*, whether he would have this business treated on according to the Formalities of the Emperor's Council, or according to the Laws of the Church. *Phoebus* answered, That he addressed himself to the Emperor to obtain the Ancient Rights, which the Church of *Tyre* hath enjoyed, yet he did not reject the Laws of the Church. The Commissioners ordered, That they should determine this business by the Canons, and the Bishops were of the same Opinion. *Phoebus* accused *Eustathius* for having taken * six Cities from him, and prayed them, that they would restore them to him. *Eustathius* made this Defence, that it had been so decreed by a Synod held at *Constantinople*, whose Constitution he had brought them signed by *Anatolius*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*. He added, That he had never requested the Emperor to make his City a Metropolis; but it was the Custom for the Emperor to make Metropolis's, that it was not he that divided the Pro-

* Babilon, Berytus, Tripolis, Ortheusius, Astius, Antioch.

vinces, but the Council; and that since the Letter of *S. Leo* being lately come to *Constantinople*, a Synod of Bishops assembled in that City had sent it to other Bishops that they might sign it; The Council there was the same reason for the Letter, which had put him in possession of the rights of his Metropolis. *Phoebus* complained, That while he was celebrating Ordinations in his Province according to the Ancient Custom they had sent him a Mandate in which they Excommunicated him; so that he remained Excommunicated for 126 Days. *Anatolius*, whom this Charge concerned, said, That *Phoebus* having done things contrary to the Usage and Order of the Church had been Excommunicated by a Synod at *Constantinople*. Hereupon the Commissioners demanded if it were allowable for *Anatolius* to send a Writ of Excommunication to *Phoebus*, and deprive him of his Suffragans; and lastly, Whether they ought to give the Assembly of Bishops met at *Constantinople* the Name of a Synod. On this last head one of the Bishops said, with the consent of all, That the Name of a Synod might be attributed to an Assembly of that Nature, and that those who were aggrieved, might apply themselves to it to obtain Justice. But whereas it was objected, that *Phoebus* was not present, all the Bishops were of that Opinion, that they could not condemn a Person absent. *Anatolius* also made a very good Defence for himself upon the first head, but could not justify himself as to the second, and a Bishop reproved him for acting contrary to the Laws of the Roman Empire by condemning the Absent. *Phoebus* desired them to maintain the Ancient Laws of the Church. All the Bishops answered, That his Request was reasonable, and that the Canon ought to remain in full force. They read the fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice* concerning the power of a Metropolitan, to ordain Bishops by their Brethren of the same Province. The Commissioners demanded, whether the Bishops of the Province had assented at the Ordinations of *Eustathius*. He answered, That since he had enjoyed the right of a Metropolitan, he had always called the Bishops to all the Ordinations that he had made. The Commissioners asked, if according to the Canons there could be two Metropolitans who had right to ordain in one Province. The Council answered, That there ought to be but one according to the Canons of the Council of *Nice*. Then the Commissioners adjudged the Right to *Phoebus* in all the Province of *Phenicia Prima*, and forbade *Eustathius* to extend the Pragmatic-Sanction of Emperors to it. The Council approved this determination; the main difficulty was concerning the Bishops Ordained by both of them. Whereupon the Council judged, that those whom *Phoebus* had Ordained, should continue Bishop, although *Eustathius* had ranked them among the Priests. All the Bishops were of his Opinion. Lastly, * *Cecropius* put the Council in mind, that to prevent such complaints and troubles for the future, they should decree, That the Letters obtained of the Emperor in what Province soever it be, should not be prejudicial to the Canons, or Ancient Discipline. The Synod, and the Commissioners judged that it ought to be so.

The next Meeting, which is counted the Fifth, was held *Octob. 22.* The Commissioners called the Confession of Faith, which was composed the day before to be read; the greatest part of the Bishops approved of it, but the Pope's Legats, and some of the Bishops of the East opposed it. The former did it so Zealously, that they desired that they might return home if they would not keep themselves wholly to *S. Leo's* Letter. This raised several Acclamations among them, who would have it received. The Commissioners were in some doubts concerning it, because *Dischorus* had condemned *Flavian*, because he said, That there were two Natures in Jesus Christ, and this definition did not distinctly say so, but only that the Union was made of two Natures. *Anatolius* said, that *Dischorus* was not condemned for any point of Faith; but because he had Excommunicated *S. Leo*, and would not come to the Synod. The Legats of the Holy See persisted in their Opposition to this Novel definition of Faith; saying, That it was needless, and was defective in several things, but others maintained strongly, that it was Necessary and Perfect, and the Commissioners said, That they ought to give the Emperor an Account, and wait for his Orders about it. He then ordered, that they should choose fix Bishops out of the Bithynick of *Asia*, three out of *Pontus*, three out of *Asia*, three out of *Thracia*, and as many out of *Lybia*, that they being assembled in the Chapel of the Church of *S. Euphemia*, may compose a Formula or Confession of Faith, or that every one should declare his Doctrine by his Metropolitan, and added, That if the Bishops would satisfy him about it, he would make them hold a Council in the West. When this Order was come, the Bishops who desired that the definition of Faith which had been read should be approved, made many Acclamations. The Commissioners said, That it seemed necessary to add to it according to the Definition of *S. Leo*, that there are two Natures in Jesus Christ, united without Change, Confusion, or Separation.

Having received these Preparatives, the Bishops, chosen to compose a Confession of Faith, went into the Chapel, and having finished it brought it to the Council. It contained an Approbation of the Creed of *Nice* and *Constantinople*, of *S. Cyril's* Synodical Letters to *Nestorius* and the Eastern Bishops, and *S. Leo's* Letter. After which they add, That following these Writings of the Holy Fathers, they did believe in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, perfect God and perfect Man, Consubstantial with God as to his Divinity, and with Man according to his Humanity, in whom there are two Natures united without Change, Division, or Separation, so that the Properties of the two Natures do subsist in, and agree to One and the same Person, who is not divided into two, but is One Jesus Christ as it is said in the Nicene Creed. This Confession of Faith concludes with a Declaration, That those Persons are Deposed and Accursed,

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* Bishop of Sebastopolis.

The Council of Chalcedon.

Art VI.

who shall dare to Compel, or propose any other Creed, than that of this Council. This Council of Chalcedon was unanimously approved by all the World. No. 13. The Emperor Theodosius came in Person to the Council. He told the Bishops that his intent in calling this Council was to preserve the Faith in its purity, and to condemn Error; that he came to this Synod, not to wrestle the Authority, but only to provide for their Peace, according to the Example of Constantine. That he had no other design but to procure a firm Union among all the Subjects in the same Faith, and that those disturbances which have been raised some years since by the Covetousness and Passion of several Persons, should be appeased wholly by this Council. After several Appauses given him, *Nestorius* read the Confession of Faith, which had been already approved, and signed by all the Bishops, which appeared more numerous in this Session, than any other. Several Metropolitans signed it in their own and in the Name of the Bishops of their Provinces, whose Names they set down, and that's the reason that the number of the Bishops of the Council of Chalcedon amounts to so many; although, if we count the number of Bishops named in this place, of whom above One hundred were absent, it comes to not more than 430. Then the Bishops began some loud Acclamations again, but the Emperor put a stop to them by wishing good Success to their Assembly, and declaring, That whoever should celebrate any publick Assemblies after Religion, for any troubles by his Disputes, shall be thrust out of the Imperial City, if he be a Lay-man; and Deposed, if he be a Clergy-man.

The Matter of Faith being determined in this manner, he required the Synod to approve some Regulations which he had made, and which he thought more for the honour of the Synod to confirm by the Authority of the Bishops, than to make them himself by a Law.

The first was this, That although they were to be had in great esteem, who live a Monastick Life, yet because some persons, under a pretence of embracing Monks, disturb the Church, and the Publick Peace, it should be forbidden any Church to build a Monastery in any City, without the permission of the Bishop, and the owner of the Land on which it is built. That the Monks should be subject to their Bishop, and content themselves with Fasting and Prayer, without concerning themselves either with Civil or Ecclesiastical Affairs, unless they are called to it by the Bishop of the City. Lastly, That Monks should not be allowed to receive Slaves into their Monasteries, nor any Persons obliged to the Service of another, without the consent of those to whom they belong.

* This Regulation is wanting in Basilianus, and Longus.

The second was to forbid the Clergy to hold Farms, or be Managers of Civil Affairs, yet they were not prohibited to take care of the Revenue of the Church, if their Bishop ordered them to do it.

The third was, That it should not be allowed a Clergyman of one Church to leave it, and officiate in another; but every one should be obliged to continue in the Church, to which he was at first appointed. And if any Bishop hereafter should receive the Clerk of another Bishop, he shall be Excommunicated with the Clerk he hath received. All the Bishops approved of these Constitutions, and gave their Blessing to the Emperor.

Lastly, The Emperor said, That in respect to St. Euphemia and the Council, he did bestow upon the City of Chalcedon the title of a Metropolis, nevertheless not encroaching upon the rights of the City of Nicomedia. The Bishops having approved it, requested, That they might have leave to depart home; but the Emperor desired them to stay three or four Days longer to compleat Regulations. *Eusebius* says, That in the following Session they made other Canons; and indeed, there are some MSS. of Ancient Versions, wherein there are some Canons made after the Fifth Session. But *Liberian* places the Canons in the Fifth Session, as they were in the Greek Copies. The MS. of the Church of Paris, wherein there are some Canons after the Sixth Session may well be thought to have been disordered, and the Canons put out of the Natural place, for we read at the end of the 14th Action. *Explicit Actio XIV. The 14th Action is ended. Incipit XVI. The 16th begins.* An evident proof that one Action is omitted, which can be no other than the 15th.

Art VII.

The Contest between *Maximus* Bishop of Antioch, and *Juvencius* Bishop of Jerusalem, is certainly the first which was discussed Octob. 26. It continued not long, but was determined by the Council with the Consent of both parties. They left both the Phenicia and Arabia to the Bishop of Antioch, and the three *Palestines* to the Bishop of Jerusalem.

Art VIII.

The same Day, but at another Session, they finally determined the cause of *Theodorus*, as we have already said in the life of that Author.

Art IX.

In another Session on the same Day, they entered upon the business of *Ibas*, who had been condemned in the Council of Ephesus under *Dischorus*. He pleaded, that he was Innocent; and as a proof of it, he alleged the Judgment given by *Papirius* Bishop of Tyre, and *Eustathius* Bishop of Berytus, who were put in Commission by the Emperor to judge of his Cause. They read the Judgment of those Bishops, by which he was proved to be of Orthodox Sentiments; and to be reconciled with his Accusers by those Bishops; to have publicly Anathematized *Nestorius* to satisfy those, who had taken Offence at some of his Discourses; and also promised to forget what had passed, and not to be severe against those who had accused him of Managing the Revenues of the Church by Stewards, according to the Custom of the Church of Antioch.

The next day they went on in the same business; They read the Acts of the Synod held at Berytus, in which he was accused of several Crimes, viz. Theft, Simony, and Bribery, and that he did affirm, that he envied not Jesus Christ the Name of God, because he could become one. But his Accusers not being able to produce any Witnesses, nor any proof to convict him of these things;

things, they wrangled some time about his reviving a Clergyman for affirming, That our Life is dead. But he cleared himself by saying to him, that he spoke it, as if he understood by our Life the Godhead; that it was not true, that the Life is dead, but if he understood the enlivened Flesh of Jesus Christ, it was true. They accused him also of speaking against S. Cyril; and having cursed him, he answered, That before he was united with the Eastern Bishops, he had rejected his Chapters, and had condemned him, in which he was not more blame-worthy than the rest of the Eastern Bishops: But since the Union he had communicated with him, and had never condemned him. They produced his Letter to *Marin the Persian*, which proved nothing more. In it he condemned S. Cyril's Chapters and praised the Writings of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, but he approved of the Peace and Union made with S. Cyril after he had explained himself. On his behalf he caused a Letter from the Clergy of Edessa to be read, attesting, that they had never heard him speak any thing like that which they accused him of. When they had read these Acts, they would have had that which was done against *Ibas* in the Council of Ephesus under *Dischorus* read, but the Legats said, that it was needless to read any thing of this Council; that the Bishop of Rome had declared all that was done in it void, except the Ordination of *Maximus* Bishop of Antioch, whom S. Leo had received to his Communion; that they ought to Petition the Emperor to make a Law, forbidding any further mention of this Council. The principal of the Bishops were of the same Opinion, and all the other consented by their Acclamations. Then they returned to the business of *Ibas*, and he was declared Orthodox upon the Account of his Letter, and the Acts which had been read: But because there had been another Bishop Ordained in his Place, it was left to *Maximus* his Metropolitan to do as he thought fit. His Judgment was, that *Nestorius* should hold the Title of Bishop, till he should examine his Ordination by the Bishops of his Diocesis. The Commissioners approved the Judgment of the Synod.

At the end of this Session is put a private Action concerning *Domnus* Patriarch of Antioch, who had been deposed by *Dischorus*. 'Tis but a short Relation, and extant in Latin only, which was found by *Rusticus* in a Manuscript of *Patricius Julianus*. F. *Quefnel* thinks it a Forgery. M. *Baluzius* on the contrary maintains, that it is Genuine. Before we examine their Reasons, we will speak of the Subject of it. It bears date Nov. 26. In it *Maximus* Petitions, That they would have some pity upon *Domnus*, who was not long since Bishop of Antioch, and grant him a certain Stipend out of the Revenues of his Church. The Popes Legats answered, That S. Leo having confirmed the Ordination of *Maximus*, they thought it sufficient to do for *Domnus*, to leave it to *Maximus* to allow him a competent Maintenance out of the Revenues of his Church; that he ought to content himself for the future with such a Competency, and to be quiet. *Anatolius*, *Juvencius*, and the other Bishops commended *Maximus* for his Kindness, and the Commissioners concluded with the Bishops, that *Domnus* should be allowed something out of the Revenues of the Church of Antioch; but they left it wholly to the Discretion and Bounty of *Maximus* to give him what he pleased.

But for the better understanding of this part of the History, we must know, that *Domnus* was taken out of a Monastery by his Uncle *John* Bishop of Antioch; and after he had been some time with him, he succeeded him. The Author of the Life of S. Euthemius saith, That this Saint had foretold a long time before what should befall him, that he should leave his Monastery, that he should succeed his Uncle, but that he should be deprived through the Tribulation of wicked Men, who would make use of his Simplicity and Ignorance to seduce him. Whether this Prediction were true, or not, it is certain, that all this befel him, for he succeeded his Uncle, and afterward was deposed by *Dischorus*, not being aware of his Designs. The Author of the Life of *Euthemius* saith, That he returned to his Monastery, being very much troubled that he ever went from it, and did ever bewail it in all the rest of his Life. It is indubitable that he never recovered his See, and that the Ordination of *Maximus*, who was Ordained in his place, was held good. We shewed in the foregoing Action, that it was the only thing that the Council approved, because they said that S. Leo had acknowledged him for a Bishop. But why was *Domnus*, of all the Bishops who were condemned by the false Council of Ephesus, the only one excepted? Why did they approve of *Maximus*'s Ordination? How could it hold good, while *Domnus* was alive? What Reason could they have to confirm the Condemnation of *Domnus*? He indeed condemned *Flavian*, but several others did it as well as he. Two things only can be alleged in Answer to these Objections: viz. Either that he was dead when the Council of Chalcedon was held, or that he renounced his Bishoprick, and voluntarily resigned his place to *Maximus*, preferring a retirement and solitary Life before the Troubles of the World, and the Episcopal Charge, as the Author of the Life of *Euthemius* writes.

F. *Quefnel* affirms, That he was dead, when the Council of Chalcedon was held; and consequently maintains, that this Action which we have related is forged. The Arguments which he uses are these:

1. It is no where extant in Greek, and the Latin Version hath been found by *Rusticus* only in the MS. of the Lady Juliana: It is not to be met with in any of the MSS. in the Monastery of the *Acemete*, nor in any others, which he had reviewed. It is not in the MS. of *Probus*, nor of the Queen of *Sueden*, nor that at Paris.

2. No Ancient Author hath made mention of it, though they had occasion to speak of it. It seems a good conclusion from the silence of *Eusebius*, that there was no Copy of this Action at Antioch;

Antioch;

Antioch; and because *Liberatus* counts but 16 Sessions of this Council, that it was neither in *Africa* the *Com-Rome*, or *Alexandria*, from whence he took the Latin Version of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and lastly, from the Confession of *Rufinus*, who cites only the MS. of the Lady of *Juliana*, although he had seen the MSS. of *Rome*, *Chalcedon*, *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*. So that all the proof of this Action depends upon the Authority of one MS. only, of which we know nothing but by the report of *Rufinus*, who being engaged among the party of those, who could not approve the Condemnation of the three Chapters, was obliged to make it appear, that *Domnus* was not condemned after his Death, but in his Life-time.

3. This pretended Action hath no fixed place; *Rufinus* puts it after the seventh Action, but it bears date with the 10th, after which it is now usually placed.

4. *Justinian*, and the fifth Council assure us, that the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned *Domnus* after his Death for having written against *S. Cyril's* Chapters. This Testimony seems positive. *F. Quefnel* also proves, that *Domnus* was dead before the Council of *Chalcedon*, because *S. Leo* speaks not of him, and because in the 14th Action *Athanafius* of *Pera* speaks of him as dead, saying, The Bishop of *Antioch* that then was his Enemy. And in the Edict of *Theodosius*, it is said, That he was Bishop of *Antioch*. If he had been alive, why did he not come to the Council? Why did not his Friends speak for him? Why did they not join him with the other Bishops who were deposed for signing the Deposition of *Flavian*, but restored by this Council? *M. Baluzius* also furnishes *F. Quefnel* with a full Testimony from *Eusebius*, who says that *Domnus* died the next Year after the Council of *Ephefus*.

5. The Style of this Piece discovers the Impotence, which is full of Solecisms, and Barbarous Words. In it the Bishop of *Rome* is called plain Pope, without any addition of Honour or Respect.

6. It is much easier to justify the Action of *S. Leo*, and the Council of *Chalcedon*, in approving the Ordination of *Maximus*, by supposing that *Domnus* was dead, than alive; for in this last case, it seems unjust to maintain an Intrusion against a lawful Bishop. *F. Quefnel* alleges several other Reasons in a Dissertation made on purpose upon this Subject, but these are the principal, and to me the strongest.

M. Baluzius answers to these Objections, That there are several genuine Pieces, of which we have only Translations, and that the MS. of the Lady *Juliana* is of very great Authority, since *Rufinus* assures us, that it was very ancient in his time. That *Rufinus* cannot be justly charged with Falseness, nor Ignorance; that 'tis no wonder that the Action concerning *Domnus* hath no fixed place, since the same hath happened to the Action about *Phocas* and *Eusebius*; that the testimony of *Justinian* and the fifth Council is of no worth, because they have alleged several false things, and there is nothing in the Acts of the Council against *Domnus*. That the silence of *Evagrius* and *Liberatus* prove no more, than that this Action was not found in the Copies which they used. That it is no wonder that *Domnus* was not restored, nor that no Man required that he should, since he desired it not, but preferred retirement in his Monastery before an Episcopal Charge. That when speaking of *Domnus*, it is said, that he was a Bishop, it is not meant that he was dead, but only that he was not then, what he had once been, a Bishop. That it ought not to seem strange that the Style of this Translation is Barbarous, since the like Barbarisms are met with in other Versions, and the plain Name of Pope for the Bishop of *Rome* is found in some places of the Council of *Chalcedon*. But the strongest Argument made use of by *M. Baluzius*, to prove that this Action is genuine, besides the Authority of the Lady *Juliana's* MS. is, that in the 10th Action *Steven* Bishop of *Ephefus* says, after *Paschasius* and *Anatolius*, that the Ordination of *Maximus* was approved by *S. Leo*, and the Synod. It seems that this relates to the Action concerning *Domnus*. But this seems something impertinent. 'Tis sufficient, that *S. Leo* and the Council did acknowledge *Maximus* for a lawful Bishop, to ground this Assertion upon. It is not necessary that they should speak of *Domnus*. These are the Reasons of the two most able Critics of our time about the Action of *Domnus*. Let every one follow which of these Opinions seems most probable to him.

The 11th and 12th Action are about one Business, though upon two several Days. In them the Council examined the difference between *Steven* and *Bassianus*, who both of them pretended to be Bishops of *Ephefus*. First, they read the Petition of *Bassianus* addressed to the Emperor, in which he represents it to him, how ill he had been used, that he was taken from his Church by force, plundered of his Estate, and many of his People slain by the virtue of the blows. He prayed the Emperor to allow him to go to the Council, and secure him against any Violence. In the Council *Bassianus* declared, that *Steven* had been the Ringleader of this unjust force. *Steven* being summoned to answer to this Accusation, objected to *Bassianus*, that he had not been Ordained at *Ephefus*, but that he had intruded into the vacant Church by the help of a seditious Troop; that being afterward thrust out, he himself was Ordained by four Bishops of *Asia*, with the consent of the Clergy and People of *Ephefus*; that he had been 50 Years a Clergy-Man of that Church. *Bassianus* affirmed, that he had been Canonically Ordain'd; that when he was but a Youth, he had founded an Hospital of 70 Beds for sick Men; that *Mennon* Bishop of *Ephefus* bearing him a Grudge, had Ordained him Bishop of *Eusebia*, although he was not willing to accept it, and to force him to it, he had so cruelly used him before the Altar for three hours together, that the Altar and the Holy Gospels were covered with Blood; that after this he remained at

Ephefus

Ephefus, and would not go to the Church, of which he had been Ordained Bishop, nor did he ever see it; that *Mennon* being dead, *Bassianus* was Ordained in his place in a Council of the Province, who being informed that *Bassianus* had been made Bishop of *Eusebia* by force, sent another Bishop thither, to whom he granted Communion, and the Title of Bishop; that after the Death of *Bassianus*, the People, Clergy and Bishops, of whom *Olympius*, now present at the Council, was one, had placed him in the See of *Ephefus*; that the Emperor had confirmed his Ordination; that when he was at *Constantinople*, he had communicated with *Proclus*, who sent him a Synodical Letter; that he had enjoyed his Bishoprick peaceably four Years, had Ordained 10 Bishops, and many Clerks; that one Day after the Celebration of the Holy Sacrament, they seized upon him, and pulling off his Episcopal Vestments, put them upon *Steven*. *Steven* retorted, that *Bassianus* had been deprived by a Synod with the consent of *S. Leo*, *Flavian*, and the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*; that the Emperor had sent the Silentary *Eustathius* to be informed of the Wrongs, which he was accused to have done to the Poor; that he never was Ordained Bishop of *Ephefus*; and if he were four Years in possession of it, 'twas as an Usurper, not as a lawful Bishop. *Bassianus* replied, That he had been duly Ordained Bishop of the Church of *Eusebia*, but had never been there. He desired them to take Cognizance of the Violence, *Steven* on his part desired them to read the Canons, which forbid one Bishop Ordained for any certain Church to enter upon another. *Leonius* read the 16 and 17 Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, which were the 95 and 96 in the Book they then used. They then prayed *Olympius* to tell them how things had passed. He then said, That after the Death of *Basil*, being intreated by the Clergy to come to *Ephefus* to Ordain a Bishop, he went thither supposing to meet some other Bishops there; that after he had waited three Days, he said to the Clergy, who were come to meet him, that he could do nothing alone; that the Canons of the Church did not permit him to Ordain a Bishop, but especially of so great a Metropolis; that as he spake this, there came a throng of People, which took him up, and carried both him and *Bassianus* to the Church, where he entreated them. They then demanded of the Clergy, Whether *Proclus* had received *Bassianus*? *Theophilus*, a Priest of the Church, answered, That he had owned him, communicated with him, gave him a Synodical Letter, and put his Name in the Dypicks. They asked *Steven*, How *Bassianus* had been put out of the Bishoprick of *Ephefus*? He answered, That the Bishop of *Alexandria* had made inquiry into it by the Emperors Order; that *S. Leo* had declared by his Letter, that he ought not to be a Bishop; that afterward the Silentary came to examine his Management, and had condemned him; that it was not *Steven* that had solicited him to it; that they had made him a Bishop, when he had no thoughts of it; and that, lastly, it was a matter concluded upon. *Bassianus* complained of his force used against him, he said, That *Steven* came to communicate with him, when he seized upon him, and then imprisoned him three Months; that *Steven* was Ordained by the same Bishops that Ordain'd him. Then they heard the Clergy of *Ephefus*, who testified, that they had used Violence to *Bassianus*. The Bishops at first determined in his Favour, but the Commissioners said, that they thought it most just that neither of them should be Bishop of *Ephefus*. *Bassianus*, because he had got into possession by force, and without observing the Rules prescribed by the Canons, *Steven*, because he was Ordained by a Club, and by unlawful ways. The Bishops agreed to this Sentence, and confirmed it the next Day, and ordered a third Person to be Ordained Bishop of *Ephefus*. The Commissioners concluded the Matter so, yet allowing *Bassianus* and *Steven* two hundred Nobles apiece, to be paid them out of the Revenues of the Church for a Pension towards their Maintenance. *Bassianus* desired that they would restore what had been taken from him. The Commissioners replied, That if any thing had been taken from him, it should be restored when he should make a sufficient proof of it in Justice. These two Actions, according to *Evagrius*, and the ancient Version, make but one. *Liberatus* distinguishes them, but he confounds the second of them with the following Action.

This was also upon *Ordo*. 30. The Bishop of *Nicomedia* presented a Petition against *Anastafius* Bishop of *Nice*, in which he accused him of disturbing the Province of *Bithynia* by changing the ordinary form, and invading the Churches belonging to his Jurisdiction. *Anastafius* on the other side affirmed, that the Bishop of *Nicomedia* had taken away some Churches that did of right belong unto him, and was in possession of them. To prove this he alleged, that *Julian* had made the City of *Nice* a Metropolis, that ever since the Church of *Basilople*, about which the main Controversie was, had been under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Nice*; that *S. John Chrysostome* had written to the Bishop of *Nice* to come to *Basilople*, to regulate that Church, as being subject to his Authority; that he could prove, that the Bishops of *Basilople* have been Ordained usually at *Nice*. *Eumenius* maintained the contrary. They read the fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, which forbids Bishops to Ordain without their Metropolitans. *Anastafius* Bishop of *Nice* contended, that he did enjoy that right; and to prove it, he produced the Letters Patents of the Emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*, which confirmed the right of a Metropolis to the City of *Nice*, upon condition, that it should be subject to the Judge of *Bithynia*, and without any prejudice to the Rights of other Cities. *Eumenius* read others of the same Emperors, which signified, that the Honour and Title of Metropolis granted to *Nice* should do no injury to the Rights of others. The Commissioners judged, that the Emperors Letters importing that the Title of Metropolis granted to the City of *Nice*, should not hurt the Right of other Cities, and chiefly of the City of *Nicomedia*; they ought to observe the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, which forbids, that there should be more

than one Metropolitan in one Province. The Bishops were of the same Opinion, and declared, that the Ordinations of the Province of *Bithynia* ought to belong to the Bishop of *Nicomedia*. *Atius* the Archdeacon of *Constantinople* moved it, that the Contest between the Bishops of *Nicomedia* and *Nice* ought not to prejudice the Rights of his Patriarch, who ought to Ordain at *Constantinople*, or at least that no Ordination should be celebrated there without his permission. The Bishops made no other answer but this, that the Canons ought to be observed. The Commissioners finally determined, that the Bishop of *Nicomedia* should have Authority over all the Churches of *Bithynia*, and that the Bishop of *Nice* should only have the Title of Metropolitan, and should be subject to the Bishop of *Nicomedia*; and as to the Rights of the Church of *Constantinople*, they would speak of that in its place.

At XIV

In the following Session, which was held *Octob. ult.* they read the Petition of Bishop *Sabinian*, relating, that he had been Ordained Bishop of *Paros* by the Metropolitan, and Bishops of the Province in the room of *Athanasius*, who was deprived, because he being accused of great Crimes, and summoned to Judgment, he dare not appear; that nevertheless the Council of *Ephesus* under *Diocorus* had sent for *Athanasius*, who challenged his Bishoprick. *Athanasius* made his Defence, saying, that a good while since his Cause had been examined by *S. Cyril* and *Proclus*, who wrote in his behalf to *Dionysius*, and had a promise from him, that he would satisfy them, but after *S. Cyril's* death he altered his mind, and had summoned him to Judgment; that he answered him, that if he would keep to *S. Cyril's* and *Proclus's* Letters he would appear, otherwise he would not obey his Summons. He requested that *Proclus's* and *S. Cyril's* Letters might be read, which shewed, that *Athanasius* complained of what he had suffered from his Clergy, who had forced him from his Bishoprick; that they had presumed to turn out, or make Stewards according to their Humour, to put their Bishops Name out of the Dypicks, and make many other insufferable attempts; that *Dionysius* ought to hinder this disorder, or if that City were too far distant from *Antioch*, to name Commissioners about the Places to look into it, because the Metropolitan was suspected by him. *Dionysius* had already appointed for one Commissioner *Panolinus* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, a Friend of *Athanasius's*, but he would not appear before him, on the other side he refused by a Writing delivered to him to forsake his Bishoprick. *John* the Successor of *Panolinus* cited *Athanasius* allo. Lastly, *Dionysius* himself cited him to his Council, but in stead of appearing, he went and solicited *S. Cyril* and *Proclus*, and having represented his case otherwise than it was, he obtained the Letters of them, of which we have spoken. Then *Dionysius* again summoned him before a Council assembled at *Antioch*, where the Clergy of *Paros* appeared to accuse him, the Bishops of the Synod condemned him. This was proved to the Council of *Chalcedon* by the reading of the Acts of the said Council.

The Commissioners then determined, that *Athanasius* having been deposed according to form, *Sabinian* had been duly Ordained, and *Athanasius* not rightly restored by *Diocorus*; that nevertheless *Maximus* ought to examine in a Synod within eight Months the Accusations which are laid to his Charge, or may be brought against him; and if he be convinced of the Crimes imputed to him, he should not only be deposed, but punished according to Law: But on the other side, if they do not furnish out a Process, and convict him within the time limited, he shall continue Bishop of *Paros*, and *Sabinian* shall enjoy the Name and Title of Bishop, and shall be maintained at the Expence of the Church.

At XV. The 15th Session in the ordinary Editions, and according to *Liberatus*, contains the Canons of the Council.

The I commands, that the Canons made by preceding Councils be observed.

The II enjoins, that if any Bishop Ordain for Money, or sells the Gifts of the Spirit, which are invaluable, whether it be a Bishop that is Ordained for filthy Lucre, or a Priest, or a Suffragan Bishop, or a Deacon, or any other Clergyman, or a Steward, or an Advocate, he shall be deposed, who is proved to have done it, and the Person Ordained; and if any Person be a Procurer of it for Gain, he shall be deposed, if he be a Clergyman, and excommunicated, if he be a Monk, or Layman.

The III forbids Bishops, Clergymen or Monks to hire Farms, or engage themselves in worldly Affairs, unless the Law obliges to be Guardians, or the Bishops charge them with the Administration of the Church, or to take care of the Widows and Orphans, and such Persons as stand in need of the Relief of the Church.

The IV Canon concerning the Monks is the same with the sixth Session.

The V revives the Ancient Canons against those Clergymen, who remove from one City to another.

The VI forbids the Ordination of any Clergyman absolutely and without a Church-Title; that is to say, who is not set apart for the service of some Church, either in the City or Country, or of some Chapel or Monastery; and declares those Ordinations void that are celebrated otherwise: And forbids them that are so Ordained to do the Functions of their Ministry, that they may conceal them from disgrace that have Ordained them.

The VII forbids those, that have been Ordained, or are made Monks, to leave their Stations, and declares them excommunicate that do it.

The VIII enjoins the Clergy that belong to Monasteries, and Chapels of Martyrs, to be subject to their Bishops.

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The IX forbids those Clergy-men who have any differences with other Clergy-men to apply themselves to any other Judicature, than the Bishops, or them who are appointed Judges by them, and commands, That if any Clergy-man have any thing against his Bishop, he should address himself to a Provincial Synod, or if he had any thing to do with his Metropolitan, he shall go to the Exarch of the Diocese.

The X shews, That it is forbidden a Clergyman to be intitled to two Churches at one time, to that, in which he was Ordained, and that, to which he is removed; and that those who do it, shall be obliged to return to their Church, or if they remain in the Church to which they are removed, they shall have nothing of the Revenue of the Church which they have left, nor of the Hospitals of that Church.

The XI makes a distinction between Letters of Recommendation, which are given to Persons Suspected and Unknown, and Letters of Communion, which are given to Persons well known. It declares, that these last ought to be given to the Poor.

The XII forbids Bishops to divide their Provinces by obtaining Letters Patents from the Emperor to raise their City to the title of a Metropolis, and declares, that the Bishops of those Cities, who have been raised to their Dignity by their Princes Letters, should have the Honour and Title only of a Metropolitan, but none of the right of a real Metropolitan.

XIII shews, That they will not receive strange and unknown Clergy-men without Commendatory Letters from their Bishops.

The XIV forbids Readers and Singers to Marry Heretical Wives, and obliges them that have Married such to bring their Children to the Church to be Baptized, and to bring them up in the Faith of the Church.

The XV forbids the Ordination of a Deaconess before 40 years of Age, and without strict Examination; and declares, That if she shall Marry after she hath been some time in the Service of the Church, she shall be Excommunicated with her Husband.

The XVI tells us, That it is not permitted Virgins, which are devoted to God to Marry; That they, who have done so, shall be Excommunicated, that nevertheless the Bishop of the place may treat them with such Lenity and Mildness as he thinks fit.

The XVII That the Churches or Parishes should remain under the Jurisdiction of those Bishops who are in possession of them, especially if they have been so for 30 years past; but if within 30 Years past there hath been any dispute about them, it shall be permitted to refer themselves to the Provincial Synod, or if it be a Bishop who is injured by his Metropolitan, he may have recourse to * the Bishop of his Diocese, or the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Lastly, If the Emperor changes the condition of a City by his Authority, the order of the Parish Churches shall follow the Civil Constitution.

The XVIII forbid Clergy-men and Monks to make Conspiracies, Cabals, or Factions against their Bishop.

The XIX revives the Decree of the Council of *Nice* for the holding of Provincial Councils twice a Year.

The XX forbids Bishops taking Clergy-men from other Bishops.

The XXI Commands, That it be examined what manner of Persons they are that accuse Bishops, or other Church-men, before their Accusation be received.

The XXII shews, That it is not lawful for the Clergy to seize upon the Estate of their Bishops after he is Dead.

XXIII orders the Advocates of the Church of *Constantinople* to bid the strange Monks that came into that City without leave from their Bishop, to depart from thence.

The XXIV That the places, where any Monastery hath been built, should always be set apart for that use.

The XXV enjoins Metropolitans to celebrate Ordinations three Months after the Death of a Bishop, and in the mean time to take care of the Revenues of the Church by the Stewards.

The XXVI enjoins every Bishop to have a Steward of the Revenues of his Church.

The XXVIII deposes, or Excommunicates those, who take away Women by force under a pretence of Marrying them, and those, who pretend to defend them.

The XXVIII Canon grants to the Church of the City of *Constantinople*, which is called new *Rome*, the same Privileges with Old *Rome*, because this City is the second City in the World. It also adjudges to it besides this Jurisdiction over the Dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*, and over the Churches which are out of the bounds of the Emperor, and a right to ordain Metropolitans in the Provinces of these Dioceses.

The XXIX Canon is a repetition of what had been said before by *Paschasius* and *Anatolius*, that it is Sacrilege to reduce a Bishop to the degree of a Priest, because, when a Bishop deserves to be Deprived of his Bishoprick, he is not worthy to be a Priest, at least if he be not unjustly Deposed.

The XXX is also a repetition of what had been ordered upon the Account of the Egyptian Bishops, who would not sign the Condemnation of *Nestorius*.

Upon serious consideration we shall find, that these 30 Canons are only an Explication of the three Canons of the 6th Session, or Decrees made in the Council upon several occasions, which some made a 16th Action; but others have put in this place because the following action informs us, that

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that the 28th Canon was made the Day before. As for my self I much doubt whether this Collection of Canons was made in any Session of the Council, and do rather believe that they were composed since, and taken out of the several Actions. 'Tis easie to find the places.

Nov. 1. (For though this Action be ordinarily dated Octob. 28, 'tis a fault, which is not in the MS of *Dijon*, which is an Original) the Pope's Legates complain'd that after they and the Commissioners were departed, the Bishops had made several Orders contrary to the Canons and Discipline of the Church; They required, that they should be read over again. Before they were read *Actius* the Archdeacon said, That the Custom of Synods was, to make other Constitutions after they had decided what concerns the Faith; that being about to do it for the Church of *Constantinople*, they had pray'd the Legats to be present, but they refused, with which having acquainted the Commissioners they had ordered the Council to do what they thought convenient; that they had deliberated freely, and had done nothing clancularly. They then read the Canon concerning the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. *Papaeus* in the first place said, that they had surpris'd the Bishops by making them Subscribe the Decrees which they had no knowledge of. All the Bishops said, That it was not so; that no body was compelled, and every one knew what he did. *Lucenius* then complain'd, that they had dispis'd the Canons of the Council of *Nice*, by preferring the Decrees of a Council held 150 years after, before them. He caus'd the Order to be read, which they had received from *S. Leo*, commanding to oppose those Bishops, who took too much upon them, upon the account of the Splendor of their Sees, and hinder them from attempting any thing. The Commissioners order'd the Canons to be read on both sides. *Papaeus* read the 6th Canon of *Nice*, with an Addition prefixed, which asserted, That the Church of *Rome* hath always had a Primacy. *Actius* read it without the Addition with the Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*. They demand'd if the Bishops of *Asia* and *Pontus* had voluntarily sign'd the Decree in question, and they answered, Yes, and that the Bishop of *Constantinople* was in possession of the Right of Ordinations among them; But *Eusebius* Bishop of *Ancyra* answer'd, That although he had sign'd it, and was not willing to oppose the general consent, yet it is true that he was Ordained at *Caesarea*; That he did not seek to perform those Ordinations; That all that he desired was, that nothing should be exacted of the Bishops at their Ordinations. They made answer, That it was forbidden by the Canons, that the Altars were pure. *Eusebius* answer'd, That he did not fear any such thing of *Anatolius*, but no Man was Immortal. *Anatolius* asked him who ordained him, He said, That by misfortune he was at *Constantinople* and *Proculus* had Ordained him.

Lastly, The Commissioners publish'd the Result of the Acts and Depositions, which had been made; that the Bishop of *Rome* should have the Primacy and chief Honour; That the Bishop of *Constantinople* should enjoy the same Prerogatives of Honour, and had right to Ordain in the Sees of the Metropolis, in the Dioceses of *Thrace*, *Asia*, and *Pontus*, such Persons as should be chosen by the Clergy, People, and Nobles; That they were to give him Notice of this Election, and know whether he desired the Person that was chosen should come to him to be Ordained at *Constantinople*, or whether he would allow him to be Ordained in the Province; That it was also likely that the Metropolitans had a Right to Ordain the Bishops of the Province according to the Custom, without the leave of the Bishop of *Constantinople*: All the Bishops approv'd of this Resolution. The Legats of the Pope were the only Persons which said, That they ought not to debate the Holy See so much in their presence; They demand'd, that they would put out of the Acts that which had pass'd the day before to the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Constitutions; or if they would not, their Opposition might be annexed to the Acts, that they might make their report of it to him that Governs the Apostolick See, who is the first Bishop of the World, who may judge himself of the Injury done to his See, and of the Subverting of the Canons. Notwithstanding this Opposition, the Bishops declared, That they would go on, and the Commissioners, without any regard to what was said by the Pope's Legats, said, That all the Synod had given their Approbation to their Determination.

All things being thus decreed, the Fathers of the Council made a long discourse to the Emperor, in which having commended his Zeal and Piety, as well as *S. Leo's* Doctrine and Holiness, they related what had pass'd in the Council, they Explained the Faith of the Church about the Incarnation, approv'd *S. Leo's* Letter, and oppos'd the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. They wrote also to *S. Leo* what had been done in the Council and pray'd him to consent to what they had decreed in favour of the Church of *Constantinople*. The Emperor made two Edicts to prevent all Opposition to the Synod. He confirm'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, and invalidated by an Edict all that had been done against *Flavian*. He gave a check to the boldness of the Monks of *Alexandria* and *Palestine*, who would have thrust out *Juvenal* from his See, and put one *Theodosius* in his place. He gave order to punish this last.

I do not pursue the Story of the Troubles, rais'd after the Death of *Martian*, about the Council of *Chalcedon*, because it would draw me too far from my Subject. I shall only observe, that the Emperor *Leo* having consult'd the Church about this Difference, they held several Councils in the Provinces, who wrote those Letters to the Emperor, which make up that Collection call'd *Codex Episcopus*, which is reckon'd the Third Part of the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Of

Of the COUNCIL of RIES,

Held in 429.

WE were not willing to interrupt the Connexion of the History of the Councils of *Chalcedon* and *Ephesus*, because these two Councils have a near Relation one to another. We will now resume our discourse of the private Councils.

The Council of *Ries* in *France*, and not *Rhegium* in *Italy* was call'd to Examine the Ordination of *Armentarius*, who had been Ordained Bishop of *Ebredunum*. This *Armentarius* was a Young Man, but a Person of Quality, who being led by the Advice of his Friends, was Ordained Bishop of *Ebredunum* by two Bishops, without the consent of the Bishops of the Province, or of the Metropolitan; but afterward acknowledging his fault withdrew himself, renounced his Episcopal Charge, and desired that his Name might be rais'd out of the number of the Bishops of *Ebredunum*. *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles*, and twelve other Bishops of *France* were present at this Council. They declared, That the Ordination of *Armentarius* was Null, according to the Canons; That the two Bishops who performed it, and who begged pardon for their fault, should for the future never be present at any Synod, or Ordination. As to *Armentarius*, that they might be favourable to him, they granted him, according to the Eighth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, that he should have the Title of a Suffragan Bishop, or to enjoy the Communion granted to Strangers, but upon Condition. 1. That he shall dwell in some other Province than that of the *Sea-Alpes*; and if he returns thither, he shall be liable to all the punishments his Action deserves. 2. That if he be met in any place that is not Publick, he shall claim no other place, nor title, than what his Quality in the World gives him. 3. That he shall have no power to Ordain any Clergy-man, nor Celebrate the Sacrament in any Church whatsoever, unless any be given to him out of Charity. 4. That it shall not be lawful for any Bishop to give place to him, as the more ancient. 5. That he shall not have any Office at a distance from the Church assign'd him, and shall only have a Right to confirm Novices, and celebrate Sacraments before the Priests. They granted him also power to pronounce the Blessings in the Church; which Priests only have in private places, to consecrate Virgins in the Church, wherein he shall acknowledge himself inferior to Bishops, but Superior to Priests. That if he changes his Church, he shall not be received in the second, unless he renounce the first. As to the Ministers which he hath Ordained, the Bishop of *Ebredunum* shall be left at Liberty, whether he will own them, or reject them.

For prevention of the like disorder for the Future, they forbid any Bishop going to a vacant Church, unless it be the next Neighbouring Bishop, who ought to go as a Visitor to order all things at the Bishops interment, that is to say, till the 7th day after his decease, but must afterward immediately withdraw himself; and waste the Order of the Metropolitan to come thither with other Bishops: strictly forbidding all other Bishops to enter upon a Vacant Church, unless they are invited by the Letters of the Metropolitan. Then they revived the fifth Canon of the Council of *Nice* concerning Provincial Councils.

The I COUNCIL of ORANGE.

THIS Council was held Anno 441. at *Orange*, or near that City. *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles* was President in it, and sixteen other Bishops assisted at it. In the first Canon of this Council it is Ordained, That Priests might confirm in the absence of the Bishops, such Heretics, as being in danger of Death desire admission into the Church, by Christm and Blessing of them.

The second Canon, which is not without reason put in the first place in most MSS, hath been the subject of a famous contest between *Aurelius* and *F. Sirmondus*. For the better understanding of it we must fix upon the true reading of it. The Negative Particle which we meet with in some Editions, but not in others, makes a clean different sense. In the Old Edition of *Morlin* it is read at the end of this Canon, *Sed ne necessaria habeatur repititia Chrismatio*; *Crabb*, and *Binius* have observed in the Margin among the different Readings, *non Necessaria* in stead of *Necessaria*. Lastly, *F. Sirmondus* hath inserted in the Text the Negative Particle upon the Credit of several MSS,

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MSS, and the Authority of *Isidore*. By considering the preceding part of the Canon it is easy to know, that we must add this Negative Particle. This is the Translation of it Word for Word: *None of the Ministers, who are entrusted with the power to Baptize, ought to Administer it without having the Chrism, because we have a Custom among us to anoint with the Chrism but once; but if any Person be so anointed with the Chrism at his Baptism upon the account of some urgent necessity, the Priest shall administer him of it in his Confirmation, for we have but one Blessing of Chrism likewise.* After these Words come those which are the subject of the Controversy. *Non ut prejudicemus, sed ut non decessamus; Or, Necesse est habere reperta Chrismatio.* Now it is easy to see by the preceding Words, that the sense requires the Negative Particle, without which the Canon would contradict itself. And now having fixed the Reading of the Canon, it is necessary for the Explication of it to observe that in the beginning of the Church Baptism was always accompanied with Chrism and Imposition of Hands, as appears evidently by *Tertullian*; but that afterwards, when they began to separate Imposition of Hands, or Confirmation from Baptism, there were different usages of Confirmation or Unction. Some joyned it with Baptism, others with Impositions, and some others repeated it. In the Church of *Rome* there was a double Unction as is evident from *St Innocent's* Letter 1. but the Churches of *France* followed a quite different Custom as appears by this Canon, which proves, that they used but One Unction which was joyned with Baptism, and did not repeat it at Confirmation; but when it was omitted in Baptism they Administered it at Confirmation. This is the true sense of the Canon.

In the third Canon it is ordered, That those, who find themselves dangerously sick, when they are under Penance, shall be received into Communion, without the Imposition of Hands, in token of their Reconciliation; but if they recover, they shall still continue in a state of Penance, till they have completed it, and then shall be received to Communion by Imposition of Hands, as Persons reconciled. This Communion without Imposition of Hands in token of Reconciliation, is in the judgment of some, the Eucharist without Absolution; according to others a private Absolution without the Eucharist. I rather think that this Communion consisted in nothing but in some bare marks, which the Church gave to shew, that they received the Sick Person into her Communion, without giving him Absolution. This Canon must be Explained by the Canons of other Councils, because the Bishops who made it say, That they grant this Communion according to the definitions of the Holy Fathers, who have called this Communion a *Vaticum*, which relates to the 13th Canon of the Council of *Nice*, where it is said, That they shall give dying Persons their last *Vaticum*, as the most Necessary thing, which makes it evident, that the Communion of the Church is only meant. This is the Reason, that the Council adds, that when they desire the Eucharist, the Bishop shall not give it them, till he hath examined the Disposition of him, that demands it, which shews, That the Church did grant to Penitents, who were at the point of Death, the Communion of the Church, without giving them the Sacrament, with an Injunction to perform their Penance, when they are recovered.

In the fourth Canon it is decreed, That if a Clergy-man shall desire to undergo Penance, he shall not be denied. This was Ordained, because it was forbidden by several Canons of the Church to put the Clergy to public Penance. This Council excepts those who desire it themselves through Devotion, or otherwise.

In the fifth it is declared, That they ought not to deliver up those, who fly to the Churches for security; but they ought to be as in an *Ashum*, because of the respect which is due to that Holy place.

The sixth is against those who detained the Bond-Servants of Clergy-men in their Service, by way of Reprisal, instead of their own, who were fled into the Church.

The seventh is against those, who used them whom the Church had made free, as Slaves.

The eighth forbids a Bishop to Ordain a Clergy-man, who dwells in another Diocese. It orders him to make him continue sometime in his Diocese, and then not to ordain him till he hath first consulted his own Bishop.

In the ninth it is said, That if a Bishop hath Ordained any Persons belonging to another Church if he hath nothing to object against them, he ought either to send them back again, or obtain leave of their own Bishops.

The tenth shews, That if a Bishop hath built a Church in the Territories of another Bishop for his own profit or convenience, after he hath obtain'd leave of the Bishop of the place, who ought not to refuse him, he ought to reserve the Consecration of it to the Bishop of the place, who shall grant to the Bishop that built the Church, a liberty of Ordaining such persons Clerks to serve there as he shall prefer to him, or of approving such persons, who are already Ordained, as he shall choose. Lastly, He adds, That if any Lay-man build a Church he ought not to take any other Bishop to Consecrate it, than the Bishop of the Place. That which is said in this Canon concerning a Bishop that hath built a Church in another's Territories, that he shall prefer or choose the Clerks, whom he is bound to Ordain; or approve for the service of that Church, may discover to us the

^a This Clause *Longus* sets down thus, *Non prejudicantes cuicumq; hoc dicimus, sed ut necessaria habeamus Chrismatio.* Which seems full as agreeable if *reposita*, which is omitted in this reading, and is not more to the Custom of the Gallican Church, than our Authors reading; for the Negative Particle is made necessary only because of the word *reposita*. Which seems full as agreeable if *reposita*, which is omitted in this reading, and is not more to the Custom of the Gallican Church, than our Authors reading; for the Negative Particle is made necessary only because of the word *reposita*.

Original of Patronages. It appears plain enough, that the Bishop who builds a Church in another's Territories hath right in the Presentation; but it doth not appear, that it held good to the Successors in the Bishoprick, or to those in his Family.

The 11th Canon forbids Bishops to receive Persons Excommunicate by the Bishop before he hath reconciled them, and it orders that the Examination of the Justice or Injustice of their Excommunication shall be referred to the next Synod.

In the 12th Canon the Bishops of this Council declared, that they ought to baptize or accept their Repentance, who have lost their Senies on a sudden, provided that they do give, or have given any Marks that they did earnestly desire it.

In the 13th it is said, that we must grant to the Infensile, *Quæcumq; Petaris fidei*, which is not clear: 'Tis not probable that it means the Eucharist. I rather think it to be meant of pious Affiance, and some other Ceremonies. *Timotheus of Alexandria* observes Can. 13, that we may pray for a Fool that hath slain himself.

The 14th Canon prescribes, that the *Exergumeni* should be accepted to the Communion, who do what they can to cure themselves, and who are guided by the Councils and Admonitions of their Clergy, because the Sacrament can fortify them against the Assaults of the Devil, and purifie them.

In the 15th it is Ordained, that the possessed Catechumens be baptized.

The 16th forbids conferring Orders upon such Persons as have been openly troubled with an Evil Spirit, and deprives those of their Function, to whom it happens after their Ordination.

The 17th is almost unintelligible: Thus it is, *Cum Calice & Calix Offerendus & Administretur Eucharistia conferendus.* We must offer the Chalice with the Patin, and Consecrate it by mingling the Eucharist. The only sense it is capable of is this, that when they Consecrate the Chalice, or Plate, they must celebrate the Sacrament in those Vessels.

The 18th commands, that the Gospels be read hereafter to the Catechumens in all Churches.

The 19th imports, that the Catechumens shall not be suffered to go into the Baptistry.

The 20th, that it shall not be allowed them to receive the Benediction with the Faithful, no not in Domestic or private Prayers; and they shall be admonished to come by themselves to receive the Blessing, and the Sign of the Cross.

In the 21st it is decreed, that if two Bishops Ordain a Bishop alone without the concurrence of other Bishops, if the Bishop were Ordained against his Will, he shall be put into the place of one of them who Ordained him, and another shall be Ordain'd in the place of the other Bishop; but if he that was Ordained was voluntarily Ordained, he also shall be deposed.

The 22d orders, that for the future no Married Persons shall be Ordained Deacons, unless they make a profession of living in Chastity.

The 23d orders, that if it be found out that one of those Deacons do not abstain from his Wife, he shall be deprived.

The 24th excepts from this Law, those who have been Ordained heretofore. The only Penalty it inflicts on them is, that they cannot obtain any higher Orders.

The 25th appoints, that such Persons as have been twice Married; although never so worthy, shall be admitted to no other Orders than that of a Sub-Deacon.

The 26th forbids the Ordinations of Deacons for the future, and orders those that are already Ordained to receive the Blessing with the mere Laicks. Nevertheless the Council of *Nice* ranks them among the Clergy, Can. 19. *De Deaconibus, & omnibus qui in Clero censentur.* *S. Epiphanius* witnesses, that they were Ordained, and the Council of *Chalcedon* says it expressly, Can. 15. as well as the Council of *Ephesus*, Can. 21. and *Justinian's* Novels, Chap. 6.

The 27th Canon is concerning Widows professing Chastity, the Council requires, that it be done before the Bishop, and that it be discovered by their Widows-Garments, or by a kind of Vail put upon them, as it is the Roman Custom, and is decreed by the Council of *Toledo*, Can. 4. and by the Council of *Carthage*, Can. 104.

The Council of *Orange* adds, that the Ravishers of these Widows, and such as broke their Profession, shall be punished.

The 28th Canon Ordains, that such as break their Vow of Virginity, whether Men or Women, shall be made to do Penance.

In the 29th Canon the Bishops of the Council confirm the Decrees, that they had made, and require that they be observed by themselves, and their Brethren. They reprove them that neither come themselves, nor send their Deputies in their stead to the Provincial Synods, which ought to be held twice a Year. They give notice of the next Council, and charge *Hilary* to give notice of the time to those Bishops that were absent.

The last Canon appoints, that if a Bishop lose his Senies, or * Tongue, it shall not be lawful for his Priests to perform the Episcopal Functions in his presence, but he shall send for a Bishop, who shall perform the Episcopal Functions in his Church.

The COUNCIL of VASIO.

THE Council is much like the precedent, held at *Vasio* in 442. It made X Canons. The I imports, that the French Bishops need not be examined before they be received to the Communion, it is sufficient that it be not known they are excommunicated. The II commands, that the Oblations of such Penitents, as dying suddenly could not receive the Sacraments of the Church; should be received and accepted, and their Memory ought to be celebrated at the Altar, since if they had lived, they ought not to be kept from the Eucharist. The III orders, that the Priests or Ministers should every Year desire the Christm of their own Bishop about the Feast of *Easter*, and either go themselves to fetch it, or send their Sub-Deacon for it, [if necessary business will not permit them to go.] The IV is, that they shall be expelled the Church as Infidels, who keep back those Legacies which dying Persons have bequeathed to the Church. The V is, that if any Person doth not submit to the Sentence of his Bishop, he shall have relief from a Synod.

In the VI it is proved by the Testimony of the first Letter to S. *Clement*, that Christians ought not to hold any familiar Correspondence with the Enemies of Religion.

The VII, to prevent too much rashness in condemning the Guilty, enjoins the Bishops to be gentle, although they believe that a Person hath deserved to be separated from the Church for a time, and content themselves at the intreaty of others to reprove, and threaten him; and if they think any Person to deserve Condemnation for a great Crime, they ought to consider, that they should do it, as being their Accusers.

The VIII Canon imports, that if a Bishop knows the Crime of another, but cannot prove it, he ought not to divulge it, but only to endeavour by private reproof to amend him, whom he believes to be guilty. But if he prove obdurate, and will not reform, the Bishop may by his own Authority separate him from his Communion, although he continue in Communion with others that know not of it.

The IX and X Canons were made to prevent, that such Persons as have out of Charity taken upon them the care and charge of Foundlings, should not be deterred from so great a piece of Charity through fear of being proceeded against by Law, as it often happens, and being accused to have stolen them. The Council decreed according to the Law of *Homerius*, that they who find our-cast Children, should give notice of it to the Church; and that there may be no cheat about it, the Council adds, that it shall be published at the Altar on *Sunday*, that an our-cast child is found, that if any Person shall own it within 10 Days, it shall be restored, but afterward such a Demand shall not be received, or allowed. I do not speak of the other Synod held under *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* against *Proculus* and *Chelidinius*, because we have nothing more of them, than what is said in the Life of that Author.

The II COUNCIL of ARLES.

THE Council was held at *Arles* some time after the Council of *Vasio*, we have 56 Canons made by this Council, of which this is the Summary.

1. A Novice must not be chosen to be Ordained a Deacon, or Priest.
2. No Man may be made a Priest, who is Married, unless he will renounce the use of Marriage, which they call by the Name of Conversion.
3. A Person in Holy Orders above a Deacon, ought not to cohabit with any other Woman beside his Grand-Mother, his Daughter, his Niece, or Wife.
4. He ought not to get any Woman into his Chamber, whether bond or free.
5. A Bishop must not be Ordained without his Metropolitan, or his Letter, nor unless there be at least three Bishops present, and the others be summoned; and if there be any difference among them about it, the Metropolitan shall follow the plurality of Voices in the Election.
6. A Bishop Ordained without the consent of his Metropolitan, ought not to be a Bishop.
7. They, who not being able to subdue the Lufts of the Flesh, have made themselves Eunuchs, ought not to be received into the Clergy.
8. He that receives a Person Excommunicate shall give an account before a Council.
9. A Novation may not be received to Communion unless he renounce his Error.

10 and 11.

10 and 11. The II Canon of the Council of *Nice* shall be observed against them that fall into Idolatry.

12. They that die in the state of Penance, shall be received to Communion, and their Oblations received.

13. Clergymen shall not leave their Churches upon any Account whatsoever; and if it be found that one remaining in another Church be Ordained by the Bishop of that Church without the consent of his own Bishop, that Ordination shall be void, and null.

14. If a Clergyman puts out Money to Usury, or farmeth of another, or does any scandalous business, he shall be deposed and excommunicated.

15. That a Deacon ought not to sit down in the Church, or distribute the Sacrament in the presence of a Priest; if he doth, he shall be degraded.

16. That the *Paulianists* and *Photinians* ought to be baptized.

17. As to the *Bosniacs*, who baptize as well as the *Arrians* in the Name of the Trinity, it is sufficient to admit them into the Church by Christm, and Imposition of Hands.

18. The Synod shall meet according as the Bishop of *Arles* pleases to command.

19. They that shall absent themselves, or go away before the Council is ended, shall be separated from the Communion of the other Bishops.

20. Stage-Players and Comedians shall be kept from the Sacrament, as long as they act.

21. A Penitent may not Marry, or keep any suspicious Company.

22. Persons Married may not be put into a state of Penance.

23. If a Bishop neglect to root out such Superstitions as are found in his Diocese, he is guilty before God; and if the Author of them doth not amend, he shall not come to the Sacrament.

24. They that bring false Accusations against their Brethren for capital Crimes, shall be degraded of Communion till Death, if they do not make a satisfaction proportionable to the greatness of their Crime.

25. They, who having made Profession of Religion, do after apostatize from it, and do not fly to Repentance as a Remedy, shall not receive the Sacrament till they have done it, and shall never be admitted into the Number of the Clergy.

26. Such Heretics, as at the point of Death desire to become Orthodox, shall be confirmed by a Priest in the absence of the Bishop by Blessing and Christm.

27. Ministers who have Power to baptize, shall never be without Christm, because it is a Custom among the French Bishops to give the Christm but only once according to the Order of the Synod. This confirms the sense which we have given to the second Canon of the Council of *Orange*.

The following Canons as far as the 47th, contain the same Constitutions with those of the Council of *Orange*. The 47, 48, and 51, are the 4, 5, and 10, of the Council of *Vasio*.

The 49 imports, that if any Person be excluded from the Sacrament by the Bishops Authority, he ought to be deprived of the Company, and familiarity of the People, as well as of the Clergy.

The 50 is, that they who live in hatred one against another publicly, ought to be separated from the Communion, till they be reconciled one to another.

The 52 is against those who Marry, after they have vowed Virginity.

The 53 is, that a Master is not responsible, if a Servant kill himself.

The 55 establishes a new way of choosing a Bishop, ordering that to avoid Ambition and Strife, the Bishops should name three Persons, of whom the Clergy and People should choose one.

The 56, that no Person shall attempt any thing against the great Synod of the Metropolitan.

The COUNCIL of ANFOU.

THE Council was assembled Anno 433, on Sept. 25, to Ordain *Thalassius* Bishop of *Anjou*. There was but seven Bishops with *Thalassius*. After he was Ordain'd they made twelve Canons.

The first forbids Clergymen to bring their Differences before the Secular Judges, or to go out of their Church without the permission of their Bishop.

The second commands Deacons to give due respect to the Priests.

The third forbids all Encroachments and Oppressions.

The fourth, that the Clergy should not dwell with Women.

The fifth decrees, that they shall be treated very severely, who forsake their state of Penance, or Virginity.

The sixth is against Adulteries.

The seventh and eighth are against those Clerks or Monks, who forsake their sacred Functions in the Church, or their Monastick.

The ninth forbids Bishops Ordaining a Clergyman that belongs to another Bishop.

The tenth is very obscure, the sense of it can hardly be found out.

The

The 11th Ordains, that no Person shall be Ordained a Deacon or Priest, who hath had more than one Wife.
 The 12th Decrees, that all Persons who will be converted shall be received to Penance, and shall be granted Absolution according to the Discretion of the Bishop.

The III COUNCIL of ARLES.

THIS Council was assembled about the Year 455. *Octob. 30.* to determine the difference which was between *Faustus* Abbot of *Lerins*, and *Theodorus* Bishop of *Forum Julii*, about the Privileges of the Monastery of *Lerins*. Here it was decreed that the clergy, who Minister at the Altar, should be Ordain'd by *Theodorus* only, or by him whom he Commissions, that they shall receive the Chrism from him: If there be any Novices, he shall confirm them, and they shall not admit strange Clergymen to the Sacrament but by his Order, but all the Laymen of the Monastery should be subject to the Abbot only, and the Bishops shall not be concerned with them, nor shall Ordain any of them against the consent of the Abbot.

The COUNCIL of CONSTANTINOPLE, An. 459.

THIS Council held under *Germadius* [Patriarch of *Constantinople*] hath made an excellent Canon against Simony. It was made upon 82 Bishops, whose Subscriptions M. *Baluzius* hath published.

* *Tricastrum.* The Letter of *Lupus* Bishop of * *Troyes*, and *Euphronius* Bishop of *Augustodunum* to *Thalassius* Bishop of *Anjou*.

THIS Letter contains, 1. Rules concerning the different ways of celebrating the Vigils of the Festivals. 2. About the Clergy, that have been twice Married. They say, that it may be tolerated in the Lesser Orders as high as a Porter, but Exorcists, and Sub-Deacons, ought not to have been twice Married. 3. They say, that it were better for the Clergy to abstain from Marriage, but in this they must follow the Custom of the Churches. As to the Exorcists, and Sub-Deacons, they must not be suffer'd to Marry a second time; that in the Church of *Augustodunum* none of the Clergy, nor the Porters themselves are allowed it. 4. That the Sub-Deacons may receive the Kiss of Peace in the Sanctuary, but not at the Altar, to which they are not to approach, but when they give Palls to the Deacon.

The COUNCIL of * T O U R S.

THIS Council was held in the time of *Perpetuus* Bishop of *Tours* in 461. The Archbishop of *Bourges* and † *Reuen* were present at it with six other Bishops. The 1 and 2 Canons recommends a single Life to the Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The 3. forbids them to dwell with Women. The 4. prohibits the Clergy, who might Marry, to Marry Widows. The 5. condemns those, that desert Ecclesiastical Functions. The 6. thole that abuse the Virgins devoted to God. The 7. is against Manlayers. The 8. is against those, who forsake the state of Penance, which they have once entered upon. The 10. is against unlawful Ordinations. The 11. is against those, who leave their Churches with the leave of their Bishops. The 12. against those Clergy, who go without their Bishops Letters. The 13. forbids Usury to Clergymen.

The COUNCIL of VENNES.

THIS Council was soon after the Council of *Tours*. There were only five Bishops of the Province of *Tours*, who were assembled with *Perpetuus* their Metropolitan at *Venice* to Ordain a Bishop there. They made 16 Canons. They revived the Decrees made in all of the former Synods against Manlayers, c. 1. Against such Penitents as forsake their *Vennes*, Penance, c. 3. Against such consecrated Virgins as desert their condition, c. 4. Against Clergymen and Monks that go out of their Bishoprick, c. 5, 6. Or who go before Secular Judges, c. 9. Against Bishops, who Ordain the Clergy of other Bishops, c. 10.

There are also some other special Canons, as the 2d, which Excommunicates those, who Marry other Wives after the Divorce of the former, unless it be for Adultery. The 7th, which forbids the Monks to have separate Cells, unless they be very eminent for Virtue, or are sickly, and also upon condition that they remain within the Precinct of their Monastery, and under the Authority of the Abbot. The 8th, which prohibits Abbots that they have not several Monasteries, or Dwellings. The 11th, which forbids Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, who are not allowed to Marry, to frequent Banquetings and Meetings, where they sing Amorous Songs, and shew indecent Postures, for fear that those Eyes and Ears, which are set apart for the hearing of Holy Things, be not polluted with obscene Sights or Words. The 12th forbids all Clergymen going to the Jewish Feasts. The 13th orders that Clergymen, who are drunk, should be punished by separating them thirty Days, or some other bodily punishment. The 14th, that a Clergyman being in the City, who without a lawful Excuse absents himself from Divine Service, shall be separated from the Church-Communion seven Days. The 15th, that there shall be one way only of celebrating Divine Service, and singing in all the Province. The 16th, that such Persons shall be excluded from the Church, as pretend to prophesie, and foretell things, whether it be by Auguries, or other Superstitious Ceremonies, (called *The Saints Lots*), or by any other way whatsoever. The Council dedicated these Canons to *Thalassius* Bishop of *Anjou*, and to *Virivius*.

The Council of ROME under Pope Hilarius.

THIS Council consisted of 48 Bishops. They approved of the Ancient Canons concerning the Qualifications as such as may be Ordained, confirmed by Pope *Hilarius*. These Constitutions are common, and often repeated, that a Person twice Married, or ignorant, or ill of that had done publick Penance, shall not be Ordained. They add, that a Bishop newly Ordained, Rome, shall reform what his Predecessor hath done amiss. Lastly, the last Canon forbids Bishops choosing their Successor against the abuse which was then common in *Spain*.

It hath been our Custom at the end of every Tome to give an Abridgement of the Doctrine, Discipline and Morality of the Age, which we have treated of in it; but things are so clear, and so often repeated in this Fifth Age, that it is needless to repeat them here, having spoken so often of them, being well assured, that they who will take the pains to read the Two Parts of this Volume with any Attention, will have a very true Idea of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Morality taught and practised in this Age.

[The Councils have been published by *Binius* in 4 Vol. Fol. at *Colen* in 1606. 1618. and in 10 Vol. at *Paris* 1636. and by Father *Labbe* and *Cossartius* in 18 Vol. at *Paris* 1672. in Fol. at large. Fr. *Longus* à *Coseno*, put out an Abridgement of the Councils in Folio, with his own Notes at *Anno* 1623.]

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORS CONTAINED

In the Second Part of the Third Volume of the
New History of Ecclesiastical Writers.

ATTICUS,
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Ordained 406.
Died in 427.
TICHONIUS,
A Donatist, He flourished in the time of *Rufinus*
and *S. Austin*.
LEPORIUS,
A Monk, Retracted his Errors after the Year
428.
ISIDORUS,
A Priest of *Damascus*, Flourished from the begin-
ning of the Fifth Age, till towards the Year
435.
CASSIANUS,
A Monk and Abbot, Born about the Year 370.
Flourished in the beginning of the Fifth Age.
Died according to some 430. according to
others in 440.
S. NILUS,
A Monk, Born about the Year 406. Flourished
in the beginning of the Fifth Age, Died in
the Year 451.
The **AUTHOR**
Of the Confessions of Faith attributed to *Rufinus*,
He lived in the beginning of the Fifth Age.
POSSIDIUS,
A Deacon, In the beginning of the Fifth Age.
URANIUS,
A Priest, About the middle of the Fifth Age.
S. CELESTINE,
Bishop of *Rome*, Chosen Anno 423. Died Anno
432.
S. CYRIL,
Patriarch of *Alexandria*, Ordained Octob. 16.
Anno 412. Died in 444.
M. MERCATOR,
A Layman, Flourished about the Year 430.
ANIANUS,
A Deacon of *Celada*, Flourished about the same
time.
TULIANUS,
Bishop of *Eclane*, Born Anno 386. Ordained in
416. Wrote under the Pontificat of *Zosimus*,
Died in 455.
NESTORIUS,
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Ordained in 428.
Deposed in 431. Died about 440.

JOHN,
Patriarch of *Antioch*, Flourished from the Year
427. Died Anno 439.
ACACIUS,
Bishop of *Beras*, Flourished at the end of the
Fourth Age, and beginning of the Fifth Age.
Ordained Bishop in 378. Died in 436.
MELETIUS,
Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, } Flourished about the
Year 430. Deposed
and Banished in
435.
DOROTHEUS,
Bishop of *Martianople*.
ALEXANDER,
Bishop of *Hierapolis*.
ZENOBIUS,
Bishop of *Zephyria*.
EUTHERIUS,
Of *Tyana*, Flourished about the same time. He
died in the possession of his See.
THEODOTUS,
Bishop of *Angra*, Flourished about the Year
430.
ACACIUS,
Bishop of *Melitine*. } Flourished about the
same time.
MEMNON,
Bishop of *Ephesus*.
RHEGINUS,
Bishop of *Constantia*.
MAXIMIANUS,
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Ordained about the
end of the Year 431. Died in 434.
SIXTUS III.,
Bishop of *Rome*, Ordained in 432. Died, Mar.
440.
PROCLUS,
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Flourished in the be-
ginning of the Fifth Age, and Ordained Bi-
shop in 434. Died in 446.
CAPREOLUS,
Bishop of *Carthage*, succeeded *S. Augustin* in
431.
AHONORATUS,
Bishop of *Constantina* in *Africa*, Flourished about
the Year 440.
VICTOR,
A Priest of *Antioch*, He lived about the middle
of the Fifth Age.

VICTO-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

VICTORINUS,
A Rhetorician of *Marcellus*, About the same
time.
CÆL. SEDULIUS,
A Christian Poet. Wrote his Poem in 430.
PHILIPPUS,
Bishop of *Syda*. He flourished from the year
440.
PHILOSTORGIUS,
An Historian, Born about the year 388, flour-
ished about the middle of the Fifth Age.
NONNUS,
A Poet. He lived in the Fifth Age.
SOCRATES,
A Schoolman, Lawyer, and Historian, Born
about the year 380, flourished about the
440.
HERMIAS SOZOMENUS,
A Lawyer, Schoolman, and Historian. Flour-
ished about the middle of the Fifth Age, and
wrote some time after *Socrates*.
THEODORET,
Bishop of *Cyrrus*. Born in 386, Ordained in
420, Dyed in 457.
ANDREW,
Bishop of *Samfata*. Flourished at the same
time with *Theodoret*, Dyed before the Year
450.
HELLADIUS,
Bishop of *Tarfus*. } Flourished about the
same time.
MAXIMINUS,
Bishop of *Araarum*.
IRENEUS,
A Count, and afterward a Bishop in *Phenicia*.
He was present at the Council of *Ephesus* in
the Quality of a Count, and was Ordained
a Bishop in 444, banished in 448, Dyed a-
bout the Year 460.
S. LEO,
Bishop of *Rome*. Arch-Deacon of *Rome* in the
Popedom of *S. Sixtus*, Ordained Bishop in
May 440. Dyed in 461.
S. HILARIUS,
Bishop of *Arles*. Ordained Bishop in 429, Dyed
in 454.
S. VINCENTIUS,
A Monk of *Lerins*. Wrote his Treatise in 434.
S. EUCHERIUS,
A Monk of *Lerins*. Flourished about the Year
440. Dyed in 454.
S. PETRUS,
Surnamed
CHRYSOLOGUS,
Bishop of *Ravenna*, Ordained in the Popedom
of *S. Sixtus*, Dyed about the Year 450, be-
fore 458.
MAXIMUS,
Bishop of *Turin*. Flourished in the Empire of
Honorius, and *Theodosius* the Younger, Dyed
about the Year 465.
VALERIANUS, or
VALERIUS,
Bishop of *Cemele* in the *Sea-Alpes*. He was at
the Councils of *France* in 437, and 455.
VICTOR,
Bishop of *Cartena* in *Africa*. Flourished about
the Year 440, in the time of the Persecution
of *Genfericus* King of the Vandals.

S. PROSPER,
Of *Aquitain*, Flourished after the Year 430.
Dyed in 456.
The **AUTHOR**
Of the Books of the Calling of the Gentiles,
and of the Epistle to *Demetria*. He wrote
about the Year 440.
FLAVIANUS,
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Ordained in 446,
Dyed in 451.
ANATOLIUS,
Flavian's Successor in the same See, Ordained
in 451, Dyed in 458.
Several **AUTHORS**
Of Petitions, and Letters for, and against *Eury-
tyches*, In the time, and after the Council of
Chalcedon.
PASCHASINUS, } Flourished in the
time of the Council
of *Chalcedon*.
TULIAN,
Bishop of *Coo*.
BISILIUS,
Bishop of *Seleucia*. He was present at the Coun-
cil of *Constantinople* under *Flavian*, and at the
Council of *Chalcedon*.
TIMOTHEUS ELURUS,
Bishop of *Alexandria*, Ordained in 457.
CHRYSIPPUS,
Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Flourished at the end of
the Fifth Age.
VIGILIUS,
A Deacon. About the end of the Fifth Age.
FASTIDIUS PRISCUS,
According to some, Bishop of *London*. About
the end of the Fifth Age.
DRACONTIUS,
A Priest of *Spain*. About the end of the Fifth Age.
EUDOCIA,
An Empress, Under the Empire of *Theodosius*,
Junior. Dyed in the Year 460.
PROB. FALCONIA,
Wife of *Ancius Probus*, Flourished about 430.
TORCIUS RUFUS ASTERIUS,
A Consul. Flourished about the Year 450.
PETRONIUS,
Bishop of *Bononia*, Flourished about the same
time. Dyed in the Reign of *Theodosius* and
Valentinian.
CONSTANTINUS, or **CONSTANTIUS**,
A Priest of *Lyons*. About the end of the Fifth
Age.
PHILIP,
A Priest, Scholar of *S. Jerom*. Flourished a-
bout the Year 450. Dyed in the Empire of
Marcian.
SIAGRIVS,
Towards the end of Fifth Age.
ISAAC,
A Priest of the Church of *Antioch*. About the
end of the Fifth Age.
S. SIMEON,
Stylites, i.e. a Monk Dwelling on a Pillar. Fa-
mous about the middle of the Fifth Age.
MOCHIMUS, or **MOSCHIMUS**,
Steward of the Church of *Hierapolis*, and Priest
of the Church of *Antioch*. About the end of
the Fifth Age.
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ASCLE-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

ASCLEPIUS, a Bishop of Africa in the Region of Baie. Flourished about the end of the Fifth Age.

PETRUS, A Priest of the Church of Edessa.

PAULUS, A Priest of Pannonia.

SALVIAN, A Priest of Marseille. Flourished the 50 last Years of the Fifth Age. Dyed at the end of the Fifth Age.

ARNOBIUS, The Younger. About the end of the Fifth Age.

HONORATUS, Bishop of Marseille. About the end of the 5th Age.

SALONIUS, Sons of Eucherius. Bishop of Geneva. Flourished about the end of the 5th Age.

VERANUS, Bishop of Vienne.

PAULINUS, Petricorn, or Petricordus. Towards the end of the Fifth Age.

MUSEUS, A Priest of Marseille. Dyed about the Year 466.

VINCENTIUS, A French Priest. About the end of the Fifth Age.

SYRUS, or **CYRUS**, A Physician, Philosopher, and Monk of Alexandria. About the end of the Fifth Age.

SAMUEL, A Priest of the Church of Edessa. Flourished just at the end of the Fifth Age.

CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS, A Priest of the Church of Vienna. About the end of the Fifth Age.

PASTOR, A Bishop. At the same time.

VOCONIUS, Bishop of Castellum in Mauritania. At the same time.

EUTROPIUS, A Priest. At the same time.

EVAGRIUS, At the same time.

TIMOTHEUS, A Bishop. At the same time.

EUSTATHIUS, At the same time.

THEODULUS, A Priest of Calabria.

EUGENIUS, Bishop of Carthage, and Confessor. Ordained about the Year 465.

CERIALIS, Bishop of Africa. Flourished in the Persecution of Hunericus.

SERVUS-DEI, A Bishop. About the end of the Fifth Age.

IDACIUS, Of Concon in Gallia, Bishop of Lucu. Wrote to Leo 437.

VICTORIUS, Born at Lemovicum. Wrote in 457.

GENNADIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople. Ordained in 458. Dyed in 471.

ANTIPATER, Flourished toward the end of the Fifth Age.

HILARUS, or **HILARIUS**, Bishop of Rome. Arch-Deacon under S. Leo. Ordained Bishop Nov. 17. 461. Dyed in 467.

SIMPLICIUS, Bishop of Rome. Ordained in 467. Dyed in 483.

FAUSTUS, An Englishman, a Priest, Monk, and Abbot of Lerins, and after Bishop of Riez. Flourished after the Year 450. Dyed at the end of the Fifth Age.

RURICIUS, Bishop of Lemovicum.

DIDIERUS, Bishop of Cadurcum.

C. SOLLUS APOLLINARIS SIDONTUS, Bishop of Clermont. Born in the Year 430. Ordained in 472. Died Aug. 21. 487.

JOANNES TELAI, or **TELAIDA**, A Monk of Tabenna, and afterward a Bishop of Alexandria. Ordained in 481. Died toward the end of the Fifth Age, or the beginning of the Sixth.

JOHN, A Grammarian, and Priest of Antioch. Flourished toward the end of the Fifth Age.

JOHN AEGATES, A Nestorian Priest. He wrote toward the end of the Fifth Age.

VICTOR, Bishop of Vita, in the Province of Byzaceum in Africa. He wrote toward the end of the Fifth Age.

VIGILIUS, Bishop of Thapsus in the Province of Byzaceum.

FELIX III., Bishop of Rome. Ordained in 483. Died in 492.

THE AUTHOR, Of the Memoir concerning the Affair of Acticius. Wrote in 486.

GELASIUS, Bishop of Rome. Ordained in 492. Died in 496.

ANASTASIUS II., Bishop of Rome. Was Ordained, November 28. 495. Died in 498.

PASCHASIUS, A Deacon of the Church of Rome. Flourished under the Popedom of Anastasius, and Symmachus.

JULIANUS POMERIUS, Born in Mauritania, but a Priest in France. At the end of the Fifth Age.

GENNADIUS, A Priest of Marseilles. At the end of the fifth Age.

NEMES

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

NEMESIUS, A Christian Philosopher, according to some Bishop of Emesa.

ANES GAZIUS, A Christian Philosopher.

At the end of the Fifth Age.

GELASIUS, Of Cyzicum. At the end of the Fifth Age.

THE AUTHOR, Of the Books attributed to Saint Dionysius the Areopagite. Wrote towards the end of the Fifth Age, or in the beginning of the Sixth.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

COUNCILS

Spoken of in this Volume.

THE Council of Rome under Celestine, held in 430.

The Council held at Alexandria in November the same Year.

The General Council held at Ephesus, in 431.

A Conference between the Eastern and Egyptian Bishops at Chalcedon in 431.

A Synod held at Trifus by the Eastern Bishops, about the end of the same year.

At Antioch some time after.

At Antioch against Rabulus.

At Antioch about the peace, the same year.

An Assembly at Anazarbus in 433.

A Council of the Bishops of Cilicia in 435.

A Council at Antioch in 436.

A Council at Riez, in 439.

The I Council of Orange, in 441.

The Council of Vasio, in 442.

The II Council of Arles a little after.

The Council of Domus against Sabinius in 446.

The Council of Proclus in favour of Basilianus, in 447.

A Council at Constantinople, in 448.

A Synod at Berytus concerning Ibas.

A II Council held at Constantinople the same Year, or the next.

The Council of Ephesus under Dioscorus, in 449.

A Council at Rome under S. Leo, in 449.

A Council at Constantinople under Anatolius, in 449, or 50.

The General Council of Chalcedon, in 451.

The Council of Arles, in 455.

The III Council of Arles, in 455.

A Conference at Carthage between the Orthodox, and Arian Bishops, in 456.

A Council at Constantinople, in 459.

The Letter of Lupus Bishop of Troyes, and Euphanus Bishop of Augustodunum about the same time.

The Council of Tours in 461.

A Council at Venice a little after.

A Council at Rome under Hilarius, in 462.

A Synod at Arles in 463.

A Council at Rome in 465.

A Council of 67 Bishops held at Rome under Felix III. against Acacius, July 28. 484.

Another Council at Rome August 1. in the same Year.

A Council at Rome under Pope Gelasius, in 494.

A Council called for the abolition of Misenus, in 495.

A

A TABLE of the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors mentioned in the Second Part of the III Volume of this New History of Ecclesiastical Writers.

ATTICUS Bishop of Constantinople.

His Genuine WORKS which we have.

HIS Letter to S. Cyril.
A Fragment of his Treatise of Faith, cited by S. Cyril, and in the Council of Ephesus.

A Fragment of his Letter to Euphrosius cited by Theodoret.

His Letter to Calliopius recited by Socrates in his History, Lib. 7. Chap. 25.

The Answers of this Bishop in favour of the Novatians recited by Socrates.

WORKS left.

Several Sermons, and some Letters.

A Treatise of Faith, and Virginity, dedicated to the Princesses the Daughters of Arcadius.

TICHONIUS.

His Genuine WORKS which we have.

His Books of the VII Rules for the Explication of Holy Scripture.

His WORKS left.

Three Books of the Intestate War.

A Narration of divers Causes.

A Treatise upon the Apocalypse.

LEPORIUS.

His Genuine WORKS which we have.

His Book of Reservations.

S. ISIDORE the Palmyrene.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

Two Thousand, and 12 Letters upon different Subjects.

JOANNES CASSIANUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

His Institutions of Monks, in 12 Books.

His 24 Collations, or Conferences.

Seven Books about the Incarnation.

S. NILUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

A Treatise of the Monastick Life.

A Treatise entituled *Peristeria*, dedicated to the Monk *Agerhivus*.

A Discourse of Voluntary Poverty dedicated to *Magna* the Deaconess.

A Moral Discourse.

A Comparison between the Life of the Anchorites, and other Monks.

Two Treatises to *Eulogius*.

A Treatise of the eight Vices, published by F. Combefis.

A Discourse of Evil Thoughts.

His Sentences.

A Sermon upon these words of the Gospel, *But he that now hath a Scrip, let him take it.*

Some Fragments of two Sermons upon the Feast of Easter, and of three upon *Whitsuntide*, received by *Phorius*, Cod. 276.

Seven Narrations of the Persecutions of the Monks of Sinai.

A Discourse in praise of *Albinianus*.

Several Letters.

WORKS left.

A Treatise of Compunction.

A Commentary upon the *Psalms*.

Several Sentences, and some Letters.

Supposititious WORKS.

The Manuel of *Epiphanius*.

Pachon. A Dogmatical Discourse.

Several Sentences.

The Author of the Professions of Faith attributed to **RUFFINIUS.**

WORKS extant.

Two Confessions of Faith, the one published by F. Sirmondus, the other by F. Garner.

POSSIDIUS the Deacon.

His Genuine WORK.

The Life of S. Austin.

URANIUS.

His Genuine WORK.

The Life of S. Paulinus.

S. CELESTINE Pope.

His Genuine WORKS.

A Letter against the *Pelagians*.

Aphorisms of Grace composed by his Order.

A Letter to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vinenna* and *Narbon*.

A Letter to the Bishops of *Apulia* and *Calabria*.

Letters concerning the Affair of *Nestorius*.

S. CYRIL Bishop of Alexandria.

His Genuine WORKS.

17 Books of the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth.

A Book against the Emperor *Julian* in 10 Parts. *Glaphyra*, or a Curious and Elegant Commentary upon the *Pentateuch*.

A Commentary upon *Isaiah*.

A Commentary upon the Twelve Minor Prophets.

A Commentary on S. John's Gospel, divided into Twelve Books. We have only some Fragments of the Seventh and Eighth.

A Treatise called *Thefaurus*.

Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, and Two on the Incarnation.

A Discourse of the Orthodox Faith to *Theodosius* the Emperor.

A Writing to the Empreſſes.

Five Books against *Nestorius*.

His Twelve Chapters, and their Defence.

His Apology to *Theodosius*.

His Letters and Sermons against *Nestorius*.

A Treatise against the *Anthropomorphites*.

His Paschal Homilies, and other Sermons.

Several Letters.

His Answers to the Questions of certain Monks.

WORKS left.

His Commentaries upon the Prophets *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*.

A Commentary on S. Matthew.

A Treatise about the failure of the Synagogue.

A Book of Faith. Divers Treatises.

Supposititious WORKS.

A Treatise about the Trinity.

A Collection of Moral Explications.

MARIUS MERCATOR.

His Genuine WORKS.

His first Memoir against the *Pelagians*.

His second Memoir against the same Hereticks. Observations on the Writings of *Julian*.

A Book against *Nestorius*, to prove the Conformity of his Doctrine with P. *Samofatenus*'s.

A Treatise against *Nestorius*'s 12 Chapters.

A Translation and Collection of several Pieces.

WORKS left.

A Treatise against the *Pelagians* mentioned by S. Austin.

ANIANUS.

A Genuine WORK.

A Translation of 15 or 16 of S. *Chrysostom*'s Homilies.

JULIANUS.

His Genuine WORKS.

A Fragment of a Letter to Pope *Zosimus*, recited by *Marius Mercator*.

A Profession of Faith to Pope *Zosimus*.

Another Confession of Faith to *Rufinus* Bishop of *Theſſalonica*.

of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

The first of his four Books to *Turbanius* against the first Books of S. *Austin* of Marriage and Concupiscence. Some Fragments of the three other Books.

Eight other Books against the second Book of the same Work, the first five of which are in S. *Austin*'s imperfect Work.

A Fragment of the three other Books in *Bede*.

WORKS left.

Some, that he composed before he declared himself against S. *Austin*.

A Letter to Pope *Zosimus*.

His three last Books to *Turbanius*.

His three last to *Florus*. A Treatise of Love.

A Commentary upon the *Canticus*.

A Book concerning Constancy.

NESTORIUS.

His Genuine WORKS.

A Sentence taken out of his first Sermon preached at *Constantinople*, quoted by *Socrates*.

Fragments of his Sermons.

Two Letters to S. *Cyril*.

Two Letters to S. *Celestine*.

A Letter to *Caleſtius*.

A Letter to *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapoli*.

The 12 Chapters of *Nestorius* contrary to S. *Cyril*'s.

A Letter to *John* Bishop of *Antioch*.

A Declaration of his Opinions.

A Letter to the Emperor.

A Letter to the Emperor's Eunuch.

Another to the *Præſul* *Prætorio*.

Some Fragments of Letters written in his Exile, recited by *Evagrius*, l. 1. c. 7.

WORKS left.

Some Sermons preached at *Antioch*.

His entire Sermons preached at *Constantinople*.

JOHN Bishop of Antioch.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

Some Letters in Greek and Latin in the Acts of the Council at *Ephesus*, and 15 in Latin in the Collection of F. *Lupus*.

One of his Homilies in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*.

ACACIUS Bishop of Beroa.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

A Letter in Greek and Latin in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*.

Two Letters in *Lupus*'s Collection.

PAULUS Bishop of Emesa.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

Two Homilies about the Peace between the Eastern and Egyptian Bishops.

A Letter in Latin.

MELETIUS Bishop of Mopsuſta.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

Eleven Letters in F. *Lupus*'s Collection.

DORO.

A TABLE of all the Writings

DOROTHEUS Bishop of Marisapole.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Four Letters. *Ibid.*

ALEXANDER Bishop of Hierapole.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
24 Letters. *Ibid.*

EUTHERTUS Bishop of Thama.

His Genuine WORKS.
A Work entitled, *The Tragedy*.
Several Letters in *Lupus's* Collection.

THEODOTUS Bishop of Ancyra.

His Genuine WORKS.
Two Sermons upon Christ's Nativity.
A Sermon preached upon S. John's Day.
A Discourse upon the Nicene Creed.
WORKS left.
Six Books against *Nestorius* dedicated to *Lausus*.
A Sermon upon *Candlemass-Day*.
A Sermon upon *Elias* and the Widow.
Another upon S. Peter and S. John.
Another upon the same Man laid at the Gate of the Temple.
Another upon the Servants that received the Talent.
Another upon the two blind Men.
A Sermon upon the Virgin and S. Simeon.

ACACIUS Bishop of Meletina.

His Genuine WORKS.
An Homily, and a Letter.

MEMNON

A Letter.
RHEGINUS.
A Discourse in the Council of *Ephesus*.
MAXIMIAN.
A Letter to S. Cyril.

ALEPIUS and **CARISIUS.**
Two Petitions in the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*.

S. SIXTUS III.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Two Letters to S. Cyril, before he knew of the Peace, published by M. *Cotelerius*.
Two Letters after he had heard of it, the one to S. John Bishop of *Antioch*, and the other to S. Cyril.

Supposititious WORKS.

A Letter to the Eastern Bishops.
The Acts of the Council about the *Accusation* brought against *Sixtus* by *Bassus*.
The Council held by *Polychronius*.

PROCLUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
20 Sermons.

CAPREOLUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Letter to the Council of *Ephesus*.
A Treatise upon the Incarnation.

ANTONINUS HONORATUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Consolatory Letter to *Arcadius*.

VICTOR Bishop of *Antioch*.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Commentary upon S. Mark.

VICTORINUS of *Masfille*.

His Genuine WORK.
A Poem upon the History of *Genesis*.

CELIUS SEDULIUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Poem upon the Life of Jesus Christ, called, A Paschal Work. The same Work in Prose.

PHILIP SEDETES.

WORKS left.
A Book against *Julian's* Books.
The History of Christianity divided into 30 Books.

PHILOSTORGIUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Some Extracts of his History recited by *Protrius*.
A WORK *left*.
An History divided into 12 Books.

NONNUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Paraphrase in Greek Verse upon the Gospel of S. John. His *Dionysiacus*.

SOCRATES.

His Genuine WORK.
His Ecclesiastical History divided into seven Books.

SOZOMEN.

His Genuine WORK.
His Ecclesiastical History divided into nine Books.

THEODORET.

His Genuine WORKS.
A Commentary by way of Question and Answer upon the eight first Books of the Bible.
A Commentary upon all the *Psalms*.
An Explication upon the *Canticles*.
Commentaries upon *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, the 12 small Prophets, and S. Paul's Epistles.
His Ecclesiastical History divided in five Books. His

of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

His History, entitled, *Philosthen*, or, Of the Monastick Life.

Erastus, or *Polymorphus*, contained in three Dialogues.

Five Books of Heretical Tables.

10 Discourses of Providence.

12 Books about the Cure of the false Opinions of the Heathens.

A Discourse of Charity.

A Sermon upon S. John published by F. *Garnet*.
A Letter to *Sporarius*, or rather a Fragment of his Treatise of Heresies.

A Letter to *John* Bishop of *Germanicia*.

A Confutation of S. Cyril's twelve Chapters.

Some Fragments of his Books against S. Cyril.

Some Letters in the time of the Council of *Ephesus*.

Some Letters in the time of Negotiating the Peace in Latin in *Lupus's* Collection.

Letters written after the Peace to his Death.

WORKS left.

A Commentary on *Isaiah*.

Five Books against S. Cyril.

A Treatise upon the Incarnation.

Several Treatises against the *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, *Apollinarists*, *Marcionites* and *Jews*.

An Answer to the Questions of the *Perfian* *Magi*.

A Mystical Book.

An Apology for *Dionysius* Bishop of *Tarsus*, and for *Theodorus* Bishop of *Masfetta*.

Supposititious WORKS.

A Preface upon the *Psalms*.

Some Fragments of a Commentary upon the *Psalms*.

Five Sermons in the praise of S. *Chryssostom*, of which *Photius* gives us some Extracts.

ANDREW Bishop of *Samosata*.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Confutation of S. Cyril's Chapters.
Nine Letters in *Lupus's* Collection.

A WORK left.

A Reply to S. Cyril's Answer to his Confutation of his twelve Chapters.

HALLADIUS Bishop of *Tarsus*.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Seven Letters in *Lupus's* Collection.

MAXIMINUS Bishop of *Anazarbun*.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Some Letters in *Lupus's* Collection.

IRENEUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Some Extracts of his Work, entitled, A *Tragedy*.

S. LEO.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
141 Letters, and 96 Sermons.

WORKS left.

Several Letters, and some Sermons.

Supposititious WORKS.

The seventh Letter to *Seppimus*, and ninth to the Bishops of *Vienna*, are doubtful.

Those Letters, which were heretofore the 88th, and 96th.

Three Sermons.

HILARY Bishop of *Arles*.

His Genuine WORKS.
The Life of *Honoratus* Bishop of *Arles*.
A Poem upon *Genesis*.
A Letter to S. *Eucherius*.

WORKS left.
His Homilies upon all the Festivals.
An Exposition of the Creed.

Several Letters.

His Poetical Works.

S. VINCENTIUS LERINENSIS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Memoir against the Heresies.
Objections against S. *Austin's* Doctrine.

A WORK left.

The second part of his Memoir against the Heresies.

S. EUCHERIUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Treatise in praise of Solitude.
A Treatise of the Contempt of the World.
A Treatise of Spiritual Forms dedicated to *Verum*.
Two Books of Instructions, and S. *Blandina's* Sermons.

WORKS left.
An Abridgment of *Cassian*. Several Sermons.

Supposititious WORKS.

A Commentary upon *Genesis*, and the Book of *Kings*.
The History of S. *Maurice's* Sufferings.

MAXIMUS Bishop of *Turin*.

His Genuine WORKS.
Several Homilies.

VALERIANUS CEMELIENSIS.

His Genuine WORKS.
20 Homilies, and one Letter to the Monks.

VICTOR CARTENNENSIS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Comfort in Adversity among the Works of S. *Basil*.

A Treatise of Repentance in S. *Ambrose*.
WORKS left.

A Treatise against the *Arians*, several Homilies.

A Discourse about the Publican's Repentance.

S. PROSPER.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Letter to S. *Austin*.

Another to *Rufinus*.

An Answer to *Vincentius's* Objections.

An Answer to some new Objections against S. *Austin's* Doctrine.

An Answer to the Propositions extracted by the Priests of *Geneva*.

A Book against the Collator.

A Poem *De ingratis*.

Two Epigrams against the Adversaries of S. *Austin*.

Some Sentences of S. *Austin* in Verse.

Other Sentences in Prose.

A Commentary on the 50 last *Psalms*.

His *Chronicon* published by F. *Labbe*.

* L 1

Supposititious

A TABLE of all the Writings

Supposititious WORKS.

A Poem concerning Providence.
A Poem in the Name of an Husband to his Wife.

His Book of Divine Promises and Predictions.
Two Books of a Contemplative Life.

S. Prosper's Confession,
The *Chronicon*, published by *F. Pitheus*: An Unknown Author of *S. Prosper's* time, of thereabouts.

Ancient WORKS, though not *S. Prosper's*.
Two Books of the Vocation of the Gentiles.
The Epistle to *Demetrius*.

FLAVIAN

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Three Letters against *Eutyches*.

ANATOLIUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Letter to the Emperor *Leo*. Another to *S. Leo*.

EUSEBIUS, Bishop of *Dorylaeum*.

His Genuine WORKS.
Two Petitions and a Letter.

IBAS.

His Genuine WORK.
His Letter to *Marius* the Persian.

PASCHASIUS, Bishop of *Lilibeum*.

A Letter concerning the Passover.

GULIAN, Bishop of *Coos*.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Letter to *S. Leo*.

PROTERIUS, Bishop of *Alexandria*.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Letter concerning the Passover.

LEO BITURICENSIS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Letter to *S. Leo*.

RUSTICUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Letter to *S. Eucherius*.

LUPUS TRICASSINUS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Two Letters.

LEONTIUS, Bishop of *Arles*.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Letter to Pope *Hilarius*.

BASIL of Seleucia.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Fourty Homilies.

TIMOTHEUS ALCURUS.

A WORK left.
A Writing to the Emperor *Leo*.

CHRISIPPUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Sermon in Praise of the Virgin.
WORKS left.
The History of *Samuel*, and *Nicodemus*.
A Panegyric upon *Theodorus*.

VIGILIUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Rule for the Monks in *Hollstenius's* Collection: Part 1. p. 89.

FASTIDIUS PRISCUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Treatise of the Christian Life.

DRACONCIUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Poem upon the Six Days of the Creation.

EUDOCIA.

Her Genuine WORK, &c.
An Epigram, called *Cento*es *Homenici*,
WORKS left.
A Paraphrase upon the eight first Books of the Bible.
A Paraphrase upon the Prophecy of *Daniel* and *Zachary*.
Three Books on praise of *Cyprian* the Martyr.
A Supposititious WORK.
Homer's Cento's.

PROB. FALCONIA.

Her Genuine WORKS.
Virgil's Cento's.

TYRSIUS RUFUS ASTERIUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Conference in Verse about the Old and New Testament.

PETRONIUS.

WORKS left.
The Lives of the Egyptian Fathers.
A Treatise about the Ordination of a Bishop.

CONSTANTIUS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
The Life of *S. German*, Bishop of *Amisfordorum*.
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of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

PHILIPPUS.

WORKS left.
A Commentary on *Joh.* His Letters to his Friends.

SIAGRIVS.

WORKS left.
A Treatise about the Faith in the Trinity.
Another Treatise of Faith, and the Rules of Faith.

ISAAC.

WORKS left.
See the Catalogue p. 213, 214.

A Supposititious WORK.
A Treatise of the contempt of the World, which is the Work of another *Isaac* more Modern.
S. SIMEON STELITES.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.

A short Discourse, and some Letters.

MOCHIMVS.

A WORK left.

A Treatise against *Eutyches*.

ASCLEPIVS.

WORKS left.
Some Writings against the *Arians* and *Donatists*.

PETRVS.

WORKS left.

Treatises upon different Subjects.

Psalms in Verse.

PAUL.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Two Books of Virginity.
His Treatises of the contempt of the World.
Of the Institution of a Christian Life, or the Correcting of Manners.

SALVIAN.

His Genuine WORKS.
Eight Books of the Government of God and of Judgment.

Four Books of the Catholic Church under the Name of *Timotheus*.

WORKS left.

Three Books of the advantages of Virginity.
A Book to *Claudian* upon the end of *Ecclesiastes*.

A Book of Letters. Several Homilies.
A Treatise in *Hexameter* Verse, upon the *Hexameron*.

A great number of Discourses on the Sacrament.

Supposititious WORKS.

Three Books of Questions to reconcile the Old and New Testament.

ARNOBIUS Junior.

His Genuine WORK, &c.

A Commentary upon the Psalms.

HONORATUS, Bishop of *Marcellus*.

His Genuine WORK.
The Life of *S. Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, under the name of *Reverentius*.

WORKS left.

The Lives of the Saints, and several Homilies.
SALONIUS and *VERANUS*.

Genuine WORKS.

A Letter to *S. Leo*. A Mythical Exposition.
An Explication of *Solomon's* Proverbs.

PAULINVS of Perigueux.

His Genuine WORKS.
Six Books of the Life and Miracles of *S. Martin*.

MUSEVS.

A WORK left.
A Treatise upon the Sacraments.

VINCENTIVS.

A WORK left.
A Commentary upon the Psalms.

STRVS.

A WORK left.
A Treatise against *Nestorius*.

SAMUEL.

WORKS left.
His Treatises against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*.

CLAUDIANVS MAMERTVS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
Three Books of the Nature of the Soul.

The Hymn. *Pange Lingua*.

PASTOR.

A WORK left.
A Treatise in the form of a Creed, containing the Articles of Faith.

VOCONIVS.

A WORK left.
A Treatise against the Enemies of the Church.

EV TROPIVS.

WORKS left.
Two Consolatory Letters to two Sisters disinherited.

EVAGRIUS.

A WORK left.
A Disputation, between a Jew and a Christian.

TIMOTHEVS.

A WORK left.
A Treatise upon the Nativity of Our Lord.

EUSTATHIVS.

His Genuine WORK, &c.
A Translation of 9 Homilies of *S. Basil* upon the *Hexameron*.

THEODVLVS.

WORKS left.
Several Works, and particularly a Concordance of the Old and New Testament.

EUGENIVS.

His Genuine WORK.
A Confession of Faith, and a Petition to *Himericus*.

CEREALIS.

A Genuine WORK.
A Confession of Faith.

SERVVS-DEI.

A WORK left.
A Treatise about seeing God with our bodily Eyes.

IDACIVS.

His Genuine WORKS, &c.
A Chronicon from the Year 381, to 467.

A Calendar of the Consuls from *Anno* 245, to 468.

VICTORIVS.

A Genuine WORK, &c.
The Paschal Cycle.

GENNADIUS, Patriarch of *Constantinople*.
His WORKS left.

A Literal Commentary upon *Daniel*.
Some Homilies. A Treatise to *Parthenius*.

Another Treatise cited by *Facundus*.

* L I 2 ANTI-

A TABLE of all the Writings

ANTIPATER of *Bostra*.
A WORK *lost*.
A Confutation of *Eusebius's* Defence of *Origen*.

HILARY Bishop of *Rome*.
His *Genuine* WORK, &c.
Twelve Letters.

SIMPLICIUS Bishop of *Rome*.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
Eighteen Letters.

FAUSTUS Bishop of *Ries*.
His *Genuine* WORKS.
A Letter to *Lucidus* the Priest.
A Treatise of Grace and Free-will to *Leontius* Bishop of *Arles*.
A Letter to *Cyrus*.
A Treatise concerning the Generation of the Son, the Incarnation, and of the Nature of the Soul.
A Letter to *Felix*.
Two Discourses to the Monks.
Some other Discourses.
A Letter to *Paulinus*.
Five Letters to *Ruricius*.

WORKS lost.
A Treatise about the Spirit.
Another Treatise in form of a Dialogue.

RURICIUS and **DESIDERIUS**.
His *Genuine* WORKS.
Some Letters.

APOLLINARIUS SIDONIUS.
Three Panegyrics.
A Collection of Poems.
Letters divided into several Books.

JOANNES TALAI DA.
A WORK *lost*.
An Apology addressed to *Gelasius*.

JOHN, a Priest of *Antioch*.
A WORK *lost*.
A Treatise against those that assert, that there is but one Nature in Jesus Christ.

JOANNES AEGATES.
A WORK *lost*.
His Ecclesiastical History beginning at the Deposition of *Nestorius*, and ending at that of *Peter Fullo*.

VICTOR VITENSIS.
His *Genuine* WORK, &c.
The History of the Persecution of the Vandals.

VIGILIUS TAPSENSIS.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
12 Books of the Trinity.
A Writing against *Vincentius*.
A Treatise against *Falicianus*.
Two Conferences between *Arius* and *Aspahanus*.
Five Books against *Eutyches*.
A Treatise of Faith against *Palladius*.

FELIX III. Bishop of *Rome*.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
Fifteen Letters.
Supposititious WORKS.
Three Letters in Greek.
Two Writs to Summon *Acacius*.
A Letter of a Council in *Rome* to the Clergy and Monks of *Bithynia*.

An Unknown AUTHOR who wrote in 486.
A *Genuine* WORK, &c.
A Memoir about the Affair of *Acacius*.

GELASIUS I.
Fifteen Letters.
Some Formula's or Commissions.
A Letter to *Rusticus*.
A Treatise upon the binding power of an Anathema.
A Discourse against *Andromachus* about the *Lupercalia*.
A Treatise against the *Pelagians*.
A Treatise against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*.
His judgment upon Apocryphal Books.
WORKS lost.
Other Treatises upon several Subjects.
Some Hymns.

ANASTASIUS II.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
A Letter to the Emperor.
A Letter to *Lewis* King of *France*.
Some Fragments of a Letter to *Ursicinus*.

PASCHASIUS the Deacon.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
Three Books of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit.

JULIAN POMERIUS.
His *Genuine* WORKS.
Three Books of the Contemplative, and Active Life.

WORKS lost.
A Dialogue of the Nature of the Soul, divided into Eight Books.
A Treatise to *Principius* about the contempt of Worldly things.
A Treatise about the Institution of Virgins.
A Treatise of Virtues and Vices.

GENNADIUS a Priest of *Marseille*.
His *Genuine* WORKS, &c.
A Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Writers.
A Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Doctrine.

WORKS lost.
Eight Books against all the Heresies.
Six Books against *Nestorius*.
Three Books against *Pelagius*.
A Treatise of the Millennium, and the Apocalyptic of *S. John*.

NEMESIUS.
His *Genuine* WORK.
A Treatise of the Nature of Man.
ENRAS GAZEUS.
His *Genuine* WORK, &c.
A Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Resurrection.

G E L A -

of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

GELASIUS CYZECENUS.

His *Genuine* WORK, &c.

The History of the Council of *Nice*.

AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR,

Who lived about the end of the Fifth, or beginning

of the Sixth Age, and wrote some Books under the Name of *Dionysius the Areopagite*.

Of the Celestial Hierarchy.
Of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy.
Of the Names of God.
Of Mystical Divinity.
Some Letters.

A TABLE

Of the Acts, Letters and Canons of the COUNCILS Spoken of in this Volume.

The Council of *Rome* under *S. Celestine* in 430.

S. Celestine's Letters.

A Council held at *Alexandria* in the same Year.

The Letters of the Council against *Nestorius* his Anathematisms, and Confession of Faith.
The General Council of *Ephesus*.
The Acts of this Council.
The Synods of the Eastern Bishops which followed it.
The Letters of the Bishops of these Synods.

The Council of *Ries* in 439.

The Condemnation of *Armentarius*.

The First Council of *Orange*.

Thirty Canons.

The Council of *Valo* in 442.

Ten Canons.

The Second Council of *Arles*.

Fifty Six Canons.

The Council of *Domnus* against *Sabinian*.

The Acts are lost.

The Council of *Proclus* in favour of *Basilianus*.

The Acts are lost.

The Council of *Constantinople* in 448.

The Acts are recited in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

Another Assembly at *Constantinople*.

The Acts of it are also in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Council of *Ephesus* under *Dioscorus*.

The Acts of it are also in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Council of *Rome* under *S. Leo*.

Letters written in the Name of the Council by *S. Leo*.

The Council of *Constantinople* under *Anatolius*.

A Letter written to *S. Leo*, *lost*.

The Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Acts of this Council, in which were XVI Sessions, and XX Canons. The Session concerning *Domnus* is *Dubious*.

The Council of *Constantinople* under *Gennadius*.

A Constitution against *Simony*.

The Council of *Tours* in 461.

Thirteen Canons.

The Council of *Venice*.
Sixteen Canons.

The Councils of *Rome* under *Pope Hilary*.
See the Letters of this Pope.

The Council of *Rome* under *Felix*.
See also the Letters of this Pope.

A Council at *Rome* under *Gelasius* in 494.
The Decree concerning Apocryphal Books.

A Council under the same in 495.
The Acts of the Abolition of *Misenus*.

Supposititious Councils.
The Acts of the Council of *Rome* about the Accusation of *Bassus* against *S. Sixtus*, and of the Council of *Jerusalem* under *Polychronius*.

A TABLE of the Works of the Ecclesiastical Writers, who died since the Year 430, disposed according to the Order of the Matters they treat of.

Treatises about the Truth of Religion, against the Heathens and Jews.

THE Letters of S. *Isidore Pelusiotus*.
17 Letters of S. *Cyril*, concerning the Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth.
A Confutation of *Julian's* Books against the Christian Religion.

12 Discourses of *Theodore* concerning the Cure of the Heathens False Opinions.

10 Discourses of Providence.
Vincentius Lirinensis his Memoir.

Treatise of the Trinity.

S. *Isidore's* Letters. S. *Cyril's*, *Theodorus*, *Eugenius*, and *Cereali's* Confession of Faith.
Faustus. Of the Generation of the Son.
12 Books of the Trinity, by *Vigilius Tapfenus*.
His Writings against *Varimadus*, *Felician*, and *Palladius*. His Conferences between *Arian*, and *Athanasius*.
Pascbasius of the Godhead of the Holy Spirit.

Treatise upon the Incarnation.

Leoporius Retractions.

S. *Isidore's* Letters.

7 Books of *Cassian* upon the Incarnation.

The Greatest part of S. *Cyril's* Works.

Theodore's Sermons. *Proclus's* Sermons.

A Treatise of *Capreolus*.

Theodore's Writings, and Letters.

The Writings of *Andrew* Bishop of *Samosata*.

The Letters of several Eastern Bishops in the Collections published by *P. Lupus*.

The Writings of *Eucherius* of *Tyana*.

S. *Leo's* Letter to *Flavian*, and some others.

Faustus's Letter to *Gratus*, and *Felix*.

The Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon* and *Ephesus*, with the Letter and Pieces written on that Subject.

The Encyclical Code.

Treatises about Grace and Freewill.

S. *Calestine's* Letter and Aphorisms.

Some of S. *Leo's* Letters.

Martin Mercator's Treatises.

Julian's Treatises. S. *Proper's* Works.

The Treatise of the Vocation of the Gentiles, and the Epistle to *Demetrian*.

The Works of *Faustus Reienfis*.

About the Nature of the Soul.

Three Books of *Claudianus Mamertus*.

Faustus's Treatise upon the same Subject.

Nemphius's Treatise of the Nature of Man.

A Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul, by *Aeneas Gazæus*.

Treatises upon several points of Doctrine.

S. *Isidore's* Letters.

The Confessions of Faith attributed to *Rufinus*.

Sentences taken out of S. *Audin*, by S. *Proper*.

Gennadius's Treatise of Ecclesiastical Doctrines.

The Treatises concerning the Name of God, and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy attributed to S. *Dionysius*.

Treatises against Heretics.

Theodore's last Book of Heretical Fables

Vincentius Lirinensis's Memoir.

Against the Pelagians.

Three Books of *Cassian* upon the Incarnation.

The greatest part of S. *Cyril's* Books.

M. *Mercator's* Memoirs and Collections.

Extracts of *Nestorius's* Sermons, and other Writings.

Against the Eutychians.

S. *Calestine's* Letter and Aphorisms, about *Grec*.

M. *Mercator's* Treatises.

Julian's Treatises for the Pelagians.

S. *Proper's* Works.

Pope *Gregory's* Treatise against the Pelagians.

Against the Eutychians.

Theodore's Sermons.

His Chapters against S. *Cyril*.

Vigilius Tapf, 5 Books against *Eutyches*.

P. *Gregory's* Treatise against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*.

Books concerning Discipline.

Atticus's Letter to *Cassianus*. S. *Isidore's* Letters

S. *Calestine's* Letter to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vienna*, and *Narbon*.

Other Letters of his to the Bishops of *Apulia*, and *Calabria*.

Some of S. *Cyril's* Letters.

Some of *Theodore's*.

The greatest part of S. *Leo's* Letters.

Salvian's Books to the Catholic Church.

The Letters of the Bishops *Hilary*, *Simplicius*, *Felix* III. and *Gregory*.

Sidonius's Letters, which we have abridged.

P. *Gregory's* Treatise of the binding power of an Anathema.

The Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy attributed to *Dionysius*.

The Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, and chiefly that which is said in the first Action, about the manner of proceeding against *Nestorius*, with the Decrees, and six Canons made in the 7th Action.

The

A TABLE of the Works of the Authors, &c.

The Decrees of the Council of *Ries*.

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16 Canons of the Councils of *Voise*.

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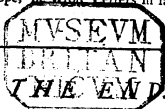
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